

‘land of breach of promise’: James Joyce and America

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PhD

2014

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own.
Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

What did America mean to James Joyce? Little work has been done on the subject, despite a number of works documenting America's dealings with Joyce. This reflects a flagrant and very significant anomaly. American intellectuals, scholars and critics have long dominated the Joyce industry. They have tirelessly promoted his work, both during his lifetime and posthumously. The most prevalent views of Joyce — whether as an international modernist or a postmodern liberal — have been of an author 'invented by Americans', in Flann O'Brien's phrase. This thesis will reverse the vector in question. It will integrally address the question of Joyce's attitude to American history, politics and culture. In doing so, it will aim to raise important questions regarding the 'automatic fit' between America and Joyce that criticism has tended to take for granted. It will thus have important implications for future work on Joyce's literary practice and political and historical principles.

The first chapter will focus on the presence of American literary culture in Joyce's works. The second chapter will develop a composite, historical reading of the meanings and functions of American popular culture in selected parts of Joyce's texts. It will focus on a 'mediated America' in Joyce's works as opposed to his allusive use of it. It will consider the question of how far Joyce's writings deal with an America mediated through European and, above all, British and colonial channels which markedly inflect its significance. The third chapter will deal with Joyce and Irish America. My research will focus on three key areas: Irish emigration to America; America and Irish nationalism, including Fenianism and American support for it; and American-Irish culture. The final chapter will focus on Joyce's responses to the American reception of his work in the twenties and thirties, and their incorporation into *Finnegans Wake*.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	5
<i>Chapter One</i> 'real American writers': Joyce and American Literature	13
<i>Chapter Two</i> 'The new world presses': Joyce and American Popular Culture	59
<i>Chapter Three</i> 'New worlds for all': Joyce and Irish America	105
<i>Chapter Four</i> 'mispilt reception': Joyce's American Reception in <i>Finnegans Wake</i>	151
<i>Conclusion</i>	196
<i>Bibliography</i>	203

Introduction

On 17 November 1906, the Italian tenor Enrico Caruso was arrested after a woman named Mrs Hannah Graham claimed that he touched her inappropriately as they stood in front of the monkey-house in Central Park Zoo in New York City. Caruso denied the accusation, and made his own counter-claim that it must have been one of the monkeys who pinched her. It would later emerge that Mrs Graham and the arresting policeman James Caine knew each other and Mrs Graham did not live at the address she gave at the time. Mrs Graham also failed to turn up at the trial, but Caruso was charged with ‘disorderly conduct’ and given a ten-dollar fine anyway. Joyce recorded his opinion on the monkey-house incident in a letter to Stanislaus marked 20 November 1906:

Publisher’s announcements are becoming worse. Really they are intolerable. Read the D.M. suppl. [*Daily Mail* supplement] ‘Books’. Renan was right when he said we are marching towards universal Americanism. I suppose you read about Caruso being arrested in the monkey-house at New York for indecent behaviour towards a young lady. [...] I wonder they don’t arrest the monkeys in New York. It took three N.Y. policemen to arrest Caruso. His impresario ridicules the charge and says Caruso has to answer shoals of ‘offers’ from N.Y. women of the upper classes. The papers are indignant. Do Americans know how they are regarded in Europe? (*LII* 197)¹

Joyce takes the idea of ‘universal Americanism’ from the preface to Renan’s *Souvenirs d’Enfance et de Jeunesse*, in which Renan looks to examine the nature of France’s modernity before returning to the Breton of his childhood: ‘*Il ne faut pas, pour nos goûts personnels, peut-être pour nos préjugés, nous mettre en travers de ce que fait notre temps. Il le fait sans nous, et probablement il a raison. Le monde marche vers une sorte d’américanisme, qui blesse nos idées raffinées, mais qui, une fois les crises de l’heure actuelle passées, pourra bien n’être pas plus mauvais que l’ancien régime pour la seule chose qui importe, c’est-à-dire l’affranchissement et le progrès de l’esprit humain*’.² Joyce’s somewhat exasperated paraphrasing doesn’t entirely reflect Renan’s quite sanguine appraisal of the role of ‘*américanisme*’ in the progress of the human spirit. After all, as Renan points out: ‘*La vulgarité américaine ne brûlerait point Giordano Bruno, ne persécuterait point Galilée*’.³ However, ‘[l]a vulgarité américaine’ is clearly at least one target of Joyce’s haranguing letter.

This thesis is primarily concerned with how Joyce, from an Irish and a European perspective, regarded Americans.⁴ The brief portrait above of the sardonic artist as a young man berating vulgar Americans for mistreating a European artist is for the most part representative of received critical opinion on Joyce’s relationship to America as a whole. Or it is assumed that he simply didn’t care. Indignant or indifferent, this image of Joyce is, also, entirely a product of his post-1945 critical

¹ For a full account of the incident and discussion of how it appears in *Finnegans Wake*, see *Joyce’s Grand Opera: Opera in Finnegans Wake*, ed. by Matthew J. C. Hodgart and Ruth Bauerle (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp.98-101.

² Renan, *Souvenirs d’Enfance et de Jeunesse* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883), p.x.

³ *Ibid.*, p.xviii.

⁴ Following Joyce’s lead, I shall use ‘America’ and ‘Americans’ throughout to refer to the United States and its citizens only, and not as shorthand for North America or the Americas.

construction. As with so much of our understanding of Joyce, this influential portrait bore Richard Ellmann's signature. A one-liner in his epic biography on Joyce's reputation among Ellmann's fellow countrymen simply states, with an unelaborated finality approaching Papal infallibility, that '[Joyce] could not bear their country'.⁵ It is one of the central aims of this thesis to overturn the perception that Joyce simply could not bear America and the rest is silence. This will not, however, entail efforts to construct – as one critic put it – 'Joyce the American'.⁶ Joyce is translated often enough into an American idiom without trying to locate that idiom at source.⁷ Rather, this thesis will posit difference over indifference. It will argue that America acquired a much greater significance as Joyce's career progressed and he came into closer contact with its modernists, magazines and mass culture. The *Little Review* trial, the *Ulysses* ban, the Roth piracy: these forced Joyce to acknowledge America as having as detrimental an influence over his career as the support of Ezra Pound, Sylvia Beach and Eugene Jolas was beneficial. Indeed, these terms can, up to a point, be reversed; Joyce consistently provoked the forces of literary prohibition and cultural conservatism in America which gave rise to some of *Finnegans Wake's* most persistent motifs, while criticism is still working its way through the specific biases and inflections given to Joyce's writing by someone like Pound.

There are two factors at work in the significance of America to Joyce, which might be roughly described as historical and textual, although both are closely intertwined. The historical factor is closely tied to America's rapid territorial and economic expansion over the course of Joyce's lifetime. European social hierarchies were, by the end of the nineteenth century, being vigorously challenged by the 'increasing power and importance of the transatlantic marketplace', as Paul Giles has argued.⁸ By the 1890s, 'Europeans had come to perceive the United States as the world's most advanced market society, and they feared the capacity of this new commercial world to undermine the more established parameters of national identity'.⁹ In Britain, a crisis of empire was exacerbated by a sense of 'goahead America', as Bloom puts it (*U* 16.1128), rising at its expense and added much to a *fin-de-siècle* invasion hysteria. The 'American invasion of Europe is no longer a matter of abstract discussion', the journalist Frederick A. MacKenzie declared in *The American Invaders*.¹⁰ English writers and journalists like MacKenzie and W.T. Stead, who published *The Americanization of the World: or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* in the same year, stated early and eagerly the notion that the culture of the United States had reached the point of ubiquity in England. MacKenzie in

⁵ Ellmann, *James Joyce, New and Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.4.

⁶ Thomas Jackson Rice, 'Joyce the American', in *Praharfeast: James Joyce in Prague*, ed. by David Vichnar, David Spurr, and Michael Groden (Prague: Litteraria Pragensia Books, 2012), pp.296-311.

⁷ See Joseph Brooker, *Joyce's Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), p.181.

⁸ Paul Giles, *Atlantic Republic: The American Tradition in English Literature* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2009), p.135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.146.

¹⁰ Frederick Arthur MacKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), p.ix.

particular was concerned about its omnipresence in both domestic and work spaces. The *Daily Mail* journalist wrote in *The American Invaders*:

In the domestic life we have almost got to this. The average citizen wakes in the morning at the sound of an American alarum clock; rises from his New England sheets, and shaves with his New York soap, and a Yankee safety razor. He pulls on a pair of Boston boots over his socks from West Carolina, fastens his Connecticut braces, slips his Waterbury watch into his pocket and sits down to breakfast. [...] The children are given Quaker oats. Concurrently he reads his morning paper, set up by American machines, printed with American ink, by American presses, on American paper, edited possibly by a smart journalist from New York City, and sub-edited with as close an approach to American brevity and verve as English pressmen can achieve, advertising its American edition of some classical novels or gigantic encyclopaedia, which is distributed among the subscribers on the American instalment system. Rising from his breakfast table the citizen rushes out, catches an electric tram made in New York, to Shepherds Bush, where he gets into a Yankee elevator, which takes him on to the American-fitted railway to the city. At his office of course everything is American.¹¹

MacKenzie and Stead were trying to ensure that their fellow ‘average citizen’ heard the ‘American alarum clock’ at the start of the twentieth century. Although Joyce’s writings considerably complicate this image of reverse cultural colonialism, his letter to Stanislaus in 1906 regarding the march towards ‘universal Americanism’ (*LII* 197) is a part of the same cultural climate.

A more subtle significance emerges, however, through a specifically Irish context. T.J. Clancy’s *Ireland in the Twentieth Century*, a pamphlet published in Dublin a year after the death of Parnell in 1892, confidently asserted that Ireland would take its place among the nations of the world in the twentieth century. It predicted that Ireland’s nineteenth-century bond with America would be a source of great advantage in the coming century, and its central geographical position in the Atlantic world would bring Ireland from the fringes of civilisation to its centre.¹² Revisionist accounts of post-Parnellite Ireland have considerably complicated the idea that this period saw a transference of energy from politics to culture, culminating in the ‘cultural revival’. Diarmaid Ferriter has argued that ‘far from political pessimism, there was also [...] a dynamism and confident outlook’.¹³ This optimism and sense of ‘resurgence’, as Andrew Gibson argues, was integral to Joyce’s early work.¹⁴ One particular source of this late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century optimism was connected to America. The rapid rise of America towards a position of global economic dominance created a new geographical orientation which was predicted would greatly benefit Ireland. Twenty years after Clancy’s pamphlet was published, Joyce wrote two articles for *Il Piccolo della Sera* – ‘The City of the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.142-43.

¹² See Diarmaid Ferriter, *Transformation of Ireland* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2005), p.32.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹⁴ Gibson, *The Strong Spirit: History, Politics and Aesthetics in the Writings of James Joyce 1898-1912* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.9-30.

Tribes' and 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran' – in which he invoked the same optimistic projections for an Ireland at the geographic centre of an Atlantic world. In the latter of the two articles, Joyce described in detail a map and accompanying statistics in a prospectus booklet for the Galway harbour scheme, also referred to in *Ulysses* (*U* 2.326; 16.964-8). The map showed planned shipping lanes from Galway to Canada ('the grain warehouse of the United Kingdom', *OCPW* 203) and the United States ('the great industrial storehouse of the future', as claimed in the booklet, *OCPW* 343). Joyce predicted what the opening of the port would mean for Galway and Ireland:

A large part of the merchandise and passengers that now land at Liverpool would in future land at Galway, proceeding directly to London via Dublin and Holyhead. The old decaying city would arise once more. Wealth and vital energy would run through this new artery into blood-drained Ireland. Once again, after ten centuries or so, the mirage that dazzled the poor fisherman of Aran, St Brendan's follower and emulator, appears in the distance, vague and tremulous on the mirror of the ocean. (*OCPW* 203)

The mirage in question, as Kevin Barry points out, is that 'land of promise of the saints', Hy-brasil: both the mythical island of the west and America (*OCPW* 343). The article ends on a note of cautious optimism while again examining the map: 'In the twilight, we cannot make out the names of ports, but the lines that start from Galway, branching and extending outwards, recall the symbol placed next to the arms of his native city by the mystic, perhaps even prophetic Dean of the Chapters: *Quasi lilium germinans germinabit et quasi terebinthus extendens ramos suos*' ('It will flourish like a lily growing and like a terebinth tree spreading its branches', *OCPW* 205; 344).

Ferriter has pointed to Douglas Hyde's fundraising tour to America in 1905 as an 'indication of the centrality of the United States in Irish affairs in the early years of the century'.¹⁵ The 'idea of America' in Joyce's Ireland was thus bound up not just with emigration, but with the political, cultural and economic opportunities *in potentia* that existed at home through Ireland's strong bonds with the New World. Joyce may have enjoyed mocking '[l]a vulgarité américaine', but he was also clearly drawn to the idea of Ireland as a cultural omphalos or 'strandentwining cable' (*U* 3.37) linking the Old World to the New. On his visit to Galway in 1912, he tried unsuccessfully to obtain an interview with Guglielmo Marconi with an eye to writing it up for *Il Piccolo* along with another on the Marconi station – a missed opportunity he recorded in letters to Stanislaus (*LII* 299; 301). A large station had been built in Clifden, Connemara, in 1906-07 – 'the loftly marconimasts from Clifden' (*FW* 407.20) – to facilitate the first transatlantic wireless telegraphy service between there and Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. The first 'Marconigram' was sent from Galway to Canada on 15 October, 1907. In an early conceptual note for the *Wake* from 1924, Joyce wrote: 'Marconi = S.P / mission ~'.¹⁶ As the

¹⁵ Ferriter, *Transformation*, p.98.

¹⁶ *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo: VI.B.14.230(p)*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer, Geert Lernout (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003).

editors of the volume point out, this ‘important’ conceptual note links ‘radio broadcasting with the dissemination of beliefs and the spread of civilisation represented by St. Patrick’s mission’.¹⁷ Contrary to the Ellmann-led idea that Joyce had no interest in America, issues of transatlantic trade and communications (‘branching and extending outwards’ like the shipping lines in the prospectus map) link Joyce’s earliest writings to the *Wake*.

In *Finnegans Wake*, the importance of America announces itself from the first page. It begins with Sir Tristram who has ‘passencore rearrived from North Armorica’ (*FW* 001.05); he is followed by allusions to Tom Sawyer, and Dublin in Laurens County, Georgia, on the Oconee river; then a Wall Street crash (but not the 1929 crash)¹⁸; which is apparently being sung by Christy Minstrels: ‘retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy’ (*FW* 003.17-8). An integral part of HCE’s ever-expanding mock-heroic gigantism is his connection to Dublin, Georgia, introduced on the first page and whose motto Joyce informed Harriet Shaw Weaver was: ‘Doublin all the time’ (*LI* 247-8). HCE, we’re later told, ‘has twenty four or so cousins germinating in the United States of America’ (*FW* 130.28-9). His son Shaun, whose character is closely connected to the New World, is also bound for America as an emigrant. As Wim van Mierlo has pointed out, a note dating from spring 1926 states Shaun’s intentions: ‘^ [Shaun] writes to ¶ [HCE] he / is going to U.S.A’.¹⁹ Van Mierlo has also highlighted how a relatively early note for the *Wake* ‘further suggests the importance of emigration as a motif: “American Wake”’.²⁰ HCE’s other son, Shem, is also repeatedly (and abusively) figured as either black or blacked-up, and, as chapter two will argue, this gives American blackface minstrelsy a remarkably prominent role throughout. In addition to this, chapter four will discuss how from the earliest stages of the composition of the *Wake* Joyce decided to have the structurally central motif of the Letter come from Boston. Once these elements were in place early on, that allowed for the massive expansion of American material in the work. For post-*Ulysses* Joyce at least, the centrality of all this material to the *Wake* knocks on the head the argument that he was indifferent to America. It simply doesn’t correlate that someone who supposedly couldn’t care less would put so much of America into his final work.

The chronological alignment of the publication history of Joyce’s writings, the beginning of the Joyce industry *per se* and the growth of the American academy, from establishing legitimacy in the 1920s and 1930s through to the era of international expansion in the 1940s, offers us an opportunity to re-examine the relationship between Joyce and America in light of these developments. It is an essential point to bear in mind that Joyce’s concept of America immediately predates the period of international

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Joyce added ‘wallstrait’ in 1926; see *James Joyce Archive* 44 (London: Garland, 1978), p.105.

¹⁹ Van Mierlo, ‘Shaun the Post: Chapters III.1-2’, in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), p.356.

²⁰ Van Mierlo, ‘The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea: James Joyce, Exile and Irish Emigration’, in *Joyce, Ireland, Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gibson and Len Platt (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2006), p.190.

expansion: the expansion of the American universities abroad; American Studies in Europe; the G.I. Bill; the role of philanthropic foundations (Carnegie, Ford, the Rockefeller Foundation, from which Ellmann got a fellowship to research his dissertation on Yeats); the passing of the Fulbright Act in 1946; the setting up of the Salzburg Seminar with F.O. Matthiessen as a member of its first faculty in 1947; and so on.²¹ A vast number of works sprung up amid this expansion, documenting what one study has described as ‘the discovery of Europe’.²² Ellmann, of course, came out of this context and his ‘discovery’ of Joyce ‘crystallises the complex interaction of American institutional and cultural practices with the largely undeveloped condition of documentary and other sources of Irish literary culture’, according to George O’Brien, who adds that *James Joyce* is ‘a landmark in the internationalisation of modern Irish literature’.²³ Chapters one and four will deal with these issues separately. Chapter one will focus on Joyce’s allusions to American literature, and will look to historicize precisely Joyce’s use of American literature within contemporary perceptions of American writing. Chapter four will look at how Joyce incorporated his American reception in the *Wake*, with an emphasis on how that work represents Joyce’s conception of his American ‘producers and consumers’ (FW 497.01-2).

Chapter two will examine allusions to American popular culture in Joyce’s work. A potentially voluminous subject given the sheer range of references, I have attempted to narrow it down to areas which show a continued engagement across Joyce’s works. One of the most significant examples of this, as we shall see, is blackface minstrelsy. Moreover, allusions to American popular culture are repeatedly employed in relation to or as a function of the British-Irish colonial context. If there is a dominant framework for thinking about Joyce’s attitude to America, then it is America’s status as a former colony within the British Empire, its emergence from that Empire as a republic, its status as a model of decolonisation, and its emergence in the early twentieth century within an imperialist context. Within this framework, Joyce appropriates and renegotiates Irish relations to not only blackface minstrels, but also *Mutt and Jeff*, Hollywood movies, Broadway musicals, cowboys and Indians, jazz, flappers, speakeasies, and myriad other markers of American popular culture. Moreover, Joyce foregrounds American pop culture over and above any ‘serious’ study of the US. Accordingly, the popular image of Benjamin Franklin as an inventor takes precedence over his writings (FW 289.10); slavery is alluded to through Uncle Remus (FW 442.08) and *The Green Pastures* (FW 232.21-9); the genocidal displacement of American Indians through Buffalo Bill, or

²¹ For the Salzburg Seminar, see Bercovitch, ‘The Problem of Ideology in American Literary History’, in *Critical Inquiry*, vol.12, no. 4 (Summer, 1986), pp.631-53; and Inderjeet Parmar, ‘Challenging Elite Anti-Americanism in the Cold War’, in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.114-20.

²² *Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experience in the Old World*, ed. by Philip Rahv (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947). A bibliographic essay would be required to cover the extent of the material published, but a useful guide can be found here: *Literary History of the United States: Bibliography Supplement*, ed. by Richard M. Ludwig (New York: Macmillan, 1959).

²³ George O’Brien, ‘Literary Criticism Since 1960’, in *The Blackwell Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. by W.J. McCormack (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), p.351.

‘bafflelost bull’ (*FW* 118.07). The version of American history ‘retailed’ by Joyce is one narrated through its music, minstrels, and movies. Chapter three discusses Joyce and Irish-America. As such, there will be a heavy emphasis on emigration to America and the cultural memory of emigration in Ireland. Emigration and the cultural memory of emigration are deeply embedded in the *Wake*. This chapter will focus on two specific aspects: Shaun’s merging with successful Irish-American John McCormack, and Joyce’s correspondence with his son Giorgio during the latter’s unsuccessful attempt to crack the American market.

There are examples of Joyce expressing admiration for certain aspects of American culture; there are even more examples of him expressing aversion. What interests me in this thesis, however, are those examples where America is being used to say something about the key ideas that run through Joyce’s work. This has necessarily involved a considerable amount of American material being left out, or discussions strictly delimited to areas specific to the United States. Accordingly, Irish-American emigration in *Ulysses* is not considered in detail in this thesis because it is not integral to that work as it is in Joyce’s last. It is for the same reason that the poetry, *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* are marginal to this study; America is marginal to an understanding of those works. In *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*, an understanding of Joyce and America is essential only to discrete points in the narratives. The *Wake*, however, is indispensable to any study of Joyce and America, and it is therefore the work most heavily represented in this thesis.

One final aim of this thesis is to delineate with much greater specificity what Joyce did and did not know about America. In a review of a trio of books on the *Wake* in 1978, Brendan P. O. Hehir wrote: ‘A badly-needed study the Joyce industry shows no sign of producing is “Joyce and America”. [...] A rigorous delineation of Joyce’s America would show its limits to be narrower than supposed; it might sensitise Americans to Joyce’s foreignness to them’.²⁴ Published as theory was set to become the dominant framework for judging Joyce’s work, the review is particularly critical of the kind of ‘anything goes’ speculative readings of the *Wake* which would have Joyce’s last work as a site of limitless semantic play. In recent years, historicist and genetic criticism has offered the most forceful rebuke to such an approach and has given an empirical thrust to studies setting out to delineate with much greater rigour what Joyce did and did not know about not just America, but all manner of subjects. As such, this thesis will look to historicize rigorously concepts of American history, culture and politics, and to make use of the manuscripts and notebooks where appropriate to test the hypothesis that the limits of Joyce’s America are narrower than has been supposed, although I leave the question of Joyce’s foreignness to Americans for others to decide.

²⁴ Brendan P. O. Hehir, ‘Reviews: Sigla, “Structure”, Census’, in *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, vol.12, no.1 (Autumn, 1978), p.80.

Chapter One

‘real American writers’: Joyce and American Literature

In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?

Sydney Smith, *Edinburgh Review*

Who reads a book by an Englishman that is a modern?

Herman Melville, ‘Hawthorne and his Mosses’

A cursory inspection of either Gifford and Seidman or McHugh's annotations for *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* respectively will reveal a noticeable disparity between the numbers of references to the writers identified by F.O. Matthiessen in *American Renaissance* as an essential part of the American canon and those of writers now considered minor or non-literary. Joyce appears to take a greater interest in writers like Bret Harte or Jack London than he does in Melville, Emerson, Hawthorne or Thoreau. Whitman and Twain, and to a lesser extent Longfellow and Poe, appear to be the exceptions to the rule (and here we must ask, to what extent were Whitman and Twain considered canonical at the time and would Joyce have considered them so?), but are nevertheless vastly underrepresented in comparison to other 'minor' forms of American writing. 'The real American writers so far', Joyce told Arthur Power, 'have all been minor writers, such as Jack London, Bret Harte, Robert Service in Canada and such like, and it will take a long time before they produce any art that is worthwhile'.¹ Joyce also refers to America as immature, without 'vintage', and denies Power's claim that America will exert cultural influence, but agrees that it will have political influence. Intriguingly, Joyce tells Power that Thoreau 'does not reflect the American mind as I understand it', but does not clarify this any further.² This chapter will focus on examining what that understanding might have been where the literature of America influenced it.

Joyce and the American Literary Canon

In 1902, W.T. Stead completed the provocatively titled *The Americanization of the World; or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century*. Stead argued in this work that American literature had become a component in America's imminent cultural hegemony in Europe: 'The American is rapidly becoming as self-assertive in literature as he has long been in other departments of human activity, and in proportion as he becomes self-conscious and self-reliant we may expect to find him exercising increasing influence on the literature of the world'.³ Here we find Stead invoking two of most pervasive popular images of America: self-reliance and Americanisation. In his 1903 review of James Lane Allen's *The Mettle of the Pasture*, Joyce too comments on the 'quality of self-reliant sanity' evident in the work (*OCPW* 82). This had been a popular image of the American on both sides of the Atlantic ever since Emerson effectively Americanised the quality in *Essays* (1841) and it would appear that Joyce is using it here as a term of approval. However, as we have seen, Joyce attacked that other popular image of the United States when he described in 1906 the march towards 'universal Americanism' (*LII* 197). Joyce's mixture of approval and censure was not untypical for a European in

¹ Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999), p.108.

² *Ibid.*, p.108.

³ W.T. Stead, *The Americanization of the World; or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London: Horace Markley, 1902), p.277.

the early twentieth century.⁴ Social and economic difficulties in Europe after the First World War contrasted sharply with the material prosperity of America, and European responses consequently shifted from a cold condescension before the war to that of fascination, albeit of a suspicious kind, after the war.⁵ Or as Denis W. Brogan put it: ‘The European, contemplating the United States [after WWI], suffered from divided feelings. One was envy and to some degree a spirit of emulation’.⁶ What were the implications of this for Joyce’s position regarding American literature? Initially, it would seem that Joyce’s response was indeed divided, or ambiguous. But before looking at Joyce’s reading and interpretation of individual American authors, I will outline here how his engagement with US literature can be roughly separated into two stages, both distinguished by the connections between Joyce’s writings and key American texts, with a coda of sorts on the period immediately following Joyce’s death (for reasons that will become clear). The first stage outlines American literature from the 1870s until 1914. The second period, 1915-1939 clearly marks the duration of the composition of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, while the third stage will gesture ahead from the year of the author’s death in 1941 and the publication of F.O. Matthiessen’s *American Renaissance*. Each of these stages is marked by a concomitant shift in the perception of American literature. While the focus of this chapter will remain on historically contextualising pre-1940s concepts of American literature, the coda will do so briefly in light of the ‘new canon of classic texts’ that Matthiessen’s ‘revisionist’ *American Renaissance* created.⁷ This last point is essential: Joyce’s relationship to American literature must be thought of in these pre-revisionist terms.

American Renaissance writers are hard to come by in Joyce’s work. Melville, for instance, is nowhere to be found. There are (possibly) a handful of references to Hawthorne in the *Wake*, and of the so-called ‘fireside poets’ who dominated nineteenth-century American poetry, only Longfellow is very briefly alluded to.⁸ Emerson is name-checked in passing in Joyce’s article on Ibsen for the *Fortnightly Review* (*OCPW* 30). In *Ulysses*, Bloom ruminates on being buried alive (*U* 6.864-71): a possible allusion to Poe’s *The Premature Burial*, or *The Cask of Amontillado*. Joyce is reported to have described, or perhaps dismissed, Thoreau as an ‘American Frenchman’.⁹ Meanwhile, the English

⁴ European attitudes towards America before and after the First World War is a topic beyond the scope of this thesis, but useful overviews can be found in the bibliography.

⁵ Archie Henderson, ‘Pound, Sweden and the Nobel Prize’, in *Ezra Pound and Europe*, ed. by Richard Taylor and Claus Melchior (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), p.155.

⁶ Denis W. Brogan, ‘From England’, in *As Others See Us: The United States Through Foreign Eyes*, ed. by Franz M. Joseph (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p.3.

⁷ Sacvan Bercovitch, ‘The Problem of Ideology in American Literary History’, p.631.

⁸ See Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of Finnegans Wake* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p.120; Roland McHugh, *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp.206; 306; 387; 411; 557.

⁹ Power, *Conversations*, p.108.

literary critic George Saintsbury, in his *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (one of the principal sources for the ‘Oxen of the Sun’ chapter in *Ulysses*¹⁰), notes briefly at the end of his history:

As I have mentioned Whitman, it may be asked why no other American prose writers appear. [...] The reason is that, interesting as it might be to deal, say, with Emerson and Poe from our point of view, we should not find much, if anything, in them that gave us *new* observations. Emerson is practically represented by Carlyle; Poe at his best by De Quincey and even Landor; at his *not*-best by Charlotte Bronte. They have, as it were, their English ‘correspondents’, and do business here by them.¹¹

If Joyce had missed Saintsbury’s dismissal of American literature as inferior substitutes for English works, then he might have come across a similar note of disdain in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911) under the entry ‘American Literature’, where the Harvard-educated George Woodberry wrote: ‘There has been no product of ideas [in America] since Emerson’.¹² The near-half century under scrutiny by Saintsbury and Woodberry would become known for having produced Whitman, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, Twain, James, and Longfellow, among others.¹³ And yet, while their collective oversight seems extraordinary in hindsight, can it be said that Joyce responds any differently?

I propose here that Joyce’s description/dismissal of Thoreau is symptomatic of a more general stance taken by Joyce towards American literature of the period 1871-1914. Henry James considered the post-1900 period to be the ‘advent of a time for looking more closely into the old notion, that to have a quality of his own, a writer must needs draw his sap from his soil of origin’.¹⁴ It is somewhat ironic that James of all people (that ‘passionate pilgrim’ whose ‘double graves’ lie in Boston and London) should have professed such a commitment to one’s ‘soil of origin’, but it was indicative of a general trend in American letters.¹⁵ The American-ness of the American Renaissance writers was still very much up for debate before the war, while later writers like Harte loudly proclaimed their own authentic American-ness. The notion of the ‘soil of origin’ – the distinctiveness of the provenance of American works – appears foremost among Joyce’s concerns regarding US literature, as indeed it was for Americans themselves between 1871 and 1914. After the Civil War, discussions about American

¹⁰ See for instance James S. Atherton, ‘The Oxen of the Sun’, in *James Joyce’s Ulysses: Critical Essays*, ed. by Clive Hart and David Hayman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp.313-41.

¹¹ George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p.472.

¹² This opinion of American literature could readily be found in certain New England circles, particularly around Harvard. As Jay B. Hubbell points out: ‘In 1909 the English department at Harvard granted [Whitman’s biographer] Bliss Perry’s request that he be permitted to offer a course in Emerson. They made it clear, however, that in their opinion Emerson was the only American writer worthy of such a place in the curriculum’; in Hubbell, *Who are the Major American Writers?* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), p.43.

¹³ With Melville and Dickinson in particular, there is a question mark over the availability of their work. This is a question that will recur from time to time and I have attempted to address it where necessary without digressing too far in matters that are not essential to the argument.

¹⁴ Henry James, ‘The Story-Teller At Large: Mr Henry Harland’, cited in Terence Brown’s introduction to *Dubliners* (D xli).

¹⁵ *The Reception of Henry James in Europe*, ed. by Annick Duperray (London: Continuum, 2006), p.viii.

literature began to insist on a parallel treatment of a given work's American provenance and how it reflected the national character. The nation experienced a renewed call for an Emersonian American Scholar, who would announce the end of America's 'dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands'.¹⁶ A most unlikely scholar emerged in the figure of Walt Whitman, who responded in 1871 with *Democratic Vistas*. 'At all times, perhaps, the central point in any nation, and that whence it is itself really sway'd the most, and whence it sways others, is its national literature, especially its archetypal poems', wrote Whitman in terms appealing to Irish writers.¹⁷ Indeed, as we shall see, for Joyce before 1914 Whitman was the one American Renaissance writer in whom he had an evident interest.

There was a generational change occurring and Joyce was responding. The deaths of such eminent literary figures as Emerson (1882), Longfellow (1882), Lowell (1891), Whittier (1892), Holmes (1894), and Stowe (1896) all within little over a decade 'deepened an end-of-an-era sense, with a concomitant desire to assess it'.¹⁸ A number of works looking back on the literary past were published in this period, including Charles F. Richardson's two-volume *American Literature, 1607-1885* (1887); Wall Street banker Edmund Clarence Stedman's two-volume *Poets of America* (1885) and his *An American Anthology 1787-1900* (1900); Brander Matthews' *An Introduction to the Study of American Literature* (1896); Fred Lewis Pattee's *A History of American Literature* (1899); Walter C. Bronson's *A Short History of American Literature* (1900); and Barrett Wendell's *A Literary History of America* (1900). The 1880s also saw the foundation of the Modern Language Association of America (1883), which began publishing the following year *The Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. The 'ferment of the eighties' also produced Charles Dudley Warner's American Men of Letters series, which included Warner's own book on Irving (1881); Frank B. Sandborn's *Thoreau* (1882); Thomas R. Lounsbury's *Cooper* (1883); O.W. Holmes's *Emerson* (1884), a copy of which Joyce owned; and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*-contributor George Woodberry's *Poe* (1885).¹⁹ The desire to map the history of the nation's literature continued into the twentieth century, with John Macy's *The Spirit of American Literature* in 1908 and again in 1913; W.B. Cairns's *A History of American Literature* in 1912; and Fred Lewis Pattee's 1915 volume *A History of American Literature Since 1870*. So too in the Men of Letters series: Woodberry's *Hawthorne* (1902); Higginson's *Longfellow* (1902); George R. Carpenter's *Whittier* (1903); and Bliss Perry's *Whitman* (1906).²⁰ Kermit Vanderbilt, however, argues that the Men of Letters series was guilty of Old World imitation: 'As in so much of American scholarship before [the *Cambridge*

¹⁶ 'The American Scholar', in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 1 (London: Belknap Press, 1971), p.52.

¹⁷ *Walt Whitman: Poetry and Prose*, ed. by Shira Wolosky (New Milford, CT: Toby Press, 2003), p.675.

¹⁸ Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus: Critical Trends and American Literature Anthologies* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), p.2.

¹⁹ Kermit Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy: the Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), p.105.

²⁰ Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy*, p.155.

History in 1917], the inspiration here was British: John Morley's English Men of Letters series had begun in 1878'.²¹ The founding of the Hall of Fame in 1900 and the creation of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1904, also point to a desire to make official the process of trying to ascertain exactly what constituted American literature during a period of flux, while simultaneously revealing the ongoing difficulty of trying to establish literary independence under the influence of British critical authority.²²

In his 1915 study *A History of American Literature Since 1870*, Fred Lewis Pattee defined the period between 1870 and 1890 as the 'National Period' – 'our first really national period, all-American, autochthonic' – in which America achieved 'her literary independence': 'One can say of the period what one may not say of earlier periods, that the great mass of its writings could have been produced nowhere else but in the United States. They are redolent of the new spirit of America: they are American literature'.²³ Pattee's literary-historiography work in the 1910s and 1920s was a deliberate attempt to construct a national literary history that was, as he says of Harte, 'uniquely American and wholly democratic'.²⁴ It was also in part the culmination of a process of codifying, institutionalising and disseminating the American short story in particular as 'a new genre, something distinctively and unquestionably our own in the world of letters'.²⁵ Short story writers such as Harte in particular were seen in Britain and America to be, as John Ashbery in a different register put it, 'something / We have that they don't'.²⁶ As Pattee's literary-historiography demonstrates, the American short story as well as the literature about the genre had become vehicles for declarations of literary independence – an important point for contextualising Joyce's use of the genre as this canonisation process was not only underway during the 1900s but speeding up. Cultural self-determination and the question of the canon are of such importance here precisely because they are of such evident significance to Joyce and his work from the beginning. The two articles submitted in 1901/02 to *St Stephen's* – one rejected ('The Day of the Rabblement') and one accepted ('James Clarence Mangan') – demonstrate, along with 'Ibsen's New Drama' (1900), a concerted attempt to replace the current 'trustees' of Irish literature and set the agenda for 'the future of art' (*OCPW* 51),

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.106.

²² For the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, see *ibid.*, p.91.

²³ Pattee, Preface to *A History of American Literature Since 1870* (New York: Century, 1917).

²⁴ Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story: An Historical Survey* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1923), p.224.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

²⁶ Ashbery, of course, goes on to add: ' – don't ask me what is it. [...] I would pick Francis Thompson over Bret Harte / Any day, if I had to'. Although writing at a much later period, Ashbery's concerns over his English reception pick up on certain themes that recur in this chapter: 'Americans, if they're going to be accepted as writers, have to act "like Americans"'. They have to be loud-mouthed, oratorical. That might be why Whitman was very widely accepted, and they loved Bret Harte, whom nobody reads anymore, just because he came to England and walked around in boots and a cowboy hat. *This is an American, so we can, you know, we can understand this, because the Americans are a bunch of Yahoos*'. See Ben Hickman, *John Ashbery and English Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp.2-3.

no less. Though they show Joyce at his most precocious, they also point ahead to interrogations of issues of canonization and cultural politics in the later work.

The interest the American canonization process held for Irish writers should be clear. America itself unmistakably presented a case study of a country emerging out of English colonial domination and its writings stood out as conscious acts of self-determination.²⁷ When Joyce declared in a letter to his brother Stanislaus in 1906 that he had ‘little or nothing to learn from English novelists’ (*SL* 124), he evidently sided with those American writers who in the spirit of the age of Roosevelt were moving outside a New England heavily indebted to old England in order to develop a distinct and non-derivative canon.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War One, in the May 1914 number of the *Poetry Review*, Stephen Phillips stated his agreement with another English poet, Sir William Watson, that America ‘has become far more important than England in both the market and the assize of modern Anglo-American poetry. [...] The writer of modern verse must for the future look to America both for audience and criticism’.²⁸ Almost exactly four years later and just before the war ended, Thomas Seccombe wrote in a review in May 1918: ‘Speaking generally nothing is more remarkable than the rapidity of the development of English letters on the other side of the Atlantic’.²⁹ The publication Seccombe was reviewing was the first volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature*. The *Cambridge History* represents a turning point in American letters at an equally pivotal moment in transatlantic relations. John Maynard Keynes, a member of the British negotiating delegation at Versailles, summed up the new world order when he wrote that Woodrow Wilson had been greeted ‘not as a victor only but almost as a prophet. In addition to this moral influence the realities of power were in his hands. [...] Europe [...] already owed the United States more than she could pay’.³⁰ The First World War changed everything; and it ‘marked a watershed in European reactions to American literature’.³¹ Furthermore, as Phillips and Seccombe suggest, the rise in the importance of American criticism in particular coloured the post-1914 period. In Ireland, Irish-American relations were completely changed in the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising and the War of Independence.³² In short, as Yeats put it: ‘All changed, changed utterly’.

The ‘monumental’ and ‘epoch-making’ four-volume *Cambridge History* appeared in instalments from 1917-1921, while *Ulysses* was being sent in instalments to the American literary periodical *The Little Review*, and its publication was fundamental to the establishment of the nascent

²⁷ For the influence of nineteenth-century American literature on Irish writers, see Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Vintage, 1996), pp.127-28.

²⁸ Cited in Jay B Hubbell, *Who Are the Major American Writers? A Study of the Changing Literary Canon* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1972), p.164.

²⁹ ‘Republican Letters’, in *The Times Literary Supplement* (23 May 1918), p.237.

³⁰ Cited in John A. Thompson, *Woodrow Wilson* (Harlow: Longman, 2002), p.3.

³¹ Henderson, ‘Pound, Sweden and the Nobel Prize’, p.155.

³² See chapter three.

subject of American literature within the academy in America.³³ It was an immense project, the biggest of its kind ever undertaken in American letters. Its four editors and sixty-four authors took four years to complete its four volumes, which contained over 600 pages of bibliographical material.³⁴ The editors declared the work to be ‘on a larger scale than any of its predecessors’ and stretched the limits of the definition of literary to give the work an encyclopaedic inclusiveness.³⁵ It is, as one reviewer in the *New York Times* put it, ‘full of meat’³⁶; or, as T.S. Eliot put it less favourably in a review of the second volume in *The Athenaeum*: ‘It is inevitable that any work on American literature should contain a good deal of stuffing’.³⁷ Although heterogeneous and fragmentary, moving ‘heavily and yet by jerks’³⁸, the meaty, stuffed *Cambridge History* had the effect of ushering in the ‘distinctive profession of American literature scholarship’.³⁹ In the updated *Cambridge History of American Literature*, general editor Sacvan Bercovitch acknowledges that the first history introduced a ‘new branch of English writing’.⁴⁰ When the first instalment of the first *Cambridge History* appeared in 1917, the first professorship in American letters had not yet been established. Similarly, the founding of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association did not take place until 1921, and its journal, *American Literature*, began publication only in 1929.⁴¹ As is clear, the *Cambridge History*’s importance in the record of American letters and the significance of its timing can hardly be exaggerated.

Contemporaneous with the emergence of a Wilsonian *Pax Americana* – mocked by D.H. Lawrence in *Studies in Classic American Literature* as ‘Woodrow Wilson’s wrung heart and wet hanky’⁴² – the *Cambridge History* was a suitably weighty multi-volume tome with which to back up claims for a distinctively American cultural *novus ordo seclorum*. As a counterpart to American political influence, the growth and professionalisation of the American academy was very much a challenging act of cultural power and legitimation, pitting the ‘president’s English’ (*LI* 384), as Joyce mockingly referred to it, against the King’s. While Bercovitch claims the new *Cambridge History* as a history of ‘dissensus’, ‘fundamentally pluralist: a federated histories of American literatures’, the 1917-1921 *Cambridge History* emphasised rather a consensus of opinion regarding American

³³ Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus*, p.48; Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy*, p.3. For the unprecedented scale of material collected and commented upon in the *Cambridge History*, see Chapter 9 in Vanderbilt, pp.153-67.

³⁴ Francesco Pontuale, *In Their Own Terms: American Literary Historiography in the United States and Italy* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), p.38.

³⁵ Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy*, p.156.

³⁶ ‘The Cambridge History of American Literature’, *New York Times* (9 March 1919), p.82.

³⁷ ‘American Literature’, in *The Athenaeum* (25 April 1919), p.236.

³⁸ ‘The Cambridge History of American Literature’, *New York Times* (9 March 1919), p.82.

³⁹ Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy*, p.3.

⁴⁰ *The Cambridge History of American Literature, Vol. III, Prose Writing 1860-1920*, ed. by Sacvan Bercovitch (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.1.

⁴¹ See introduction to D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature*, ed. by Ezra Greenspan, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.lix.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.33.

literature as a separate and self-contained entity.⁴³ As Elizabeth Renker argues in her ‘institutional’ history of American literature, the first *Cambridge History* ‘attempted to undo the image of American literature as a literature without a history and thus to counter the anti-American literature polemic that had hurt its knowledge status for so long’.⁴⁴ Such efforts towards literary-cultural legitimation have important implications for considering Joyce’s allusions to American writers before the *Wake*. The canonisation of American literature as separate from its English counterpart to a certain extent over-determines those writers elevated as representative of a truly autochthonic spirit in this period of assertion and legitimation, which in turn bears down on how they function within the work of an Irish writer who declared himself to be in ‘revolt against the English conventions, literary or otherwise’.⁴⁵

Consider, briefly, the case of Mark Twain – from whose *Huckleberry Finn*, as Hemingway claimed, ‘all modern American literature comes’.⁴⁶ Stuart Sherman’s essay in the *Cambridge History* described him as ‘one of our great representative men. He is a fulfilled promise of American life. He proves the virtues of the land and the society in which he was born and fostered. He incarnates the spirit of an epoch of American history when the nation, territorially and spiritually enlarged, entered lustily upon new adventures’.⁴⁷ There is an almost messianic aura about Twain in this passage, where he is the ‘fulfilled promise of American life’ and, the word made flesh, ‘incarnates the spirit of an epoch of American history’. The evident patriotism of these descriptions had been a determining feature of American literary histories since the nineteenth century and, as Francesco Pontuale argues, it is not by chance that both the *Cambridge History* and the *Literary History of the United States* came out after two world wars, ‘which had, in the first case, signalled the birth of the United States as a new world power and, in the second, confirmed its role as principal protagonist within the new international order’.⁴⁸ An earlier article by Sherman in the *Nation* (May 1910) and reprinted in his *On Contemporary Literature* (1923) began: ‘No American writer has ever enjoyed a more purely democratic reputation than Mark Twain’.⁴⁹ Sherman’s ‘great representative’ Twain is in some sense then an evangeliser for democracy as America expands ‘territorially and spiritually’ and enters ‘lustily’, and it must be said somewhat euphemistically, ‘upon new adventures’. The *Cambridge History* article provided further evidence that Twain’s reputation was gradually shifting from that of merely a popular humorist to one deserving of serious scholarly attention as a ‘representative’ American who ‘incarnates’ the nation’s democratic history at the precise moment it marches into a position of pre-eminence over world affairs. These twin phenomena, the projection forward of

⁴³ *Cambridge History* (2005), p.2.

⁴⁴ Renker, *The Origins of American Literature Studies: An Institutional History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.119.

⁴⁵ Power, *Conversations*, p.107.

⁴⁶ Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (London: Arrow, 1994), p.16.

⁴⁷ Stuart Sherman, ‘Mark Twain’, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, vol.3, ed. by W. P. Trent and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p.1.

⁴⁸ Pontuale, *In Their Own Terms*, p.5.

⁴⁹ Stuart P. Sherman, *On Contemporary Literature* (London: Grant Richards, 1923), p.84.

political influence and the retroactive construction of a representative national literature, coalesced in this period as two sides of the same coin.

A question mark hangs over the significance Joyce attached to Twain, however. In a 1937 letter to David Fleischman, Joyce asks him to take notes from *Huckleberry Finn*. The letter reveals that Joyce, like many of his contemporaries, viewed the book primarily as a children's book, as he is certain that Fleischman 'will have read [it] as a young boy, probably more than once'.⁵⁰ Joyce continues: 'I need to know something about it. [...] I should like you to mark with blue pencil in the margin the most important passages of the plot itself and in red pencil here and there wherever the words or dialogue seem to call for special attention of a European. [...] Many thanks in advance but if for any reason you cannot do this it will be no great loss' (*LIII* 401-2). Clearly this last line poses a problem for any exegete wishing to stake a claim for the importance of Twain for Joyce. Scholars have for the most part limited Twain's significance to providing a source of colourful Americanisms.⁵¹ Nevertheless, in his messianic and foundational roles within American letters at a time of cultural expansion and legitimation, Twain offers an interesting American context for the persona of resurrected, city-building HCE in the *Wake*, particularly in III.3 where a great deal of American material is used by Joyce to flesh out the bombastic claims of the city-founder who 'ran up a score and four of mes while the Yanks were huckling the Empire' (*FW* 543.05-6). That Joyce thought of Twain as such a foundational figure and germane to HCE's character and the *Wake* is in evidence in a 1937 letter to Helen Joyce:

Thanks for the précis of the book. It is what I wanted. The markings not so much. But I can find my way. I now see I shall have to start back with *Tom Sawyer* so am reading that to Jolas. I like Twain's preface. It would suit *WiP*. And even a cursory glance at the text shows me that Pound, Hemingway, McAlmon and the others all came out of Samuel L Clemens' work-basket.⁵²

This swings the pendulum back in favour of Twain being an important influence on Joyce's late conception of American literature and *Work in Progress*.

However, the optimism and assertion of the *Cambridge History* is not sustained by comments Joyce made elsewhere to Power:

⁵⁰ In a remark that could apply to Twain, Lawrence writes: 'We like to think of the old-fashioned American classics as children's books'; see *Studies*, p.13.

⁵¹ See for instance Daniel Ferrer's introduction to notebook VI.B.47, p.11; or John Bishop, *Joyce's Book of the Dark: Finnegans Wake* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p.111.

⁵² Letter from James Joyce, Grand Hôtel Dieppe to Helen Joyce, 11 September 1937. Accessed at the Hans E. Jahnke Bequest at the Zürich James Joyce Foundation online at the National Library Of Ireland, 7 July 2014. <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000576137/HierarchyTree#page/1/mode/1up>. My thanks to Wim van Mierlo for his help with deciphering Joyce's handwriting.

- [Joyce] *Ulysses* also is mediaeval, but in a more realistic way, and so you will find that the whole trend of modern thought is going in that direction, [...].
- [Power] But America, I protested, there is nothing mediaeval about her, and her influence is going to be greater and greater as time goes on. She is going to produce a lot in literature in the next fifty years, in fact she is producing it at the moment.
- Political influence, yes, he agreed, but not cultural. I do not think that she is going to produce much literature of importance as yet, for to produce literature a country must first be vintaged, have an odour in other words. What is the first thing you notice about a country when you arrive in it? Its odour, which is the gauge of its civilisation and it is that odour which percolates into its literature. Just as Rabelais smells of France in the Middle Ages and Don Quixote smells of the Spain of his time, so *Ulysses* smells of the Dublin of my day.⁵³

The smell of *Ulysses* aside, Joyce notably argues in favour of the very claim that the first *Cambridge History* attempted to refute: that American literature is a literature without a history. As we have seen, in responding to a generational shift in American letters before 1914 Joyce was roughly in line with contemporary American scholarship. However, the inter-war period was one in which literary historiography (making claims for ‘vintage’) reigned as the principal influence over scholarship in the United States.⁵⁴ Sherman’s article on Twain underscored a trend in the scholarship of the period in celebrating his work primarily because it afforded historical and sociological insight into the American past. *Pace* Joyce, literary historiographers in the US, in the ongoing process of monumentalising American letters, were consciously constructing the very thing Joyce claimed it lacked. Provisionally, then, Joyce cuts against the grain of consensus post-WWI regarding the American canon, in a move that would appear to deny an earlier revolutionary promise of literary self-determination.

One of the most important interventions in the re-evaluation of US literature in the mid-twentieth century was F.O. Matthiessen’s *American Renaissance*. The impact in 1941 of this work was ‘immediate and profound’.⁵⁵ Matthiessen effectively created the sense or spirit of the age that is now still referred to as the American Renaissance, which began in the 1830s and culminated in the 1850s with the publication of key works by Matthiessen’s five representatives: Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, and Whitman. Between 1850-1855, those authors produced such works as defined the age and the American literary tradition as we see it now: *Representative Men* (1850), *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), *Moby Dick* (1851), *Pierre* (1852), *Walden* (1851), and *Leaves of Grass* (1855).

In terms of writers’ reputations, *American Renaissance* did more than confirm a quietly gathering consensus that Melville was a great writer; it placed him at the heart of an American literary

⁵³ Power, *Conversations*, pp.107-08.

⁵⁴ Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus*, p.xvii.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.41.

tradition which, despite certain correctives and caveats, continues largely unquestioned today. Through his ‘full-voiced affirmation of democratic dignity’, Melville confirmed how ‘a great theme could be created from the common stuff of American life’.⁵⁶ One can imagine, with only very slight alteration, the same being said of *Ulysses*. Matthiessen himself seems to anticipate such comparisons and *American Renaissance* makes numerous references to Joyce.⁵⁷ Of course, however, the point to be made here is that such comparisons post-date Joyce and that Joyce, if he had even heard of Melville, would most likely not have heard of Melville as representative of ‘life in America’.⁵⁸

Matthiessen would have a similar impact on Thoreau’s now incontrovertible place in the canon, launching ‘a whole series of studies of Thoreau’s artistry’.⁵⁹ Before that, however, it took the Depression of the 1930s following an ‘eclipse’ in his reputation either side of the First World War to spark a revival of interest in Thoreau and his philosophy of self-sufficiency and ‘left-wing individualism’.⁶⁰ Matthiessen notes that ‘Thoreau has not ordinarily been approached primarily as an artist. His first disciples tended to think of him as a naturalist, [...]’.⁶¹ It follows then that Joyce thought of Thoreau as a ‘disciple of Bernadin de St. Pierre, Chateaubriand, and others of that school’, if that school is understood in the light of Romantic concerns about the influence of civilisation over ideas about the natural order.⁶² Given the connection Joyce already establishes between the two, it is striking that he takes a whole series of American notes from Chateaubriand’s *Atala* and *Voyage en Amérique*, but nothing from Thoreau. What then to make of Joyce’s cryptic note in VI.B.5: ‘American 1 thing / for Chateaub, other / for us’ (VI.B.5.134(a))?

I have taken two examples of writers largely ignored by Joyce and, with certain caveats and modifications, the same conclusions would be reached for Hawthorne and Emerson. Whitman is the exception here, and I will discuss him in greater detail shortly. In the note above, Joyce seems to be suggesting a shift in America’s significance between his time and that of Chateaubriand. And ‘for us’ – contemporary readers, that is – that significance has changed again. With regards to the literature of the United States, *American Renaissance* was a seminal text in driving those changes. It is thus essential when considering Joyce’s opinions on American writers and their works that we bear in mind the extent to which the canon changed following Matthiessen’s influential work.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.445.

⁵⁷ See for instance, pp.25; 127; 234; 242; 289; 291; 314-15; 432; 581; 630.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.372.

⁵⁹ Walter Harding, ‘Thoreau’s Reputation’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Henry David Thoreau*, ed. by Joel Myerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1995), p.8.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.8; Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.77.

⁶¹ *American Renaissance*, p.76.

⁶² Power, *Conversations*, p.108.

Joyce and the American Short Story in the Age of Roosevelt, 1901-09

The short story form, above all others, has been historically constructed as an authentically American form.⁶³ Frank O'Connor, in his widely-cited study of the form, *The Lonely Voice*, simply echoed this long-held idea when he wrote that 'Americans have handled the short story so wonderfully that one can say that it is a national art form'.⁶⁴ Contemporaneous with the composition period for *Dubliners*, a 1904 review in the *New York Times* of an anthology of American short stories claimed that 'whatever may be said about American literature (even to the point of refusing to acknowledge that it exists), America has at least evolved for herself the typical modern form, the short story'.⁶⁵ Moreover, the modern short story's construction as a distinctly American art form – a concept freshly revived under the cultural nationalism of a Gaelic Revival-influenced Theodore Roosevelt – came in part as a response to calls within the US for a non-derivative national literature.⁶⁶ Here we see a vital connection with much Irish writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and indeed with the Joycean *oeuvre*: the development of a national literature as a conscious process of de-Anglicisation and decolonisation.

This section will focus on the historically specific meanings that were being attached to the short story genre during the 1900s in order to elucidate how the by-now heavily overdetermined genre became closely associated with American literature and its relevance to Joyce. The most obvious marker of an intertextual relationship is Joyce's use of the title of Bret Harte's *Gabriel Conroy* for his protagonist in 'The Dead'. Bonnie Roos argues for the importance of Harte's work as a source and allusive framework for Joyce's story.⁶⁷ Roos claims that Joyce 'obscures his history in the allusion to Harte's *Gabriel Conroy* that, as a less-canonical American text, was not the same literature likely to be read by Joyce's ideal readers'.⁶⁸ This section will stress that Harte, far from being a 'less-canonical American text', was widely regarded in the early twentieth century as the most important American writer of short stories since Washington Irving and his significance to his Irish readers as a thoroughly decolonised writer would not have been obscure.

First, the question of the short story's status as a distinctly American art form in the early twentieth century. Early French reviews of *Dubliners* tended to register the difference between Joyce and the most famous French practitioners of the *conte*. They noted the 'total absence of ulterior motive' in

⁶³ Evidence for this claim will be discussed shortly.

⁶⁴ Frank O'Connor, *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p.41.

⁶⁵ 'Native Stories: American Short Stories', *New York Times*, 29 October 1904, p.734.

⁶⁶ For Roosevelt's links to the Gaelic Revival, see Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2002), pp.313; 451.

⁶⁷ Bonnie Roos, 'James Joyce's "The Dead" and Bret Harte's *Gabriel Conroy*: The Nature of the Feast', in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol.15 no.1 (2002), pp.99-126.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.124.

Joyce's stories, which differentiated them from Maupassant, Flaubert and Huysmans.⁶⁹ Tim Armstrong suggests, as an alternative to a comprehensively French modernist genealogy from Baudelaire through Flaubert and on eventually to Eliot, locating modernism's origins in America, where mechanisation and the mass market – 'informed by fierce debates on nationhood and slavery' – combined to produce 'an art conditioned by commodity status and by an audience whose attention span is limited, rather than seeking to place itself "beyond" bourgeois modernity'.⁷⁰ Armstrong quotes Poe's insight that 'the whole energetic, busy spirit of the age tended wholly to the Magazine literature – to the curt, the terse, the well-timed, and the readily diffused, in preference to the old forms of the ponderous & the inaccessible'. This modernist genealogy places a heavy emphasis on the short story – 'a genre developed most markedly by Poe, Hawthorne and other Americans'. The compression required by the form produced, Armstrong argues, 'an extreme formalism predicated on concentration of effect and intensity of reception'.⁷¹ Armstrong's alternative history of modernism, with its roots in the American short story, suggests a persuasive alternative basis on which to judge Joyce's concept of the short story as a genre. Joyce himself indicates as much when he describes Poe as the 'high priest of most modern schools' (*OCPW* 58).

Discussing the claim that the short story is uniquely American, Andrew Levy argues that 'it is difficult to find a period or venue in the past one hundred years in which the belief that the short story is an American art form was not widespread'.⁷² Irving's *Sketch-Book* and Poe's review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* were widely regarded as the starting points for the early development and theorisation respectively of a literary innovation that many regarded as having been invented (like Joyce, according to Flann O'Brien⁷³) in America.⁷⁴ While Levy concedes that 'it is difficult to support the canonical claim that the genre is a distinctly American art form', he goes on to point out that 'it is far easier to document that the conscious birth of the short story as a literary genre was an American product of the mid- and late nineteenth century'.⁷⁵ This is precisely the point; the construction of the short story *as a genre* had a distinctive made-in-America stamp on it. Of particular importance here is Brander Matthews' 1885 essay 'The Philosophy of the Short Story'. Matthews, building on the distinctions first proposed by Poe, addressed what he saw as the 'strange neglect of the Short-story'

⁶⁹ See *James Joyce: the Critical Heritage*, ed. by Robert H. Deming (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1970), pp.69-74.

⁷⁰ Tim Armstrong *Modernism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), p.23. Others who have placed modernism's origins in the United States include Frank Lentricchia, *Modernist Quartet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.51-52.

⁷² Andrew Levy, *The Culture and Commerce of the American Short Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.27-28.

⁷³ Quoted in Seamus Deane's introduction to *Finnegans Wake* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.xlvii.

⁷⁴ See for instance John Seelye, 'The American Short Story, 1807-1900' in *The Columbia Companion to the Twentieth-Century American Short Story*, ed. by Blanche H. Gelfant (Chichester, Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2000), p.16.

⁷⁵ Levy, *Culture and Commerce*, p.1.

and made the case for its consideration as a discrete genre.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he considered himself the first to make such a distinction – a point reiterated in Fred Lewis Pattee’s 1923 survey of the genre.⁷⁷ If indeed the conscious birth of the short story as a literary genre was an American product of the mid- to late nineteenth century, as Levy attests, then Matthews was undoubtedly its midwife.

Moreover, Matthews stresses America’s profound connection with the newly defined genre: ‘Almost as soon as America began to have any literature at all it had good Short-stories. [...] for fifty years the American Short-story has had a supremacy which any competent critic could not but acknowledge’.⁷⁸ The short story in America in the mid- and late nineteenth century experienced a deepening of its connection to expressions of national culture. Hawthorne and Poe could be caricatured as ‘recreant Europeans’, as D.H. Lawrence put it, but later short story writers were consciously associated with proclamations of literary independence.⁷⁹ Indeed, the very construction of the short story as a distinct genre contributed to this development. Harte’s equally important essay ‘The Rise of the Short Story’ also insisted on such non-derivative origins.⁸⁰ Thus Matthews’ ‘genre-fication of the short story’, according to Levy, represented ‘an informal declaration of independence from an economic and cultural subservience to European literature’.⁸¹ Even if it is difficult to support the canonical claim that the genre is a distinctly American art form, from the 1880s on it was evidently associated with claims for literary independence from the English tradition in particular.

Another key factor between 1871 and 1914 was the proliferation of magazines and writing for magazines. This was especially important in the rise of the American short story, which filled the pages of the rapidly increasing numbers of magazines. Between 1885 and 1901, cheaper printing methods helped create a ‘boom period’ in the history of the American magazine.⁸² The 1890s in particular saw a huge rise in circulation, leading Richard Ohmann to note that ‘even the sober historians of American magazines feel compelled to call it a “revolution”’.⁸³ As a phase of ‘print-capitalism’, as the term is used by Benedict Anderson, magazines played a crucial role in disseminating new kinds of distinctively American fiction to an ever-increasing number of people.⁸⁴ In addition, the establishment of new international copyright agreements in 1891 was crucial for both the commercial success of the magazine and the concomitant construction of the short story as a distinctly American form.⁸⁵

⁷⁶ Brander Matthews, *The Philosophy of the Short-story* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), p.13.

⁷⁷ Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story*, p.293.

⁷⁸ Matthews, *The Philosophy of the Short-story*, pp.49-51.

⁷⁹ Lawrence, *Studies*, p.11.

⁸⁰ See Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story*, p.232.

⁸¹ Levy, *The Culture and Commerce of the American Short Story*, p.34.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁸³ Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996), p.25.

⁸⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), p.66.

⁸⁵ Levy, *The Culture and Commerce of the American Short Story*, p.34.

The composition period for *Dubliners* then coincided with an intense period of consensus-building on the American-ness of the form. It also coincided with a period of consensus-building in Ireland that American literature provided powerful instances of a thoroughly decolonised literary culture. America itself clearly presented a case study of a country emerging out of English colonial domination and its writings stood out as conscious acts of self-determination. As Declan Kiberd has argued, Yeats and other Irish writers contemporary with Joyce were responding to the ‘democratic’ forms of American writing circulating in Ireland at the time. Yeats’ ‘notions of a national literature were derived from Walt Whitman’ and the ‘decolonising programme of the [Abbey] theatre was made very obvious by Yeats’ repeated invocations of the writers of the American Renaissance as models for his own’.⁸⁶ Yeats’ 1892 letter to the editor of *United Ireland*, in which he set out in unambiguous terms what he thought American literature meant for Irish audiences, provides a good example of one such invocation of America:

America, with no past to speak of, a mere *parvenu* among the nations, is creating a national literature which in its most characteristic products differs almost as much from English literature as does the literature of France. Walt Whitman, Thoreau, Bret Harte, and Cable, to name no more, are very American, and yet America was once an English colony. It should be easy for us, who have in us that wild Celtic blood, the most un-English of all things under heaven, to make such a literature.⁸⁷

In addition, John Todhunter, the Dublin-born friend of the Yeats family, based his 1891 play *The Poison Flower* on Hawthorne’s 1844 short story ‘Rappaccini’s Daughter’.⁸⁸ As Edna Longley points out, Yeats had praised Emerson, while George Russell (AE) also thought the Revival should do ‘what Emerson did for the New Englanders’.⁸⁹ In both *Reveries Over Childhood and Youth* and *The Trembling of the Veil* Yeats recalled his ambition to live ‘in imitation of Thoreau’.⁹⁰

The age of Roosevelt saw a deepening of ties between Irish writers and America. The relationship was closely connected to the emergence of cultural movements in the 1880s and 1890s in both countries emphasising de-Anglicisation and the formation of an ‘un-English’ literary canon. In the US, Brander Matthews, in concert with Roosevelt, had led an ‘academic revolt’ and established a literary canon whose emphasis on a ‘manly’ ideology and ‘true Americanism’ would to a large extent

⁸⁶ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p.164.

⁸⁷ *W.B. Yeats: Uncollected Prose, Vol.1, First Reviews and Articles, 1886-1896*, ed. by John P. Frayne (London: Macmillan, 1970), p.255.

⁸⁸ See R.F. Foster’s *W.B. Yeats, A Life, Vol.1, The Apprentice Mage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.12; 75. For Todhunter’s *The Poison Flower*, see Phillip L. Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p.159.

⁸⁹ Edna Longley, “‘Why Should Men’s Heads Ache?’: Yeats and American Modernism’, in *Something We Have That They Don’t: British & American Poetic Relations Since 1925*, ed. by Steve Clark & Mark Ford (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), p.32.

⁹⁰ *W. B. Yeats: Autobiographies*, ed. by William H. O’Donnell and Douglas N. Archibald (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.85; 139.

define the literature of the 1900s when Roosevelt was in power.⁹¹ Author of *The Winning of the West*, Roosevelt had a keen interest in the folklore and folk songs of the West – what he called ‘genuine Americana’.⁹² American literature in this period was thus heavily marked by his own preference for a kind of muscular, adventurous literature of the West. Pattee describes the decade following the 1898 war with Spain as a ‘period of picturesque personalities and of stirring fiction from the pens of adventurers. This was the age of Roosevelt and the strenuous life’.⁹³ The boys’ illicit reading material in ‘An Encounter’ – *The Apache Chief* – was thus very much in the spirit of the age, as was some of Joyce’s own reading material; his Trieste library contained a copy of Harte’s *Tales of the West* as well as *Gabriel Conroy*. In Ireland, since Douglas Hyde’s 1892 address to the Irish Literary Society in Dublin on the ‘Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland’ and the subsequent founding of the Gaelic League, a strain of Irish cultural nationalism had focused specifically on the issue of achieving cultural independence through de-Anglicisation. As Kiberd argues, Hyde’s analysis of Irish cultural politics had the ‘salutary’ effect of signalling ‘a rebirth of cultural and literary criticism’.⁹⁴ Similarly in the US, the cultural nationalism of the 1890s led in the 1900s under the impetus of a presidential fillip to a resurgence in Americanist materials being published. As Kermit Vanderbilt points out: ‘By the turn of the century, a surge of national pride encouraged the study of American literature, and publishing houses soon competed for textbook authors to satisfy the new market’.⁹⁵ Roosevelt’s enthusiasm for ‘genuine Americana’ was part of a concerted effort to defend American artistic and literary output from ‘un-American’ influences, much as in Ireland ‘reactive patriotism which saw Ireland as not-England’ had led to denunciations of its ‘bad citizens’ as ‘un-Irish’.⁹⁶

Although subject to a number of important caveats, the juxtaposition of cultural nationalism in Ireland and America in the ‘age of Roosevelt’ reveals other intriguing connections. Crucially, as one of Roosevelt’s biographers notes: ‘He hoped for a revival of American culture similar to the Gaelic revival going on in Ireland at the same time’. To this end, Roosevelt ‘publicised the Gaelic Revival promoted by [John] Quinn and Lady Gregory, and he applauded their introduction of Yeats, Joyce, and Synge to American audiences. After he left office he wrote again that Americans would do well to emulate the Gaelic revival to appreciate and stimulate the flowering of their own national culture’.⁹⁷ Of Yeats’ five visits to the United States, the first was made in 1903-04, just before Joyce starting writing ‘The Sisters’. The 17-week tour, which included 64 lectures, also included a lunch with the Roosevelt family at the White House on 28 December 1903.⁹⁸ As Roy Foster notes, the

⁹¹ Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p.38.

⁹² Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p.314.

⁹³ Pattee, *The Development of the Short Story*, p.347.

⁹⁴ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p.142.

⁹⁵ Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy*, p.3.

⁹⁶ For ‘un-American’, see Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde's America*, p.38; for ‘un-Irish’, see Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p.141.

⁹⁷ Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p.451.

⁹⁸ See Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life, Vol.1*, p.305.

President ‘was already a firm supporter of the Irish literary movement, and a particular admirer of Lady Gregory’s work’.⁹⁹ Yeats later wrote to Frank Fay to say how he had found the President ‘extraordinarily well informed about our whole movement – indeed, one of the best read men I have ever met’.¹⁰⁰ Roosevelt’s interest continued after his presidency; he attended the Abbey Theatre’s production in New York of *The Playboy of the Western World* with Lady Gregory and John Quinn and is said to have applauded loudly.¹⁰¹ He also contributed a prefatory note to a piece on the Abbey for his journal *Outlook*, which showed again the stress placed on literature’s perceived nationalist imperative – ‘like every healthy movement of the kind, [the Abbey] has been thoroughly national’. As John Harrington points out, the former president saw the Abbey in terms of a kind of ‘national drama arms race’.¹⁰²

Connections were also made between the Gaelic League, de-Anglicisation, and the modernising politics of the Progressive Era, which from 1890-1920 saw a huge upsurge in social reform movements in America, including socialism, suffragism, labour reform, anti-imperialism and trade unionism. Progressivism was not, of course, limited to America. Joyce would have been familiar enough with the ‘Edwardian-style opinion mongering’ of literary social reformers such as Shaw – mocked by Joyce for being the champion of ‘all the progressive movements in both art and politics’ (*OCPW* 154) – not to mention, say, Wells or Galsworthy.¹⁰³ In Ireland, moreover, Frederick Ryan and the Revivalist Stephen Gwynn argued in 1904 over such ideas in successive issues of *Dana*. Ryan asked first: ‘Is the Gaelic League a Progressive force?’¹⁰⁴ He argued that its ‘mediaevalism’ is contrary to a modern nation’s progress.¹⁰⁵ Significantly, however, Gwynn’s response, which argued that the League is a Progressive force, specifically invoked America to counter Ryan’s argument.¹⁰⁶ Gwynn put it to Ryan that America, although ‘heir to the English literature’, has developed its own literature which is used as the basis of American education and ‘her national spirit is in no danger’. He added that now ‘America is mistress in her own house’.¹⁰⁷ Gwynn is more cautious than Ryan in his direct appeal to Progressivism and modernity. The Revivalists were largely anti-socialist, anti-trade unions, and, clearly for Ryan, anti-Progressive. By contrast, the idea of a modern Irish ‘resurgence’ that Joyce references in his Trieste writings stood in many ways opposed to what Len Platt has

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.308.

¹⁰⁰ *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats*, Vol. 3, ed. by John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p.500.

¹⁰¹ John P. Harrington, *The Irish Play on the New York Stage, 1874-1966* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), p.71.

¹⁰² Harrington, ‘The Abbey in America: The Real Thing’, in *Irish Theatre on Tour*, ed. by Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash (Dublin: Carysfort, 2005), p.40.

¹⁰³ Chris Baldick, *Literature of the 1920s: Writers Among the Ruins* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p.47.

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Ryan, ‘Is the Gaelic League a Progressive Force?’, in *Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought*, vol.1, no.7, pp.216-20.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.218.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen Gwynn, ‘In Praise of the Gaelic League’, in *Dana*, vol.1, no.8, pp.239-44.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.240.

described as the ‘anti-modernism’ of Revivalism’s main proponents.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, as with Yeats before him, Gwynn’s invocation of America was in part an attempt to hitch Revivalism’s wagon onto America’s particularly modern-looking star – very much in the ascendancy in 1904.

Turning back to Joyce, *Dubliners* plays with a concept of modernity in at least one way that is tied to America and the short story. The short story form in America was strongly associated with an appeal to busy readers, in the manner of Bloom’s ‘final meditations’ in ‘Ithaca’ on an advertisement ‘with all extraneous accretions excluded, reduced to its simplest and most efficient terms not exceeding the span of casual vision and congruous with the velocity of modern life’ (*U* 17.1771-73). Like Bloom’s advertisements, the American short story – particularly those of someone like O. Henry – was quintessentially modern in its relation to the pace of modern, urban life, facilitating and reflecting it, as well as exhibiting ‘characteristics which associate particularly with “the man on the street”’.¹⁰⁹ The man on the street who ‘has just skipped out of the way of the tram’ is precisely the figure – quintessentially modern – Joyce told Stanislaus he intended to use to illustrate his ‘idea of the significance of trivial things’.¹¹⁰ Harte had suggested that perhaps ‘the proverbial haste of American life was some inducement to [the short story’s] brevity’.¹¹¹ *Dubliners*, too, incorporates this especially urban sense of modern ‘haste’. The narrator in ‘After the Race’ states: ‘Rapid motion through space elates one’ (*D* 37). In ‘Two Gallants’, Lenehan is ‘hurried’ or ‘hurrying’ while Corley and the ‘slavey’ are ‘walking quickly’ (*D* 53-4); for Gallaher in ‘A Little Cloud’, being ‘amid the bustle and competition of the Press’ means ‘always hurry and scurry’ (*D* 70; 72); he is only in ‘no hurry’ when it comes to marriage (*D* 77); for ‘hurried’ Little Chandler, it ‘was his habit to walk swiftly in the street even by day’ (*D* 67); in ‘Counterparts’, the ‘chief clerk began to hurry Miss Parker, saying she would never have the letters typed in time for post’ (*D* 86) while Farrington is more harried than hurried throughout the story to finish his work on time – the only time he moves ‘quickly’ is on his way to slake his thirst in O’Neill’s (*D* 84); in ‘A Mother’, several characters are ‘in a hurry’ or going somewhere ‘quickly’ (*D* 138-9); ‘modern business methods’ have in a sense accelerated Mr Kernan’s fall in ‘Grace’ (*D* 153), and stand out in pointed contrast to talk elsewhere of the ‘old times’ (*D* 70; 100) or ‘them times’ (*D* 119). It is precisely the proverbial haste of everyday modern life that Gabriel refers to during his dinner speech which luxuriates over the pleasure of a more ‘spacious age’: ‘Therefore I will not linger on the past. [...] Here we are gathered together for a brief moment from the bustle and rush of our everyday routine’ (*D* 204-05). Even Joyce’s stated desire to write only a ‘chapter’ in Ireland’s ‘moral history’ with Dublin ‘for the scene’ points to a similar need for an

¹⁰⁸ See Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: a Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p.11.

¹⁰⁹ *The Cambridge Introduction to the American Short Story*, ed. by Martin Scofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.8.

¹¹⁰ Quoted from Stanislaus Joyce’s *Diary* in Ellmann’s *James Joyce*, p.163.

¹¹¹ Bret Harte, ‘The Rise of the “Short Story”’, in *The Cornhill Magazine*, July 1899, p.1.

epiphanic brevity. American writer Frank Norris had claimed in 1902 that the short story was 'at present undergoing the most radical revolution in the history of literature' in adapting itself to the present.¹¹² To a certain extent, then, the modernity of *Dubliners* also borrows from this literary revolution in short fiction allied to the rise of an American form of hustling and bustling bourgeois modernity which also made a point of its independence from English literary models.¹¹³

Elsewhere, some of Joyce's comments on *Dubliners* reveal what might be thought of as an analogous desire for the transformation, or modernisation, of social relations between people in Ireland as had come to define the ideals of the so-called Progressive Era. 'I seriously believe', Joyce wrote to Grant Richards on 5 May 1906, 'that you will retard the course of civilisation in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass' (*LI* 64). Although hardly an out-and-out Progressive, the period 1901-09 includes the years in which Joyce referred to himself as a 'socialistic artist' (*LII*: 89). John McCourt has argued forcefully for the influence of Triestine socialism in particular on Joyce's writing, noting how 'the characters of all his works are working-class or lower-middle-class people, often poor and struggling to come to terms with the issues that dominated socialist talk in Trieste'.¹¹⁴ The most obvious example of an American socialist short-story writer would be Jack London. Along with O. Henry, London represented the growth of the popular short story at the turn of the century.¹¹⁵ Pattee went so far as to claim: 'To understand the opening years of the new century one must study Jack Londonism'.¹¹⁶ Framing Joyce with Jack Londonism and the modern American short story reveals interesting new perspectives and offers tempting intertextual points of reference for Joyce's 'scrupulous meanness' (*LII* 134). London's international fame was made on the back of *The Call of the Wild* (1903), which was enhanced further by another collection of Alaskan stories, *The Faith of Men* (1904). London had also fallen deeply under the influence of Marxism. *The People of the Abyss* (1903) was an extremely modern version of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1884, in which London lived in the East End of the city sharing his name in order to document 'the life of the under-world'.¹¹⁷ The journalistic 'realism' of this 'real' American writer was based on, in particular, the revelatory experience of witnessing the 'bottom of the Social Pit', as he put it in 'How I Became a Socialist' (1903).¹¹⁸ Indeed, Henry James was probably referring to such Jack Londonism when he deplored in

¹¹² Cited in Pattee, *The Development of the Short Story*, p.338.

¹¹³ Stead described 'the hustle and the bustle [...] which distinguish the modern American type', in *The Americanization of the World*, p.280.

¹¹⁴ John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), p.72.

¹¹⁵ *The Cambridge Introduction to the American Short Story*, p.115.

¹¹⁶ Pattee, *The Development of the Short Story*, p.348.

¹¹⁷ Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (London: Pluto, 2001), p.xiii.

¹¹⁸ *Jack London: Novels and Social Writings* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1982), p.1119.

1909 an excessive focus in contemporary literature on ‘the preponderant futilities and vulgarities and miseries of life’.¹¹⁹

While it would probably be more accurate to describe Jack Londonism rather than Jack London himself as the more likely of influences on Joyce, the kind of anti-capitalist social-change fiction that London represented is remarkably close in tone to the opening of ‘After the Race’, for instance: ‘At the crest of the hill at Inchicore sightseers had gathered in clumps to watch the cars careering homeward and through this channel of poverty and inaction the Continent sped its wealth and industry. Now and again the clumps of people raised the cheer of the gratefully oppressed’ (*D* 35). These channels of poverty run throughout *Dubliners*. ‘The Sisters’ moves from Great Britain Street (now Parnell Street), where ‘two poor women’ stand outside the ‘unassuming shop’ reading the card which said Father Flynn had worked in Meath Street in the Liberties, another down-and-out part of a city with many more like it (*D* 3-4). Irishtown, where Father Flynn was born, was another (*D* 9). However, even the more salubrious Westmoreland Street had its ‘ragged urchins’ (*D* 89). Little Chandler crossing Grattan Bridge – another disappointed bridge in that Grattan’s Parliament had led ultimately to union and Westminster rule – ‘pitied the poor stunted houses’ by the quays, which ‘seemed to him a band of tramps’ (*D* 68). Just before that, he had ‘walked swiftly down Henrietta Street’ for reasons perhaps other than his anxiety over meeting Gallaher. Henrietta Street, having once been home to the ruling elite of the eighteenth century (members of Grattan’s Parliament) was by this time a notorious slum, as Joyce notes: ‘A horde of grimy children populated the street. [...] He picked his way deftly through all that minute vermin-like life and under the shadow of the gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roistered’ (*D* 66). Although *Dubliners* does not foreground the ‘people of the abyss’, Joyce nevertheless had to defend the fact that the ‘odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs around my stories’ (*LI* 63). The moral imperative to reflect honestly and without euphemism the debased conditions to which they have been witness is indicative of the socialistic impulse of both writers during this period. Notes for the *Wake* and allusions within that work (*FW* 071.15; 480.04) attest to a continued interest in London.¹²⁰

However, a notable shift occurs in Joyce’s attitude to the US over the course of the writing of *Dubliners*. The first indication of Joyce’s attitude to American literature occurs in a 1903 review of the novelist and short story writer John Lane Allen’s latest work, *The Mettle of the Pasture* (*OCPW* 82-3). Joyce’s comment that ‘the general current of the book arrests the reader by its suggestion of an eager lively race working out its destiny among other races’ evokes the youthful energy of an up-and-coming America, while at the same time implying that it is still a work in progress, transitional

¹¹⁹ Henry James, preface to *The Aspern Papers and Other Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.xlii. James, like the Misses Bordereau of ‘The Aspern Papers’, was ‘believed to have lost in [his] long exile all national quality’ (p.1) and as such stood in sharp contrast to the American writers discussed here so far, which would explain his apparently limited appeal to Joyce. For instances of Joyce expressing this lack of appeal, see *LII* 76; 81; 85; 87; 203-04.

¹²⁰ Thomas E. Connolly, *Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for Finnegans Wake* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961), p.186.

(*OCPW* 82-83). In this sense, it is perhaps best placed (tentatively) in the context of an ‘emergent-nation internationalism’, a discourse of national emancipation from imperial domination.¹²¹ This fits with Yeats’ characterisation of America as ‘a mere *parvenu* among the nations’, still ‘working out its destiny among other races’. As such, Joyce’s early attitude to the American short story appears to correlate with contemporary perceptions of American literature as an exemplary decolonising model. Some of Joyce’s most explicit comments on his short stories also have the appearance of a similar declaration of cultural self-determination ‘I believe that in composing my chapter of moral history in exactly the way I have composed it I have taken the first step towards the spiritual liberation of my country’ (*LI* 62-3). However, it is also highly unlikely that Joyce’s concept of spiritual liberation equated to literary revivalists’ aspirations of living ‘in imitation of Thoreau’ or working to replicate a model of New England Transcendentalism in Dublin. In 1906, a change in attitude is clearly signalled in his letter to Stanislaus where he claims: ‘Renan was right when he said we are marching towards universal Americanism’ (*LII* 197). The apparent shift from an emergent nation to one seemingly closer in spirit to a cultural imperium is not an easy one to explain, nor can it be explained away. Roosevelt is surely significant again. His presidency is widely regarded as having decisively marked the end of American isolationism and the beginning of the American empire.¹²² Although there are some disagreements among scholars over whether or to what degree Roosevelt was indeed an expansionist, there is little doubt that he campaigned for American cultural imperialism at home and abroad.¹²³ American foreign policy around the turn of the century was certainly picked up in Ireland and discussed in terms of ‘American imperialism’ – a term used even then – but Joyce’s 1906 letter is the first reference we get in his writings to America in those terms.¹²⁴

Dubliners does not deal with American imperialism in any manifest form, but it does register Joyce’s change in attitude towards the US. This can be seen in the use of Harte’s *Gabriel Conroy* in ‘The Dead’ in a way that subtly interrogates Joyce’s character’s ‘journey westwards’ (*D* 225). Harte was, unquestionably, a renowned author on both sides of the Atlantic in the early twentieth century, and was very popular and widely read. Even among scholars, the first substantive indication that his

¹²¹ See Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, p.18.

¹²² The historiography on the end of American isolationism and the beginning of American empire is vast. For works that place the rise of American imperialism in the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, see: Paul T. McCartney, *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Ernest Richard May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (London: Harper and Row, 1973); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

¹²³ Lawrence J. Oliver, ‘Theodore Roosevelt, Brander Matthews, and the Campaign for Literary Americanism’, in *American Quarterly*, vol.41, no.1 (March, 1989), p.94.

¹²⁴ See for instance, *Freeman’s Journal*, September 5, 1900; 23 March, 1900; 19 March, 1900; 13 February, 1900; 6 December, 1899; 18 September, 1899; 28 August, 1899; 26 August, 1899; 23 January, 1899; 20 June, 1898.

critical reputation had begun to waver didn't arrive until the mid-1930s.¹²⁵ Before then, to most critics of the early twentieth century Harte 'seemed nothing less than a world-class literary original'.¹²⁶ In Ireland, he was described in the press variously as a writer 'in the first rank of the makers of a distinctively American literature'; among 'the very best authors of today'; and among 'the foremost writers of the age'.¹²⁷ In Joseph Holloway's *Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*, he describes scenes from Shaw's *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet* as being 'like a page torn out of Bret Harte and brought to life on the stage'.¹²⁸ Lady Gregory wrote that Shaw's play 'reproduces in some measure the subject and the feeling of Bret Harte's *Luck of Roaring Camp*'.¹²⁹ Indeed, part of the point of Shaw's transference of the 'summary and violent' justice of the play to the 'Far West', as Joyce described it (*OCPW* 153), was to use the American setting and association with Harte to enact what Lucy McDiarmid calls a 'drama of Irish cultural resistance'.¹³⁰ As in Yeats's letter to *United Ireland*, Harte was being used by an Irish writer to make a declaration of cultural resistance to British colonial rule. Initially at least, Joyce appears to be setting the reader up for a story with overt nationalist claims.

The 'cultural resistance' of Joyce's Gabriel has, however, a highly particular inflection. He holidays on the continent; he contributes to the pro-establishment *Daily Express*; he stands for a certain type of cosmopolitanism when 'cosmopolitanism', as *Stephen Hero* notes (*SH* 103), was for some little more than a dirty word, or 'foreign filth' (*SH* 103). It is such traits which lead to Miss Ivors' accusation that he is a 'West Briton' (*D* 190). However, as we already know, Joyce also wrote for the *Daily Express*, had a deep attachment to the continent and embodied a certain kind of cosmopolitanism. Joyce's autobiographical cannibalising makes Gabriel's characterisation complex and uncertain, feeding elements of autobiography into Gabriel's profound cultural anxieties. In this light, it is odd that Joyce should have chosen Harte to name his character. As we have seen, Harte was widely perceived to have inaugurated a new phase in 'uniquely American' literature – that is, one ostensibly free from the cultural anxieties that hung over a previous generation. This realisation further complicates Gabriel's allusions to the 'new generation [...] growing up in our midst' (*D* 204). As Yeats put it, Harte was 'very American' and as such unlikely to provide a model for an (at least temporarily) anxious and 'thought-tormented' figure such as Joyce's Gabriel (*D* 192).

Joyce's appropriation of the title of Harte's novel, then, is less tied to issues of characterisation than to a question of ironic allegory; it is a kind of 'reader trap' more often associated

¹²⁵ Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus*, p.108.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.106.

¹²⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 April, 1895; 8 November, 1895; 15 February, 1889.

¹²⁸ *Joseph Holloway's Abbey Theatre: A Selection from his Unpublished Journal Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*, ed. by Robert Hogan and Michael J. O'Neill (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967), p.130.

¹²⁹ Lady Augusta Gregory, *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter in Autobiography* (London: G. Putnam's Sons, 1913), pp.268-69.

¹³⁰ Lucy McDiarmid, 'Augusta Gregory, Bernard Shaw, and the Shewing-Up of Dublin Castle', *PMLA*, vol.109, no.1 (January, 1994), p.26.

with *Ulysses*.¹³¹ In this act of naming, what should be indexing a literary declaration of independence tied to the modern American short story through one of its most famous and distinctive exponents, is instead consciously mired in the literary-cultural politics of turn-of-the-century Ireland through the encounter with Miss Ivors in particular. Her insistence on ‘your own language’, ‘your own land’, ‘your own people’, ‘your own country’ manages to elicit the response from Gabriel: ‘Irish is not my language. [...] I’m sick of my own country, sick of it!’ (*D* 189-90). Joyce’s Harte is thus clearly irreconcilable with Yeats’ Harte; indeed, he seems rather to prod and question the Revivalists’ co-opting of Harte as a model – to turn the ‘guns of orthodoxy upon the orthodox ranks and see how they would stand the fire’ (*SH* 249). The incident with Miss Ivors and the anxieties it generates emphasises how anomalous the allusion to Harte is unless we see it as tinged with irony. *Pace* Yeats, the name Gabriel Conroy for Joyce appears to encapsulate the difficulty of decolonisation and de-Anglicisation, not their imminence. It presciently points to how independence alone will not solve Ireland’s social and cultural problems. Although the Irish may one day be ‘able to do what their American brothers did’, as Joyce noted in one of his Triestine lectures in 1907 (*OCPW* 116), ‘The Dead’ invites a comparison with a more modern ‘American brother’ in order to interrogate rather than ratify, as Emer Nolan puts it, ‘the emancipatory power of modernity’.¹³² The Irish/American palimpsest of Gabriel’s name in ‘The Dead’, then, is a complex Joycean ‘drama of cultural resistance’ in microcosm – signifying both the prevailing perception of Harte as a decolonised writer, as well as a recognition through Gabriel’s cultural anxieties as an alleged ‘West Briton’ of the problems inherent in the Revivalists’ programme of cultural independence.

‘The priest departs, the divine literatus comes’: Joyce and Whitman

When Stephen Dedalus in the final chapter of *A Portrait* declares his artistic mission to ‘forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race’ (*P* 218), he sounds a strikingly Whitmanesque note. There lies behind Stephen’s desire to create *ex nihilo* the conscience of his race a comparable absence of a ‘moral identity’ or ‘moral conscience’ that Whitman found in the United States and described in *Democratic Vistas*.¹³³ Joyce owned a copy of *Democratic Vistas* and it is not hard to find compelling instances in that work of artistic precedent for Stephen’s concept of himself in *A Portrait* as a high priest of the imagination: ‘View’d, to-day, from a point of view sufficiently over-arching, the problem of humanity all over the civilized world is social and religious, and is to be

¹³¹ For reader traps in *Ulysses*, see for instance Clive Hart, ‘Wandering Rocks’, in *James Joyce’s Ulysses: Critical Essays*, pp.181-216.

¹³² Emer Nolan, ‘Modernism and the Irish Revival’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. by Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.165.

¹³³ ‘Democratic Vista’, *Poetry and Prose*, p.677; 679.

finally met and treated by literature. The priest departs, the divine literatus comes. Never was anything more wanted than, to-day, and here in the States, the poet of the modern is wanted, or the great literatus of the modern'.¹³⁴ Significantly, Whitman's elevation of the role of the national poet to that of a 'divine literatus' comes defiantly in the wake of the two departing Old World masters that Stephen would later name in *Ulysses* as 'the imperial British state' and 'the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' (*U* 1.643-44). Moreover, it is through Stephen that we come across Whitman's writings in *Ulysses*. The 'Scylla and Charybdis' chapter in particular provides a forum in which to place Whitman's influence as a model of a national poet. 'The Bard of America' had been variously interpreted in Ireland as just such a model since at least the 1870s.¹³⁵ Edward Dowden at Trinity College and W.B. Yeats were both prominent supporters of Whitman and 'helped make Dublin a centre of interest in Whitman'.¹³⁶ Specifically, Dowden and those associated with him at Trinity formed an influential Anglo-Irish wing of a British movement to promote Whitman's work which had begun the decade before. The Whitman that Joyce encountered after the turn of the century then was one forged in these years in a very particular historical context and heavily influenced by the political and social backgrounds of this wing.

A brief roll-call of Whitman's admirers in Ireland between the 1870s and 1910s reveals a remarkable 'multitude' in which Anglo-Irish Protestants form the majority: Edward Dowden, Thomas William Hazen Rolleston, John Todhunter, Standish O'Grady, Oscar Wilde, W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and George Russell. There are in effect two generations of writers and scholars here, and the generational faultline would reveal itself in 1895 when Yeats and Dowden quarrelled in the pages of the *Daily Express* over the Irish literary revival.¹³⁷ The overt disparity between the social and political conservatism of this group as a whole and the radical republicanism of the 'Bard of Democracy' is perhaps the most striking aspect of Whitman's reception in Ireland at this time. This disparity poses a number of questions which have a bearing on Joyce's opinion of Whitman: What were the circumstances that allowed a committed Unionist like Dowden to champion a decolonised, democratic poet like Whitman? How did Whitman's association with Dowden and a Trinity-based circle of admirers in the 1870s affect how he was received in Ireland subsequently? We can then ask to what extent Joyce's reading of Whitman was influenced by the circumstances of the latter's reception in Ireland. In *Stephen Hero*, the reader learns that 'it had been a pastime for [Stephen] to turn the guns of orthodoxy upon the orthodox ranks and see how they would stand the fire' (*SH* 249). I will argue that the historical circumstances of Whitman's reception in Ireland allowed for the sublimation of

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.675.

¹³⁵ Edward Dowden, 'The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman', *The Westminster Review* 96 (July 1871), pp. 33-68, in *Walt Whitman: the Contemporary Reviews*, ed. by Kenneth M. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.183.

¹³⁶ *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume 1, 1865-1895* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.9, fn.5.

¹³⁷ Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life, Vol.1*, pp.145-46.

Whitman's radicalism by orthodox/conservative figures and that Joyce responds to this by turning Whitman against the orthodox ranks of his supporters.

Nearly all of Whitman's early admirers were forced to remark upon and counter the fact that Whitman was not popular in his home country. Dowden wrote in a letter to William Michael Rossetti in 1870: 'Whitman's want of popularity therefore in his own country affords no argument against the statement that he is the poet of democracy. The Hebrew prophets, in the same way, were unpopular, yet were no less on that account the truest interpreters of the Hebrew spirit'.¹³⁸ Indeed, the very fact of Whitman's perceived lack of support in America may have allowed for his early minority Anglo-Irish Protestant supporters to co-opt him as a fellow, heroically isolated 'interpreter' of national or cultural spirit. This fellow-feeling towards Whitman possibly grew out of the sense of Protestant abandonment and disillusionment with the Liberal government of 1868-1874. The Disestablishment Act of 1869, Gladstone's Land Act of 1870, and Isaac Butt's founding of the Home Government Association in the same year all led to widespread Irish Protestant disillusion with Westminster, in particular with the Disestablishment Act which was 'interpreted as the first step of British abandonment'.¹³⁹ Writing about Whitman in 1875, a thoroughly disillusioned Standish O'Grady described a 'spirit of melancholy [which] pervades modern society'.¹⁴⁰ Conquered by this 'invasion of melancholy', he too presents Whitman as a kind of 'Hebrew prophet':

It is said of Hugo that his praises of Paris are not meant to be true of the actual city; that it is the ideal Paris that he lauds so roundly – Paris as he would have her, as her sons ought to make her. Doubtless there is also a great deal of that spirit in Whitman's praises of America. His Poems will hold up a beautiful ideal to which the people shall aspire.¹⁴¹

O'Grady's disillusion with the present is thus channelled into a desire to create an ideal Ireland 'to which the people shall aspire'. Yeats would later say much the same. In 1894, he wrote the *Daily Express* to inform its readers that Whitman had been saved from obscurity by 'a little group of Irish and English artists and men of letters'. He continues:

The truth is that the public of America was, and the public of Ireland is, uneducated and idle, and it was often necessary for an original American writer, and it is often necessary

¹³⁸ *Walt Whitman: the Critical Heritage*, ed. by Milton Hindus (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p.130.

¹³⁹ Eileen Reilly, 'Modern Ireland: An Introductory Survey', in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, ed. by J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York: New York University Press, 2007), p.99. For Protestant disillusionment with the Liberal government of 1868-1874, see for example, Eugenio F. Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism, 1876-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.141-42; Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: War, Peace, and Beyond* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2010), p.109; and Michael Hurst, 'Ireland and the Ballot Act of 1872', in *Reactions to Irish Nationalism 1865-1914*, ed. by Alan O'Day (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), p.42.

¹⁴⁰ Standish O'Grady, 'Walt Whitman: Poet of Joy', in *Selected Essays and Passages* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1918), p.269.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.275.

for an original Irish writer, to appeal first, not to his countrymen, but to that small group of men of imagination and scholarship which is scattered through many lands and many cities, and to trust to his own influence and the influence of his fellow-workers to build up in the fullness of time a cultivated public in the land where he lives and works.¹⁴²

Another letter following up this one reiterates the point: ‘Whitman appealed, like every great and earnest mind, not to the ignorant many, either English or American, but to that audience, “fit though few”, which is greater than any nation, for it is made up of chosen persons from all, [...]’.¹⁴³ John Eglinton, too, saw Whitman as a paradigmatic figure for the heroic mythos of the Revival.¹⁴⁴ In their pronouncements on Whitman and the role of the national poet, Dowden, O’Grady and Yeats all seem to be enacting the role Joyce later ascribes to the old men and women of Lady Gregory’s tales who ‘seem to be almost their own judges’ (*OCPW* 76). Their construction of Whitman as an exemplary model of a national poet for the Revival therefore necessarily involved a stripping away of his overtly democratic significance, and an emphasis on his artistic remoteness from the ‘ignorant many’. There was a distinct lack of democratic spirit in their self-appointed roles as ‘cultivators’ of the ‘uneducated and idle’ people. Joyce could not have failed to notice the anti-democratic stance of the champions of the poet of democracy – even if he, in terms evocative of the American poet, takes a somewhat aloof position himself while accusing the Irish Literary Theatre of actually pandering to the ‘rabblement’: ‘No man, said the Nolan, can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude’ (*OCPW* 51).

By 1904, attachment to Whitman had become a sort of orthodox position for Irish writers and cultural nationalists. Wilde, Yeats, Lady Gregory, and George Russell had all expressed their strong admiration for him. Do we include Joyce here? In the period 1901-1906, it would seem that he did indeed have a high regard for Whitman. Stanislaus recalls how Joyce had named a collection of poems *Shine and Dark* after Whitman’s line, ‘Earth of shine and dark mottling the tide of the river’.¹⁴⁵ In his 1902 essay on James Clarence Mangan, Joyce writes that where Mangan’s poetry ‘shakes off its languor and is full of the ecstasy of combat’, it does not, however, ‘attain to the quality of Whitman’ (*OCPW* 57). High praise indeed, given that Joyce in the 1907 version of this piece described Mangan as ‘the most distinguished poet of the modern Celtic world and one of the most inspired poets of any country ever to make use of the lyric form’ (*OCPW* 130). The superlative ‘ecstasy of combat’ Joyce finds in the American poet is a reminder that the invocation of that country’s literature by Irish writers at this time was often bound up in notions of ‘combat’, or more specifically nationalist struggle. Hence, when Joyce writes that Mangan’s nature is ‘so sensitive [he] cannot forget his dreams in a secure, strenuous life’ (*OCPW* 55), the possible double allusion to Whitman and Theodore Roosevelt

¹⁴² *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats, Vol.1*, p.409.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.416.

¹⁴⁴ John Eglinton, ‘The Breaking of the Ice’, in *Dana*, no.1 (May 1904), p.16.

¹⁴⁵ Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper: James Joyce's Early Years* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p.85.

– strongly associated with ‘the strenuous life’ after his lecture of the same title in 1899 – further highlights the contrast between the confident, ‘strenuous’ cultural nationalism of Whitman/Roosevelt and Mangan’s ‘noble misery’ in defeat (*OCPW* 58).¹⁴⁶ Mangan’s retreat into an inner life – ‘his sufferings have cast him inwards, where for many ages the sad and the wise have elected to be’ (*OCPW* 55) – contrasts sharply with the great outward thrust and forward motion of Whitman’s poetry: ‘All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses’.¹⁴⁷ The two poets, Mangan and Whitman, present two divergent instincts such as *Ulysses* presents in Stephen and Bloom. Mangan, Joyce writes, ‘is the type of his race. History encloses him so straitly that even his fiery moments do not set him free from it’ (*OCPW* 59). He was, markedly, a prisoner of the ‘nightmare’ of history (*U* 2.377). His ‘fiery moments’ (‘the ecstasy of combat’) are directed against the ‘injustice of despoilers’, but he has too deeply inherited a tradition divided against itself and he has ‘accepted it with all its griefs and failures, and has not known how to change it’ (*OCPW* 59). Might Joyce have found in Whitman – initially, at least - a potential means for overcoming the ‘griefs and failures’ of his own divided inheritance?

Whitman’s proximity to the Revivalist project is the decisive factor here. The importance of Whitman to that project is reflected in Lady Gregory’s inclusion of a passage from Whitman’s ‘A Song for Occupations’ as an epigraph to her 1903 work *Poets and Dreamers: Studies and Translations from the Irish*. Joyce reviewed this work harshly in the *Daily Express*, an episode reflected in *Ulysses* where Mulligan tells Stephen: ‘O you inquisitional drunken jew jesuit! She gets you a job on the paper and then you go and slate her drivel to Jaysus. Couldn’t you do the Yeats touch?’ (*U* 9.1158-60). Joyce waits until the final paragraph of his harsh review to turn the guns of orthodoxy upon the orthodox ranks and fire a riposte from ‘Song of Myself’ at the leading Revivalist: ‘Out of the material and spiritual battle which has gone so hardly with her Ireland has emerged with many memories of beliefs, and with one belief – a belief in the incurable ignobility of the forces that have overcome her – and Lady Gregory, whose old men and women seem to be almost their own judges when they tell their wandering stories, might add to the passage from Whitman which forms her dedication, Whitman’s ambiguous word for the vanquished – “Battles are lost in the spirit in which they are won”’ (*OCPW* 75-76). Ellmann glosses this as Joyce distorting Whitman’s meaning ‘to say that Ireland has been depressed to her conqueror’s level of ignobility – itself a slightly Yeatsian reaction to the vulgar materialism of the British’.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps, although Joyce’s stress on ‘battles’ seems rather to lead back to the essay on Mangan and the ‘ecstasy of combat’ which he says attains such high quality in Whitman. The divided tradition that Mangan would bequeath – ‘the poet who hurls his anger against tyrants would establish upon the future an intimate and far more cruel tyranny’ (*OCPW* 59) – is echoed in the ‘belief in the incurable ignobility of the forces that have

¹⁴⁶ For Roosevelt’s speech, see Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p.186.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Song of Myself’, *Poetry and Prose*, p.58.

¹⁴⁸ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.105.

overcome [Ireland]’ which Joyce finds in Lady Gregory’s *Poets and Dreamers* as well as in ‘so many other books of our time’ (*OCPW* 75). Thus Whitman’s ‘strong music’ for the vanquished and ‘the dead’ – ‘With music strong I come, [...] / I beat and pound for the dead’¹⁴⁹ – would appear at this point to offer something close to the ‘strong spirit’ which Joyce says Mangan is lacking and is required to escape from ‘the cycles’ of history (*OCPW* 59).¹⁵⁰ As Frank Callanan argues, Joyce was announcing himself to the Dublin literary world from 1902-03.¹⁵¹ This combative review, and in particular his use of Whitman, forms part of that semi-confrontational introduction.

In 1906, Joyce wrote to Stanislaus to thank him for a copy of Whitman’s poems, adding: ‘What long flowing lines he writes. Kick in the arse for the following. G.K.C: G.B.S: S.L: H.J: G.R. Kicks in the arse all round, in fact’ (*LII* 203-4).¹⁵² However, Joyce’s letters and critical writings say nothing of Whitman after 1906, and we have to wait until *Ulysses* for any further references, which, of course, brings us back to 1904. That the first reference in *Ulysses* to Whitman emanates from Mulligan in the ‘Telemachus’ chapter is indicative of how *conventionally radical* Whitman had become.

God, we’ll simply have to dress the character. I want puce gloves and green boots.
Contradiction. Do I contradict myself? Very well, then, I contradict myself. Mercurial
Malachi. (*U* 1.515-18)

These lines from Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’ had clearly achieved a certain degree of fame independent of the rest of the poem by this time. A review in the mass-market *Daily Mail* notes: ‘[Robert Louis Stevenson] could safely say, in that fine phrase of Whitman’s, which he so much admired, “I contradict myself; very well then, I contradict myself! I am large; I contain multitudes”’.¹⁵³ Joyce too had used the phrase in reply to an accusation by Stanislaus relating to Cranly, which gains significance through Stephen’s later comparison of Cranly with Mulligan in *Ulysses* (*U* 1.159).¹⁵⁴ Besides the phrase being somewhat common currency, it is also an amendment to an earlier draft version of *A Portrait*. A. Walton Litz points out that Joyce had previously had Doherty/Mulligan say: ‘I must go. A woman waits for me. God, the humanity of Whitman! I contain all. I embrace all. Farewell’.¹⁵⁵ Don Summerhayes, in making a very early case for the influence of Whitman on Joyce, argues rightly that this shows Joyce had reasons for wanting to include a Whitman

¹⁴⁹ ‘Song of Myself’, *Poetry and Prose*, p.69.

¹⁵⁰ For the ‘strong spirit’, see Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, passim.

¹⁵¹ See Frank Callanan, ‘James Joyce and the United Irishman: Paris 1902-03’, in *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 3 (December 2010), pp.51-103.

¹⁵² G.K. Chesterton; George Bernard Shaw; Sidney Lee; Henry James; Grant Richards.

¹⁵³ Review of the Pentland Edition of *The Works of Robert Louis Stevens*, *Daily Mail*, 27 October 1906.

¹⁵⁴ See Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother’s Keeper*, p.247.

¹⁵⁵ Arthur Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.133.

quotation.¹⁵⁶ If the exact quotation itself is of relatively minor importance in relation to the more central aim of identifying Mulligan with Whitman, then it would seem that by linking Whitman to the ‘gay betrayer’ (*U* 1.405) Joyce is again launching a critical attack on those whom Swinburne called the ‘Whitmaniacs’ – ‘indiscriminate admirers’ of Whitman.¹⁵⁷

In the ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ chapter, references to Whitman accompany Stephen and Mulligan to the National Library, which echoes with Eglinton’s ‘sizar’s laugh of Trinity’ (*U* 9.31). Eglinton (the pseudonym of William Kirkpatrick Magee) is significant here as he had commented on Whitman and Yeats before, notably in the text to emerge from the quarrels of the 1890s, *Literary Ideals in Ireland* (1899), and offers a good case in point for how Whitman was often manipulated to suit the needs of his supporters. Interestingly, he had attacked Yeats for his relegation of ‘life and humanity’ to a mere pretext for art, concluding: ‘Art which only interests itself in life and humanity for the sake of art may achieve the occult triumphs of the symbolist school, but humanity will return its indifference in kind, and leave it to the dignity and consolation of “unpopularity”’.¹⁵⁸ Eglinton’s elevation of ‘humanity’ over ‘art’ is clearly inspired by the American poet, as is confirmed in another essay in the same volume by George Russell, who describes Eglinton as a ‘disciple’ of Whitman.¹⁵⁹ However, Eglinton’s failure to address Whitman’s own ‘unpopularity’ in his home country is a clear instance of selective appropriation and a display of the ‘treacherous instinct of adaptability’ of which Joyce had accused Yeats in 1901 (*OCPW* 51). In his opposition to Yeats, Eglinton pursued the vague cause of appealing to writers in Ireland to write from a ‘human’ rather than an ‘Irish’ standpoint.¹⁶⁰ As such, Eglinton – a ‘merry puritan’ (*U* 9.873) from a ‘northern Protestant background’ – was capable of using Whitman to create his own brand of ecumenical nationalism.¹⁶¹

In the library scene, Stephen’s argument with Eglinton about Shakespeare leads him to describe the ‘[s]umptuous and stagnant exaggeration of murder’ (*U* 9.129) in his plays, which in turn leads to Stephen making a connection with the Boer War, concentration camps and Swinburne’s jingoistic poem ‘On the Death of Colonel Benson’. Swinburne had been one of Whitman’s most enthusiastic supporters in the late 1860s and early 1870s and formed part of that ‘little group of Irish and English artists and men of letters’ that Yeats identified as having saved Whitman from obscurity. He later publicly disavowed his earlier expressions of admiration. Immediately following the Swinburne allusion, Stephen’s thoughts (presumably) continue: ‘Between the Saxon smile and the yankee yawp. The devil and deep sea’ (*U* 9.139-40). The ‘yankee yawp’ is clearly an echo of Whitman’s ‘barbaric yawp’ from ‘Song of Myself’, while the ‘Saxon smile’ is an echo of an interpolation in ‘Telemachus’ after the Englishman Haines parts with Stephen: ‘Horn of a bull, hoof

¹⁵⁶ Don Summerhayes, ‘Joyce’s “Ulysses” and Whitman’s “Self”: A Query’, *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1963), pp.216-24.

¹⁵⁷ Cited in Joann P. Krieg, *Whitman and the Irish* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), p.178.

¹⁵⁸ John Eglinton, et al., *Literary Ideals in Ireland* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1899), p.46.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.49.

¹⁶⁰ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p.158.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.156.

of a horse, smile of a Saxon' (*U* 1.732).¹⁶² The juxtaposition of Whitman's primitive 'Yankee yawp' with a sinister 'Saxon smile' presents a fatalistic view of Irish political choice as the lesser of two evils: the Irish Scylla and Charybdis of helpless flight or the hopeless fight, 'to Hell or Connacht'. While the allusion to Whitman remains ambiguous at best, it suggests at this point that Joyce is using the American poet in this particular 'skirmish' (*SH* 249) against either the Whitman disciples or critics (Eglinton or Swinburne, say). It is also possible to see in Joyce's deployment of Whitman here a hint of the irony in the archetype of a decolonised, democratic poet being championed by essentially undemocratic cultural revivalists (or imperialists in the case of Swinburne). Later in the same chapter, Stephen argues a point about Shakespeare: 'Twenty years he lived in London and, during part of that time, he drew a salary equal to that of the lord chancellor of Ireland. His life was rich. His art, more than the art of feudalism as Walt Whitman called it, is the art of surfeit' (*U* 9.623-26).¹⁶³ As Andrew Gibson has pointed out, the real object of Stephen's critical attack here is Dowden. The Trinity professor was, moreover, a prominent 'Whitmaniac'. Indeed, Gibson highlights how 'Stephen does not just beat Dowden at his own game. He turns Dowden's case on its head'.¹⁶⁴ Whitman is just one of the guns of the orthodox that Stephen turns on Dowden's critical orthodoxies in this chapter.

However, neither Stephen's allusions to Whitman nor Mulligan's Whitmanesque posturing represent anything like a kind of fulfilment of the earlier promise that the American poet would provide a model of a national poet. Although some have found in Whitman a model for Bloom, there is little to support that claim either.¹⁶⁵ It could simply be, then, that Joyce's attitude to Whitman had changed over the course of the 1900s and 1910s. Indeed, Whitman's own reputation had changed over this period. As Jay B. Hubbell argues, when the second volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* was published in 1918 with a chapter on Whitman, 'the effect was to give a kind of official sanction to the poet's final achievement of a place in the canon of the great American writers'.¹⁶⁶ However, it should be borne in mind that it was 'almost for certain' the Whitman chapter of Lawrence's *Studies* that led one publisher to describe the proposed book as 'dangerous'.¹⁶⁷ The title of Lawrence's work makes explicit the dual status that Whitman now occupied: 'classic' and 'dangerous'. Or, to put it another way, conventionally radical. By the time Joyce was writing *Ulysses*, the radical aspect of Whitman's poetry and reputation was beginning to fade or become conventional as he was accepted into the official canon.

In Power's *Conversations*, we hear Joyce's most overt and direct comments about Walt Whitman:

¹⁶² 'Song of Myself', section 52, lines 2-3.

¹⁶³ See Whitman, 'What Lurks Behind Shakespeare's Historical Plays?', in *Poetry and Prose*, pp.753-55.

¹⁶⁴ Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.67.

¹⁶⁵ Krieg, *Whitman and the Irish*, p.227; Summerhayes, 'Joyce's "Ulysses" and Whitman's "Self": A Query', p.216.

¹⁶⁶ Jay B Hubbell, *Who Are the Major American Writers?* p.70.

¹⁶⁷ Lawrence, *Studies*, p.xlvii.

- What about Walt Whitman? I asked.

- Yes, agreed Joyce, he has a certain flavour it is true, the smell of virgin forest is in him, and of the wooden shack, a kind of primitive colonialism, but that is a long way from being civilised.¹⁶⁸

It is hard now in the post-Matthiessen reading of the American Renaissance period to judge Whitman as essentially a colonial writer, as Joyce does here. By contrast, Matthiessen makes clear that only Twain ‘penetrates so deep into the soil of democracy’ as Whitman.¹⁶⁹ Judging by Power’s account, however, Joyce’s interest in Whitman had been severely restricted. This is supported by the relative paucity of allusions to Whitman in the *Wake*. When he does appear – such as in II.2 as ‘old Whiteman self’ (FW 263.08-9) – it is indeed reminiscent of a primitive colonial setting. There is a suggestion of the colonial ‘whiteman’ in the context of the children’s lessons. Hence there are a lot of geographical references (Egypt, Persia, Asia Major and Minor, etc) interwoven with motifs of conquest, proselytism, disease, but also intermingling and merging in the city-builder HCE:

And Egyptus, the incenstrobed, as Cyrus heard of him? And Major A. Shaw after he got the miner smellpex? And old Whiteman self, the blighty blotchy, beyond the bays, hope of ostrogothic and ottomanic faith converters, despair of Pandemia’s post-wartem plastic surgeons? But is was all so long ago. Hispano-Cathayan-Euxine, Castillian-Emeratic-Hebridian, Espanol-Cymric-Helleniky? (FW 263.06-15)

Colonialism, war and disease are central to this passage – smallpox and the Americas; potato blight and Ireland; the post-war Spanish influenza pandemic – but Whitman is not. At best, he partly contributes to the civilised/uncivilised discourses of colonialism and the outsized character of HCE. Indeed, it is in the context of the latter primarily where other scattered references to Whitman occur, although some of these are debatable; Adaline Glasheen claims that III.3’s HCE section (FW 532.06-554.09) shows the influence of Whitman.¹⁷⁰ A lot of American material is deployed in this section, but it is doubtful how much, if any, can be traced back to Whitman. A more plausible allusion arises in II.3 and HCE’s defence, where a parenthetical outburst recalls *Ulysses*’ ‘yankee yawp’: ‘for every dime he yawpens that momouth you could park your ford in it’ (FW 364.15-6). It would appear that Whitman is deployed here in the sense Joyce gave Power – ‘a long way from being civilised’. However, as a kind of Anglo-Irish figure, HCE’s association with Whitman also marks a continuation of the ironic associations Joyce made between Anglo-Irish Revivalists and the ‘barbaric’ American poet. By contrast, one of Joyce’s odd ‘epiphanoids’ – as Hayman describes the brief, early notebook entries – appears to concern social pretensions: ‘F[rutz] V[anderpyl] Have you ever heard of Walt

¹⁶⁸ Power, *Conversations*, p.108.

¹⁶⁹ Matthiessen, *American Renaissance*, p.625.

¹⁷⁰ Glasheen, *Third Census of Finnegans Wake*, p.305.

Whitman? L[i]lian] W[allace] You have just brought him to my recollection'.¹⁷¹ These two allusions would appear to suggest again Whitman's dual status as conventionally radical. However, on the basis of this evidence, it only remains to conclude that the significance Whitman had for the younger Joyce as a potential model for a national poet did not translate into the later work and that the American poet's vital role from the 1870s on in shaping the Revivalist mythos played an important part in that process.

'Then I did Rip van Winkle': Joyce and Irving

Washington Irving's presence in Joyce's works is both straightforward and complex. It is straightforward in that Irving is used simply to embellish certain themes in the works already in place. This is perhaps most obviously perceived in *Ulysses*, where for example we see a number of references to 'Rip Van Winkle' and 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow' as mock-heroic parallels to the epic motif of leave and return (*U* 9.649, 13.1112, 13.1282, 15.1847, 15.3154-61, 16.426). However, it is also complex; Irving was regarded as both the 'father of American literature' and an 'appendix to Goldsmith'.¹⁷² He was the 'first author produced in the new republic', but 'not characteristically American'.¹⁷³ He was, to an extent, 'semicolonial' in the sense that Thoreau was an 'American Frenchman'. Thus far I have argued that this is precisely the kind of American author that Joyce was not interested in. However, in Irving's case, it is this very 'semicolonial' status which appears to motivate Joyce to use him in a highly specific manner in the *Wake* especially. There Irving's burlesque *A History of New York* would inform Joyce's vision of the 'Eternest cittas' (*FW* 532.06) in III.3 and emphasise the Dutch origins of New York and HCE in particular, and America's connections to Europe in general. The units harvested from *A History* are planted in such a way so as to lay a solidly European linguistic foundation in the New World – a markedly different approach to other American texts harvested for their recognizable Americanisms. The language and satirical modes of *A History of New York* must have struck Joyce as highly familiar, given his knowledge and use in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* of Swift, Sterne, Goldsmith, Butler, Addison and Steele. Irving's hybrid status must have made him particularly attractive to Joyce while fleshing out the hyphenated 'Anglo-' aspect of HCE's character – an aspect of Irving's status repeatedly invoked to accuse him of being inauthentically American. Among the insults and accusations levelled at HCE in I.3 by his 'unsolicited visitor' (*FW* 070.13) is 'Stodge Arschmann' (*FW* 071.34), or stage-Irishman. In this

¹⁷¹ David Hayman, 'Epiphanoïding', in *Genitricksling Joyce*, ed. by Sam Slote and Wim Van Mierlo (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), p.30.

¹⁷² Pattee, *A History of American Literature*, p.112; Melville, quoted in Matthiessen, *American Renaissance*, p.187.

¹⁷³ 'Washington Irving', in *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917), vol.1, p.245; 'Washington Irving', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, p. 857.

regard, Irving's reputation would have been as important for Joyce as the writings themselves. What, then, would Joyce have expected to find in Irving's works and how did he use what he found?

Irving's reputation had long been on the wane by the early twentieth century. While his contemporary admirers had been many, and included such literary heavyweights as Byron, Dickens and Scott, the American public's appetite for romanticism declined after the Civil War and realism and naturalism quickly became the dominant forms in American writing.¹⁷⁴ Irving's style 'had become associated with a genteel Eastern literary culture now giving way to the more vital literature of the American West'.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, his reputation never fell so low so as to erase his writings from the popular imagination. Indeed, despite the decline in reputation, there was certainly no shortage of interest in the biography of the writer: Irving's nephew Pierre published a four-volume *Life and Letters* in 1862-64, which was followed by two further biographies in 1870, then another in 1879, and yet more separate biographies in 1881, 1886, 1890, 1891, 1893, and 1901.¹⁷⁶

This unusual state of affairs suggests a reputation for having lived an exotic, entertaining life on which the writings provided a kind of fictional embroidery. This is confirmed to an extent by reviews in Ireland and Britain around the turn of the century. Irving had travelled extensively in and written about Europe in general and Spain in particular, where he spent four years as the US ambassador to the country. His writings about Spain and its Moorish history especially are at least as prominent in reviews and notices as, say, 'Rip Van Winkle'.¹⁷⁷ In addition, the legacy of the five Christmas stories in *The Sketch-Book* appears to have coloured his image to the extent that, like Dickens, his name was almost synonymous with the celebrations of the Christmas period.¹⁷⁸ One such Christmas feature – a roundup of 'stories of adventure' in the *Times Literary Supplement* from 1904 – notes that selections from Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* and Hawthorne's 'Minotaur' from *Tanglewood Tales for Boys and Girls* are the best of what's included in *The Fifty-Two Stories of Grit and Character* (Hutchinson, 1904).

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* continues the festive theme by claiming that the 'most interesting part of [*The Sketch Book*] is the description of an English Christmas, which displays a delicate humour not unworthy of the writer's evident model Addison'.¹⁷⁹ While the entry on Irving avoids the then customary dismissal of American literature as adventure stories for boys, it nevertheless repeats the accusation going back to at least Melville that Irving was not an authentically

¹⁷⁴ See *Washington Irving: The Critical Reaction*, ed. by James W. Tuttleton (New York: AMS, 1993), pp.7-8.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁷⁷ See for instance, *The Freeman's Journal*, 18 April 1890, 22 February 1897; *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7 August 1903.

¹⁷⁸ See for instance, *The Freeman's Journal*, 26 December 1887, 24 December 1894; *TLS*, 18 December 1903, 22 September 1905 (even a new edition of 'Rip Van Winkle' is recommended in advance as a good Christmas present).

¹⁷⁹ 'Washington Irving', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 856.

American writer – despite his being ‘the first American who had won for his country recognition on equal terms in the literary republic’: ‘Although one of the chief ornaments of American literature, Irving is not characteristically American. But he is one of the few authors of his period who really manifest traces of a vein of national peculiarity which might under other circumstances have been productive’.¹⁸⁰ This view is supported by critics contemporary to Joyce, including Edward Dowden, who wrote: ‘Irving, if he betrays his origin at all, betrays it somewhat in the same way as Longfellow by his tender, satisfied repose in the venerable, chiefly the venerable in English society and manners, by his quiet delight in the implicit tradition of English civility, the scarcely-felt yet everywhere influential presence of a beautiful and grave Past, and the company of unseen beneficent associations’.¹⁸¹ A review in the *TLS* in 1910 of William Crary Brownell’s *American Prose Masters* also points to the opinion that Irving was regarded as ‘one of those American writers who are only transatlantic Englishmen’.¹⁸² Indeed, Irving himself wrote in another essay from *The Sketch-Book*, ‘English Writers on America’: ‘We are a young people, necessarily an imitative one, and must take our examples and models, in a great degree, from the existing nations of Europe. There is no country more worthy of our study than England’.¹⁸³

When the first volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* was published, Thomas Seccombe – in a 1918 review for the *TLS* – identified Irving as a ‘pure-bred descendant of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith’.¹⁸⁴ The *Cambridge History* article itself, by Major George Haven Putnam, stresses Irving’s role as ‘a connecting link between the literature of England (or the English-inspired literature of the colonies) and the literary creations that were entitled to the name American’.¹⁸⁵ Noting that Irving was born on 3 April 1783, Putnam states: ‘As this was the year in which the colonies finally achieved the independence for which they had been fighting for seven years, Irving may be regarded as the first author produced in the new republic’.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Irving’s writings ‘expressed the character, the method of thought, the ideals, and the aspiration of English folk on this side of the Atlantic’. Putnam again praises Irving as a connecting link between England and America, arguing that accusations of a derivative English style are misplaced: ‘Squire Bracebridge [of *Bracebridge Hall*] is, of course, a lineal descendant of [Addison’s] Sir Roger de Coverley. It is not necessary, however, because Irving was keenly sympathetic with Addison’s mode of thought, to speak of Irving’s hero as an imitation. England has produced more than one squire, and Bracebridge

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.856-57. Melville wrote of Irving that he ‘perhaps owes his chief reputation to the self-acknowledged imitation of a foreign model’; quoted in Matthiessen, *American Renaissance*, p.187. Matthiessen too writes that Irving ‘had taken considerable pains to develop a style, but had not desired to pass beyond current models or usage’, *American Renaissance*, p.30.

¹⁸¹ Dowden, ‘The Poet of Democracy: Walt Whitman’, in *Walt Whitman: The Critical Heritage*, p.144.

¹⁸² Arthur Clutton-Brock, ‘American Prose’, *TLS*, 21 July 1910, p.257.

¹⁸³ Irving, *The Sketch-Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.57.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas Seccombe, ‘Republican Letters’, *TLS*, 23 May 1918, p.237.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Washington Irving’, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, vol.1, p.254.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.245.

and the family of the Hall were the creations of the American observer'.¹⁸⁷ Putnam here attempts to replace the image of Irving as imitative with a proto-transatlanticist image of a two-way exchange, with Irving bridging the Atlantic world. As such, he anticipates later constructions of Irving, such as Paul Giles' recent argument that Irving 'is perhaps the best example of an American author whose stature is diminished by any forced affiliation with agendas of literary nationalism, but whose subtleties can be appreciated more readily once he is situated within a transnational context'.¹⁸⁸

By the 1920s and 30s Irving's reputation in America had developed into one of an essayist, biographer and historian.¹⁸⁹ On the whole, *A History of New York*, large sections of *The Sketch Book*, *Bracebridge Hall* and *The Crayon Miscellany*, which are more concerned with social history (English as well as American), feature most prominently in anthologies of American literature during this period. As Csicsila points out, in the 20 years following the First World War, Irving 'was rarely considered a writer of tales, let alone an innovator of the American short story form': 'Moreover, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" were reprinted infrequently during these early years. "Rip Van Winkle" appeared in fewer than half of the first phase anthologies, and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" made it into only two textbooks, the first and second editions of Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's *Major American Writers* [1935]. In no case do they appear together before the late 1940s. Collectively the two stories make up less than 10 per cent of the total selections by Irving printed in anthologies between 1919 and 1946'.¹⁹⁰ It is then entirely fitting with contemporary American estimates of Irving that in the *Wake* it is *The History of New York* and not *The Sketch Book* that Joyce used.

However, this picture is complicated slightly by opinions on Joyce's side of the Atlantic. John Middleton Murry, in a review of the latest in a very long line of biographies of Irving (George S. Hellman's *Washington Irving Esquire*), highlights both the decline of Irving's reputation and his enduring hold on the popular imagination:

Only the publishers of cheap editions could tell us authoritatively the present state of Washington Irving's literary fame. In the critical estimation it has undoubtedly declined; but it is quite possible that *The Sketch-Book*, *Bracebridge Hall*, and *The Knickerbocker History* are still as popular as ever. Certainly no cheap series of 'classics' ever appears without *The Sketch-Book* early in the list; and there is generally a second book by Washington Irving to be found lower down. Moreover, even the most sophisticated reader retains a pleasant memory of the mellow and lazy charm of 'Rip van Winkle'.¹⁹¹

And yet, mirroring the discrepancy highlighted above between the decline in Irving's reputation post-Civil War and the glut of popular interest in his biography, the 1920s also saw a steady stream of

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.254-56.

¹⁸⁸ Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, p.142.

¹⁸⁹ Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus*, p.25.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p.25.

¹⁹¹ John Middleton Murry, 'Washington Irving', *TLS*, 8 Oct. 1925, p.653.

critical interest in the life and letters.¹⁹² Diaries and notebooks were being published as the burgeoning American academic industry began the long task of recovering a writer beyond Christmas stories and adventures for boys, while the ‘publishers of cheap editions’ continued to churn these same stories out for a receptive public.

All of this suggests that Joyce would not have turned to the ‘father of American literature’ for a profile of the national character that did not at least partly rely on Europe as a looking glass with which to identify itself.¹⁹³ Allusions to Irving in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* are then allusions to the writings of an author generally regarded as a ‘transatlantic Englishman’. This seems less relevant in *Ulysses*, where the specificity of Irving’s reputation appears to be subsumed within a more general ‘mythical, literary and popular-cultural fascination’ with the United States, as Jack Morgan described it.¹⁹⁴ However, the *Wake*’s recurring motifs of imitation, hybridity, and hyphenated, mixed identities in (post-) colonial contexts – its ‘semicolonials’ and ‘hybrids’ (*FW* 152.16); ‘Mearmerge two races’ (*FW* 017.24) – bring Irving’s transatlantic, or transnational, status into play to a much greater degree. However, turning to *Ulysses* in the first instance, allusions to Irving in ‘Circe’ in particular also partake in that chapter’s concern with slippages in identity and the ‘performative status’ of those identities.¹⁹⁵

Bloom’s recollections of the story of ‘Rip Van Winkle’ at various points during the day are confused, and in ‘Nausicaa’ he conflates it with Irving’s other popular short story ‘The Legend of Sleepy Hollow’: ‘Then I did Rip van Winkle coming back. She leaned on the sideboard watching. Moorish eyes. Twenty years asleep in Sleepy Hollow. All changed. Forgotten. The young are old. His gun rusty with the dew’ (*U* 13.1113-16). In *The Sketch-Book*, Rip does indeed sleep for twenty years, but not in Sleepy Hollow. Of course, recognition of this slip is not essential to a reading of this scene (a game of charades at Luke Doyle’s house in Dolphin’s Barn where Bloom encounters Molly), but it does exemplify how Joyce uses Irving in *Ulysses*, as we shall see. In this regard, Molly’s ‘Moorish eyes’ also recall then Irving’s strong association with Spain and its Moorish history through his writings on the subject: *Conquest of Granada*, and *Tales of the Alhambra*.

The aforementioned epic motif of leave and return is uncannily echoed in Bloom’s recollection of the game of ‘Rip van Winkle’ (*U* 13.1112). Bloom’s thoughts at this moment in the narrative are filled with this motif:

¹⁹² See for instance *TLS*, ‘Irving in Spain’, 30 September 1926, p.648; ‘Editorial Superfluity’, 12 April 1928, p.268; ‘Washington Irving’s Journal’, 30 April 1931, p.342; ‘Bibliographical Notes’, 4 January 1934, p.16.

¹⁹³ Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature With a View to the Fundamental Principles Underlying its Development* (New York: Burdett & Company, 1899), p.112.

¹⁹⁴ Jack Morgan, ‘Old Sleepy Hollow Calls Over the World: Washington Irving and Joyce’s “The Dead”’, in *New Hibernia Review*, vol.5, no.4 (Geimhreadh/Winter 2001), p.94.

¹⁹⁵ See R.G. Hampson, ‘“Toft’s Cumbersome Whirligig”: Hallucinations, Theatricality and Mnemotechnic in V.A.19 and the First Edition Text of “Circe”’, in *Reading Joyce’s ‘Circe’*, ed. by Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p.170.

She kissed me. Never again. My youth. Only once it comes. Or hers. Take the train there tomorrow. No. Returning not the same. Like kids your second visit to the house. The new I want. Nothing new under the sun. [...] Curious she an only child. I an only child. So it returns. Think you're escaping and run into yourself. Longest way round is the shortest way home. And just when he and she. Circus horse walking in a ring. Rip van Winkle we played. [...] All changed. Forgotten. The young are old. (U 13.1102-1116)

This itself is an instance of textual circularity as 'old' Bloom echoes 'young' Stephen's thoughts in the library towards the end of the 'Scylla and Charybdis' chapter: 'Maeterlinck says: *If Socrates leave his house today he will find the sage seated on his doorstep. If Judas go forth tonight it is to Judas his steps will tend.* Every life is many days, day after day. We walk through ourselves, meeting robbers, ghosts, giants, old men, young men, wives, widows, brothers-in-love, but always meeting ourselves' (U 9.1042-46). Stephen's 'always meeting ourselves' is mirrored by Bloom's 'run into yourself'. Irving is clearly more important here as a vehicle through which to develop a theme, leaving the specificity of his texts vulnerable to distortion or mystification. The story becomes subsumed into Stephen's artistic theory of the 'all in all in all of us' (U 9.1049-1050), merging Stephen and Bloom.

This merging effect occurs again when Stephen describes Shakespeare's residence in London: 'Twenty years he lived in London [...] Twenty years he dallied there between conjugal love and its foul pleasures. [...] But all those twenty years what do you suppose poor Penelope in Stratford was doing behind the diamond panes?' (U 9.623-50). When this material is recycled in 'Circe', it is Bloom as Rip van Winkle who peers through 'the diamond panes' at Molly (see below), while Shakespeare's twenty years 'dallying' mirrors Rip's twenty years asleep in the Catskills. In 'Circe', in accordance with that chapter's own internal stylistic motif, much of this material returns distorted and confused:

BLOOM

To drive me mad! Moll! I forgot! Forgive! Moll We Still

BELLO

(ruthlessly) No, Leopold Bloom, all is changed by woman's will since you slept horizontal in Sleepy Hollow your night of twenty years. Return and see.

(Old Sleepy Hollow calls over the wold.)

Rip van Wink! Rip van Winkle!

BLOOM

(in tattered moccasins with a rusty fowlingpiece, tiptoeing, fingertipping, his haggard bony bearded face peering through the diamond panes, cries out) I see her! It's she! The first night at Mat Dillon's! (U 15.3150-62)

As it turns out, Bloom has mistaken Milly for Molly. ‘Changed, eh?’ asks Bello (*U* 15.3173). Bloom vows to return (*U* 15.3191), and crawls forward with ‘a bowieknife between his teeth’ like a character out of a James Fenimore Cooper novel. The confusion of identity (‘all in all in all of us’) and detail gives the scene a sense of epic circularity – Odysseus returns to Penelope after twenty years, Shakespeare returns to Anne Hathaway in Stratford after twenty years in London, Rip van Winkle returns to Dame Van Winkle after twenty years asleep. Moreover, Bello’s ‘all is changed’ in ‘Circe’ is a near-exact echo of Bloom’s ‘All changed’ in ‘Nausicaa’. Stephen’s image of Penelope/Anne Hathaway ‘behind the diamond panes’ then becomes in ‘Circe’ Molly/Milly, with Bloom/Rip staring through the colonial/Tudor-style window. If Bloom is here recalling the same night of charades when they played Rip van Winkle at Luke Doyle’s house in Dolphin’s Barn that he remembers towards the end of ‘Nausicaa’, then he has also confused it with another night, the ‘first night at Mat Dillon’s’. Mat Dillon and his ‘bevy of daughters’ were in Luke Doyle’s that night, if the Bloom of ‘Nausicaa’ is to be believed over the Bloom of ‘Circe’. It would appear that it is not just Irving’s ‘Rip van Winkle’ and ‘The Legend of Sleepy Hollow’ that are vulnerable to distortion and confusion. The complexity of Joyce’s composition process – particularly late-stage draft material – is partly to blame here. Luca Crispi has argued that the manuscript evidence points to several possible ‘first nights’ between Bloom and Molly, for instance, and shows Joyce trying to make the details of the courting cohere at a late stage in the composition of *Ulysses*.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, in ‘Circe’ Joyce worked to inscribe a particular kind of *incoherence* into the chapter – the partial collapse of narrative and identity in a deliberate compositional strategy described by Robert Hampson as a move ‘towards self-conscious theatricality’.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, actual stage adaptations of the story must also be taken into consideration here.

In ‘Eumaeus’, Bloom is prompted by Murphy the sailor into thinking about the generic theme of the return of the sailor to his wife after many years’ absence: ‘Across the world for a wife. Quite a number of stories there were on that particular Alice Ben Bolt topic, Enoch Arden and Rip van Winkle and does anybody hereabouts remember Caoc O’Leary, a favourite and most trying declamation piece by the way of poor John Casey and a bit of perfect poetry in its own small way’ (*U* 16.510). These variations on an ‘Alice Ben Bolt topic’ reflect Bloom’s eclectic knowledge of and interest in popular culture. Indeed, given Bloom’s connections to the world of music and theatre, it is thus more likely that he is thinking of stage productions of ‘Rip van Winkle’, which played from 1865, rather than Irving’s text. Dion Boucicault had written the stage version and the American actor Joseph Jefferson became famous for the role of Rip, playing it until 1904.¹⁹⁸ Jefferson played in Dublin as

¹⁹⁶ Luca Crispi, ‘Becoming the Blooms: Love, Sex, Marriage’, a paper delivered at the UCD Joyce Research Colloquium (15 April, 2011).

¹⁹⁷ Hampson, “‘Toft’s Cumbersome Whirligig’: Hallucinations, Theatricality and Mnemotechnic in V.A.19 and the First Edition Text of “Circe””, p.144.

¹⁹⁸ Benjamin McArthur, *The Man who was Rip Van Winkle: Joseph Jefferson and Nineteenth-Century American Theatre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), *passim*.

well, coming to the Gaiety in 1876.¹⁹⁹ Subsequent versions of ‘Rip van Winkle’ played in Dublin throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, with Robert Planquette’s operetta opening in the Gaiety in 1883 (12 June) and a concert in the Rotunda in 1884 featured a song from the operetta (28 May). The Gaiety again hosted another version in 1892 (19 May) and in 1895-96, this time by Louis Calvert (15 August 1895; 13 August 1896). The immense, enduring popularity of the stage version of Irving’s story is then perhaps a more convincing explanation for Rip’s presence on the Joycean stage in *Ulysses*. The detail, for instance, of Bloom’s ‘tattered moccasins’ in ‘Circe’ when he assumes the character of Rip does not come from Irving’s text. Perhaps Joyce has picked up the detail from Cooper, who puts most of his characters in moccasins. But it could just as easily have come from a set of stock images of colonial America, or indeed from any one of the stage versions of ‘Rip van Winkle’ still going in the early twentieth century.

Although ‘Rip Van Winkle’ and ‘The Legend of Sleep Hollow’ are not structurally significant in *Ulysses*, the former in particular – with its own allusion to the *Odyssey* – allows Joyce to embellish the epic motifs common to all three. In ‘Circe’, Bloom’s ‘charade’ as Rip van Winkle returning after twenty years to look for Molly (only to find Milly instead) also gestures towards the *Wake*’s more intensely performative confusion of identities as HCE’s character is fleshed out with notes taken from *A History of New York* among many other sources. Nevertheless, the inherent confusion of identity in ‘Rip van Winkle’ – as Rip undergoes the distress of learning that ‘instead of being a subject of his Majesty George the Third, he was now a free citizen of the United States’²⁰⁰ – must have appealed to Joyce in the context of the status of American literature in Ireland as a model of decolonised literature. ‘Rip van Winkle’ and especially *A History of New York* are integrally concerned with the ‘invention’ of the United States, its founding myths and legends. Irving’s apparently innocent tale posits a profound indeterminacy at the heart of these inventions. Rip, for instance, ‘used to tell his story to every stranger that arrived at Mr Doolittle’s hotel. He was observed, at first, to vary on some points every time he told it, which was, doubtless, owing to his having so recently awaked. It at last settled down precisely to the tale I have related, and not a man, woman, or child in the neighbourhood, but knew it by heart’.²⁰¹ Irving’s ironic insistence that the oral tale is ‘doubtless [...] precisely’ told deliberately undermines its claims to authenticity. ‘Rip van Winkle’ is thus a text to be performed and performative itself, humorously staging the telling of the transition from colony to American republic. Giles has argued that the ‘narratives of Washington Irving [...] appear in a different light if they are understood as reflecting the suppressed trauma of internecine conflict in the first generation after the American Revolution’.²⁰² Joyce began writing ‘Circe’ in May/June 1920 against a backdrop of the

¹⁹⁹ *The Freeman’s Journal*, 23 October 1876. All subsequent dated reports will refer to this newspaper.

²⁰⁰ *The Sketch-Book*, p.47.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.47.

²⁰² Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, p.142.

intensification of violence and repression in Ireland between 1919-21.²⁰³ While it was far from certain that an Irish republic would ensue as an American republic did for Rip, it is tempting to read side-by-side Irving's humorous, burlesque restaging of revolution and the Irish revolution contemporary to the composition of Joyce's theatrical, burlesque chapter.

Irving's somnolent restaging of revolution also recurs in the *Wake*. In III.2, 'Jaunty Jaun' (FW 429.01) decides to 'rest his bruised brogues' (FW 429.04-5) and lie down 'propped up, restant, against a butterblond warden of the peace, one comestabulish Sigurdson [...] who, buried upright [...] kozydozy, had tumbled slumbersomely on sleep at night duty [...]' (FW 429.18-23). Constable Sigurdson, who later in III.3 quotes from Ibsen's *Tales of a Revolutionary* (FW 530.23), is here, like Rip, a drunken, sleepy revolutionary-of-sorts.²⁰⁴ Both fall asleep after having had a drink and become 'liquefied' (FW 430.13), while Sigurdson 'murmured abasourdy in his Dutchener's native, visibly unmoved, over his treasure trove for the crown' (FW 430.13-5). Sigurdson's 'Dutchener's native' signals most clearly the link to Rip, who is a descendant of the 'Dutch colonists' who settled his village.²⁰⁵ Other suggestive details point to the tale: 'the rarerust sight of the first human yellowstone landmark' recalls Bloom-as-Rip's 'rusty fowling-piece' in 'Circe' alongside the American national park. Moreover, as Benjamin McArthur has pointed out, from the first theatrical performances of the story 'Rip became a sot'. Despite Irving's tale making minimal reference to Rip being 'naturally a thirsty soul' – unlike Joyce's descriptions of 'Comestipple Sacksoun' (FW 015.35) – the image of Rip as a drunkard 'became so pronounced in the stage version as to permanently alter Irving's original conception'.²⁰⁶ Again, the evidence suggests that Joyce is most likely thinking of the stage version of 'Rip van Winkle' rather than the text itself.

Joyce's note-taking from Irving's *A History of New York* is, on the contrary, an entirely textual approach. VI.B.29, where the notes are found, was compiled to a large extent for the single purpose of adding to the HCE section of III.3: FW 532.06-554.09.²⁰⁷ The notebook was compiled between early February to mid-March 1930, and most of the material was transferred when Joyce was preparing the typescripts for the printer of *Haveth Childers Everywhere*, probably in early 1930.²⁰⁸ Why did Joyce turn to Irving's mock-epic history at this point? On the one hand, he is clearly adding to sources for a section on city-building HCE, and as such Irving's history of the Dutch colonial

²⁰³ For the composition history of 'Circe', see Michael Groden, *'Ulysses' in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p.167. For the intensification of the Irish War of Independence, see Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party 1916-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.266-304.

²⁰⁴ For the revolutionary aspect of 'Sigurdson', see Finn Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake: Unravelling Universals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.10.

²⁰⁵ *The Sketch-Book*, p.34.

²⁰⁶ McArthur, *The Man who was Rip van Winkle*, p.228.

²⁰⁷ See VI.B.29.185-203; 210-216.

²⁰⁸ See VI.B.29, p.10; *James Joyce Archive*, 59.

settling of New Amsterdam (along with an attachment to his ‘beloved Hudson River’²⁰⁹) has an obvious appeal. The Dutch emphasis also lends itself to what Geert Lernout has described as Joyce’s intention to ‘Dutchify’ both HCE and Shaun.²¹⁰ Moreover, its material proximity in the notebook to Benjamin Seebom Rowntree’s *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* – a study of poverty in York – suggests a possible intention to follow notes on Old York with notes on New York. This shift from one York to another is, as I shall argue, actually played out in the *Wake*. On the other hand, Joyce already had plenty of notes on New York before he decided to introduce a section into III.3 on HCE. These came from O. Henry’s *The Four Million* in VI.B.3, a set of short stories in which New York is as much as character as Dublin is to *Dubliners*. Under closer scrutiny, it appears that Joyce employed most of the lexical units derived from *The Four Million* in sections about Shaun/Jaun/Yawn (e.g. *FW* 092.21, 260.08, 388.16, 451.12, 476.14, 523.23, etc.). For the section on HCE in III.3, we get Irving’s *History of New York* instead (e.g. *FW* 533.17, 535.15, 537.32, 539.26, 545.18, 548.26, 552.12, 553.26, etc.). It is therefore tempting to draw from this *bricolage* of philological material the tentative conclusion that Joyce is positing a familial relation between father/son, HCE/Shawn, and a colonial-genealogical relation between Old and New York.

This dynamic of doubling – Old/New World, Old/New York, colonial/republican city, Dublin, Ireland/Dublin, Georgia – is also in a sense reflected in the critical history of Irving’s work. *A History of New York* is, in both the entries for Irving in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition and the 1917-21 *Cambridge History of American Literature*, described as simultaneously *sui generis* and characteristic of American writing.²¹¹ It is, moreover, a ‘rambling mock-heroic tale’, as Joyce described the *Arabian Nights*, and constantly burlesques formal historical narratives through its mock-epic doubling in a manner not dissimilar to the ‘parodies’ of ‘Cyclops’. Examples of this include Peter Stuyvesant, of whom Irving writes: ‘To say merely that he was a hero would be doing him great injustice; he was, in truth, a combination of heroes’.²¹² Elsewhere, Jan Claudius Risingh, ‘who succeeded to the command of New Sweden, looms largely in ancient records as a gigantic Swede, who, had he not been rather knock-kneed and splay-footed, might have served for the model of a Samson or a Hercules’.²¹³ The HCE-like Oloffe the Dreamer is described thus:

Like all land speculators, he was much given to dreaming. Never did anything extraordinary happen at Communipaw but he declared that he had previously dreamt it, being one of those infallible prophets who predict events after they have come to pass. This supernatural gift was as highly valued among the burghers of Pavonia as among the enlightened nations of antiquity. The wise Ulysses was more indebted to his sleeping

²⁰⁹ ‘Washington Irving’, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, vol.1, p.256.

²¹⁰ Geert Lernout, ‘Dutch in “Finnegans Wake”’, in *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol.23, no.1 (Fall, 1985), p.55.

²¹¹ ‘Washington Irving’ in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, pp.856-57; ‘Washington Irving’, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, vol.1, p.256.

²¹² Irving, *Knickerbocker’s History of New York* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), p.204.

This was the edition used by Joyce.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.267.

than his waking moments for his most subtle achievements, and seldom undertook any great exploit without first soundly sleeping upon it; and the same may be said of Oloffte van Kortlandt, who was thence aptly denominated Oloffte the Dreamer.²¹⁴

This connection is registered by Joyce in VI.B.29, where he notes simply: ‘ \square has dream’ (190 (c)).

However, it is another form of doubling which takes prominence in the notes. For the most part, VI.B.29 contains notes on either Dutch words or names, or on New York place-names.²¹⁵ In this way, Joyce is able to connect ‘Amtsadam’ (FW 532.06) with ‘Nieuw Amsteldam’ (FW 117.24). VI.B.29 contains lists of Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, prominent Dutch families (the ‘chivalry of the Hudson’²¹⁶), and even a list of colourful Dutch insults. Not all of these were transferred, but they suggest a focused approach. It is, however, highly problematic when deciding whether or not these notebook entries have any allusive significance as they appear in the final text, and whether, more generally, Joyce’s ‘harvesting’ of material reflects at all on his attitude to the author and the works. As the editors of VI.B.3 argue in their introduction regarding Joyce’s notes from *The Four Million*: ‘In the end we are hardly any the wiser about his views about these stories as stories, for the note-taking is almost entirely lexicographic and a lexicographer harvesting words makes no distinction between an O. Henry and a Hemingway (of whom Joyce was to make very similar use later), beyond the amount of words and usages each might provide’.²¹⁷ Can the same be said of Irving and *A History of New York*?

It is less likely that Joyce was using Irving to give passages in the *Wake* a ‘slight American colouring’ as is the case with Henry, given the greater proportion of Dutch words and names that make up the notes. There is also the question of the period of American history that Irving represents. As an antebellum writer whose best-known writings deal with colonial American history, Irving does not offer the twentieth-century European reader such colourful Americanisms as might be found in, say, *Huckleberry Finn* or *The Four Million*, and his self-styled ‘authentic’ history of New Amsterdam differs greatly from genuine attempts to present a regional authenticity, as with Twain’s *Life on the Mississippi* for instance. Irving’s American identity had a self-confessed European outlook and it is precisely these European elements that Joyce identifies and collects to build his own ‘Nieuw Amsteldam’ in the *Wake*. It would seem odd to use an American author to ‘Dutchify’ HCE, less so when taken in context of *Wake*’s systematic deployment of ‘mixed racings’ (FW 117.22) and ‘semicolonials’ (FW 152.16).

How is *A History of New York* used in III.3? Conveniently, the first page of notes from the text, VI.B.29.185(a-g), are indicative of one particular thematic strand that emerges out of the notebook. The notes read as follows: (a) ‘van Kortlandt’; (b) ‘chip boats’; (c) ‘geode Frau’; (d)

²¹⁴ Ibid., pp.26-27.

²¹⁵ As noted in the introduction to VI.B.29, p.9.

²¹⁶ *A History of New York*, p.323.

²¹⁷ VI.B.3, p.8.

‘copper bottomed’; (e) ‘poop’; (f) ‘triple bob major’; (g) ‘ Δ indian’. Book-ending this particular set, van Kortlandt is the HCE-like ‘land speculator’ Oloff the Dreamer, while ALP is an ‘indian’. The passage in question from *A History of New York* relates, via the recollections of Dietrich Knickerbocker’s great-great-grandfather, the arrival of a ship from Amsterdam (the Goede Vrouw) at the mouth of the Hudson. The ‘natives’ of a ‘small Indian village’ were ‘so horribly confounded’ by the ‘tremendous and uncouth sound of the Low Dutch language’ that they ‘took to their heels’ and fled.²¹⁸ The notes thus bring together Dutch HCE and ‘indian’ ALP via a colonial encounter. As Lernout has argued in his analysis of Dutch in *Finnegans Wake*: ‘As a Protestant and early imperialist country [the Netherlands] carries negative connotations. [...] We can conclude that although the Dutch and Afrikaans elements do not seem to have any structural function in *Finnegans Wake*, they are almost always associated with HCE or with Shaun, reinforcing HCE’s role as the foreign invader and the link between father and son’.²¹⁹ Such a dynamic has already been hinted at by Yawn (*FW* 525.23; 525.33-5): HCE as the invader penetrating coast and river. The notes ‘spiking devil’ and the ‘narrows’ (VI.B.29.186(a) and (h)) continue this theme. At *FW* 548.26, HCE, as a ‘man of capitol’ (*FW* 548.17) describes the gifts with which he has showered his ‘Appia Lippia Pluviabilla’ (*FW* 548.06), including ‘peltries piled’ (*FW* 548.26) and ‘bedes of wampum with to toy’ (*FW* 548.31). Both of these ‘gifts’ are sourced from *A History of New York* and relate to extortionate and exploitative trade with native Americans. At *FW* 553.26, ALP is again placed in a position of colonial exploitation as HCE declares: ‘I brewed for my alpine plurabelle, wigwarming wench’. Joyce takes the note ‘wigwarmer / wigwarmed’ (VI.B.29.190(d)) from the same passage as ‘peltries’ (VI.B.29.190(e)) in *A History of New York*: ‘[...] here and there might be seen on some sunny knoll, a group of Indian wigwams whose smoke arose above the neighbouring trees, and floated in the transparent atmosphere. A mutual good-will, however, existed between these wandering beings and the burghers of New Amsterdam. Our benevolent forefathers endeavoured as much as possible to ameliorate their situation by giving them gin, rum, and glass beads, in return for their peltries, for it seems the kind-hearted Dutchmen had conceived a great friendship for their savage neighbours, on account of their being pleasant men to trade with, and little skilled in the art of making a bargain’.²²⁰

This is one of the ways HCE reveals his apparent guilt; his own defence contains the clues to his ambiguous crime. At the beginning of the same long passage starting at *FW* 550.08 and continuing to *FW* 552.30, HCE describes the ‘weeks of kindness’ he devoted to his ‘shopsoiled doveling’ (*FW* 550.23) in a heavily racialized passage: ‘and to my saffronbreathing mongoloid I gave Biorwik’s powlver and Uliv’s oils, unguents of cuticure, for the swarthy searchall’s face on her, with handewers and groinscrubbers and a carrycam to teaze her tussy out, the brown but combly, a mopsa’s broom to duist her sate’ (*FW* 550.17-21). In this case, the note ‘mops / brooms’ – VI.B.29.196(e) – relates not

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp.15-16.

²¹⁹ Lernout, ‘Dutch in “Finnegans Wake”’, pp.53; 61.

²²⁰ *A History of New York*, p.68.

to colonial exploitation, but the ‘leading principle of domestic economy’: ‘In those good days of simplicity and sunshine, a passion for cleanliness was the leading principle in domestic economy, and the universal test of an able housewife [...] The whole house was constantly in a state of inundation, under the discipline of mops and brooms and scrubbing-brushes’.²²¹ Further down the page, HCE describes how all the ‘lewd mayers and our lairdie meireesses’ – including ‘Pieter Stuyvesant’ (*FW* 550.31), a leading figure in *A History of New York* – were ‘kiotowing and smuling fullface on us’ (*FW* 500.28-9), adding: ‘she had dabblingtime for exhibiting her grace of aljambras [...] while I, dizzed and dazed by the lumpty thumpty of our interloopings, fell clocksure off my ballast’ (*FW* 550.34-551.01). ALP, with a ‘swarthy searchall’s face on her’ (*FW* 550.19), is again racialized as ‘indian’ or Moorish via Irving’s *Tales of Alhambra*, and HCE, who claims to have ‘civicised’ or domesticated her (*FW* 550.23), is again the foreign invader. However, like Humpty Dumpty or the Ballast Office Ball (*FW* 550.36-551.01), he is predestined – ‘foredreamed’ (*FW* 551.11) by Oloffte – to fall. HCE and ALP’s ‘interloopings’, moreover, derive from a passage in *A History of New York* where the British ‘invaders’ describe the Dutch settlers as ‘mere interlopers’.²²²

Perhaps what Irving suggested most forcefully for Joyce was not simply the idea of America as a melting pot – the ‘sweepings of every country including our own’ (*U* 10.735) – but rather as a stage in an ‘interlooping’ cyclical history. Significantly, Irving’s own history (as the vast number of biographies attested) embodied this very dynamic of doubleness. Indeed, for Giles, Irving’s personal history is vital to a consideration of his writing, and he highlights in particular Irving’s long periods in Europe: ‘This prolonged sense of exile and deracination provokes in Irving’s writing a double discourse of nostalgia and distance, sentimentalism and irony; [...]. This effectively defamiliarizes inherited traditions’.²²³ Certainly, the inherited tradition of American exceptionalism is up for grabs in *A History of New York* and the *Wake*, where Joyce consistently draws it back into ‘interlooping’ colonial/imperial histories: Roman, Dutch and British.

This is strongly suggested in a passage from Jaun’s ‘long absurd and rather incestuous Lenten lecture to Izzy, his sister’ (*LI* 216) in III.2, which is worth quoting at length:

And I don’t care a tongser’s tammany hang who the mucky is nor twoo hoots in the corner nor three shouts on a hill (were he even a constantineal namesuch of my very own, Attaboy Knowling, and like enoch to my townmajor ancestors, the two that are taking out their divorces in the Spooksbury courts circuits, Rere Uncle Remus, the Baas of Eboracum and Old Father Ulissabon Knickerbocker, the lanky sire of Wolverhampton, about their bristelings), but as true as there’s a soke for sakes in Twoways Peterborough and sure as home we come to newsky prospect from west the wave on schedule time (if I came any quicker I’ll be right back before I left) from the land of breach of promise with Brendan’s mantle whitening the Kerribrasilian sea and March’s pebbles spinning from

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.95-96.

²²² *Ibid.*, p.394. The *Wake*’s ‘interloopings’ comes from the note ‘interlooping’, VI.B.29.203(f).

²²³ Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, p.147.

beneath our footslips to carry fire and sword, rest insured that as we value the very name in sister that as soon as we do possibly it will be a poor lookout for that insister. (*FW* 442.03-18)

In VI.B.29 notes about poverty in York are followed by notes from *A History of New York*; in this passage, Old York is invoked through allusions to the War of the Roses and is indeed followed by Old Father Knickerbocker.²²⁴ Old Father Knickerbocker had been a common name for New York since it was popularised by Irving.²²⁵ New York is further indicated through the allusion to Tammany Hall, the notoriously corrupt political machine of the Democratic Party in which Irish immigrants played a pivotal role. Allusions to ancestry and family disputes (the War of the Roses; House of York and New York; America ‘divorcing’ England; Romulus and Remus; Peter and Paul) are intertwined with references to finance and contractual disputes (‘breach of promise’; ‘rest insured’) in such a way as to suggest not only Joyce’s dealings with the American courts, but also an ‘interlooping’ colonial history played out as a family drama. It also recycles the events of an passage in I.5, where ‘our mixed racings have been giving two hoots or three jeers for the grape, vine and brew and Pieter’s in Nieuw Amsteldam and Paoli’s where the poules go and rum smelt his end for him’ (*FW* 117.21-5). Here again the ‘interlooping’ colonial histories are presented as a family affair: ‘this oldworld epistola of their weatherings and their marryings and their buryings and their natural selections’ (*FW* 117.27-8). This tumbling, mock-evolutionary genealogy traces a link between Rome and New York (or Boston, via the letter-carrying ‘poule’), and indeed distorts and reconfigures it. Joyce’s ‘Pieter’ here is both St Peter and Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam. Thus, in effect the re-circulation of this material mimics the ‘interlooping’ history it describes, and indicates that the ‘divorces’ of the Old and New Worlds are not the clean breaks that revolutionary exceptionalism demands. A salutary warning as Jaun returns from the ‘land of breach of promise’ to the ‘new world’ of the Free State.

²²⁴ See McHugh, *Annotations*, p.442.

²²⁵ See *The New York Times*, ‘Brander Matthews Talks About Father Knickerbocker’, 2 April 1905, p.SM2.

Chapter Two

‘The new world presses’:

Joyce and American Popular Culture

‘The new world presses. Where the old conk cruised now croons the yunk’

FW 387.36–388.01

In an address to the Irish Literary Society in July 1892, the Hon. Sir Charles Gavin Duffy K.C.M.G. told his concerned audience: ‘I have made inquiries, and I am assured that the books chiefly read by the young in Ireland are detective or other sensational stories from England and America, and vile translations from the French of vile originals. It is for the moralist, and indeed for all of us who love Ireland, to consider whether the virtues for which our people were distinguished, purity, piety and simplicity, are not endangered by such intellectual diet’.¹ For Duffy, the manifest dangers of such ‘dram-drinking of sensational literature’ are pressing: nothing less than ‘the mind of the generation destined some day to fill our place [...] becoming debased, perhaps depraved, by battenning on literary garbage’.² Joyce, in 1892 part of the new generation battenning on this literary filth, grew up reading many such sensational stories and this chapter will focus on the American variety of Duffy’s ‘literary garbage’.³ It will also discuss American music and music-hall, focusing on blackface minstrelsy, and the changes in Ireland’s ‘intellectual diet’ as sensational literature’s dominant position in popular culture was challenged by new technologies, particularly film. That Joyce was frequently categorized along with ‘debased’ and ‘depraved’ literature is well-known. Exactly thirty years after Duffy’s warning about a depraved new generation ‘dram-drinking’ sensational stories, hostile reviews of *Ulysses* would describe Joyce writing ‘as if his pen were dipped in obscenity’, his words ‘base, vulgar, vicious and depraved’.⁴ Perhaps only the widespread stupefaction that greeted *Finnegans Wake* spared it the same fate. It has also been argued that Joyce’s works break down, or at least obscure, the barriers between high and low art.⁵ As R.B. Kershner argues, there is a ‘new theoretical consensus that the writing of Joyce is part of a continuous cultural fabric that also includes the music hall, pornography, body-building manuals and boys’ magazines’.⁶ Nevertheless, this chapter will argue that the ‘continuous cultural fabric’ in Joyce’s work does not ignore national-cultural discontinuities either. As Anne Fogarty has pointed out, Joyce was not as ‘utterly divergent’ from writers including Douglas Hyde as is assumed, and Joyce’s early views on the politics of Irish culture mirror many of Hyde’s. Like Duffy, Hyde deplored the influence of the ‘penny dreadfuls, shilling shockers, and [...] the garbage of the vulgar English weeklies’. Although Joyce avoids Hyde’s conclusions, both writers stress ‘the difference of the Irish and their separate history and culture’.⁷ The differences of American culture and the need to stress these differences in the articulation of Irish history and culture is a distinct feature in Joyce’s writing on American popular culture in *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*. Although

¹ Charles Gavan Duffy, *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir C. G. Duffy, Dr. G. Sigerson, and Dr. D. Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), pp.12-13.

² *Ibid.*, p.13; 12.

³ For Joyce’s early reading, see R. B. Kershner, *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Literature: Chronicles of Disorder* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p.6.

⁴ See Barbara Leckie, “‘Short Cuts to Culture’: Censorship and Modernism; or, Learning to Read *Ulysses*”, in *Joyce’s Audiences*, ed. by John Nash (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p.18.

⁵ See for instance Kershner’s introduction to *Joyce and Popular Culture*, ed. by R.B. Kershner (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), pp.1-22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁷ Anne Fogarty, ‘Joyce and Popular Culture’, UCD Scholarcast, Series 1 (Spring 2008). <http://www.ucd.ie/scholarcast/scholarcast4.html>.

Finnegans Wake engages with a shared history and culture through emigration, this work also deploys American popular culture as markedly different.

The aesthetic logic for this separation becomes increasingly apparent as Joyce's writing develops, hence a chronological approach will be adopted for this chapter. *Dubliners*, the Trieste writings and Joyce's early correspondence exhibit an interest exclusively in scattered fragments of American popular culture, and particularly its 'low' idioms. *Ulysses* continues this interest, but further complicates it, developing an aesthetic logic of a mediated culture; that is, American references in *Ulysses* are often employed in relation to or as a function of the British-Irish colonial context. Finally, *Finnegans Wake* takes these two points and adds a further element of irony in its treatment of American popular culture. The rise of American political and cultural power after the First World War is suggested by models of imperial succession deployed in the *Wake* as part of a 'vicous circle' (FW 134.16) whose most significant predecessors and models are the Roman and British Empires. Guglielmo Ferrero's *Ancient Rome and Modern America* argues that it is the classicist who is best placed to predict the future of the American republic on the Viconian-sounding grounds that history repeats itself: 'If this prophecy is not fallacious, we should expect history, which eternally repeats herself, to require the man of the New World to witness the same phenomena whose more gradual realisation they have already witnessed in the ancient world'.⁸ The *Wake* begins with Sir Tristram who has 'passencore rearrived from North Armorica' (FW 001.05); here is the man of the New World 'rearriving' (although, not quite yet) from North America ('Armorica') to witness the same phenomena, as Ferrero puts it. Later, in II.4, the legend of Tristan and King Mark – 'poor Merkin Cornyngwham' (FW 387.28) – is used again to depict, *inter alia*, a model of imperial succession: 'The new world presses. Where the old conk cruised now croons the yunk' (FW 387.36-388.01). Roland McHugh glosses the second sentence as the proverb 'Where the old cock crows, the young one learns'.⁹ Tristan, man of the New World, learns from Mark, man of the Old World. The 'yunk' here is then both 'young' and a 'yank'. The New World presses relentlessly in the *Wake*, perhaps most noticeably in the profusion of references to its popular culture, blackface minstrelsy especially. This chapter will look at how Joyce moves through these stages towards a final and complex view of American popular culture as both aesthetically the 'seim anew' (FW 215.23) and materially distinct.

'Land of strange phrases': American Popular Culture in *Dubliners*

In an essay entitled 'The Centenary of Charles Dickens', Joyce chides 'the great Cockney' for the dreariness of *American Notes* and the American chapters of *Martin Chuzzlewit* (OCPW 183-84). The

⁸ Guglielmo Ferrero, *Ancient Rome and Modern America* (London and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914), p.38.

⁹ McHugh, *Annotations*, p.388.

tedium of this writing is, for Joyce, a product of Dickens straying ‘out of hearing of the chimes of Bow Bells’: ‘There he is on his native heath and there are his kingdom and his power’ (*OCPW* 184). Joyce is surely right in his opinion of the American chapters of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, where Dickens is at pains to point out the discrepancies between the rhetoric of ‘that enlightened land [...] where all society was based on one broad level of brotherly love and natural equality’, and the reality of slavery and a grubby obsession with money: ‘All their cares, hopes, joys, affections, virtues and associations, seemed to be melted down into dollars’.¹⁰ In 1896, the ‘Literary Notes’ section of the *Freeman’s Journal* claimed that Irish readers have moved on from the prejudices of a *Martin Chuzzlewit*:

On this side of the ‘herring pond’ we are apt to be shy of American literature, while there are some who have a positive prejudice against the dialects, racy and otherwise, of ‘Columbia’. But we view with eyes very different from those of *Martin Chuzzlewit* the artists whom Brother Jonathan sends us from time to time. From them we have received many valuable lessons.¹¹

However, the very same concerns found in *Martin Chuzzlewit* occupy many of Joyce’s allusions to American popular culture. In a passage addressing a further criticism of Dickens that he is ‘a little exaggerated’, Joyce writes: ‘To say this of him is really to give him what I think they call in that land of strange phrases, America, a billet for immortality. It is precisely this little exaggeration which rivets his work firmly to popular taste, which fixes his characters firmly in popular memory’ (*OCPW* 186). Joyce does not imply that American English is ‘untranslatable’, as Whitman claimed to be, but rather judges its strangeness and novelty a suitable register for remarking on questions of popular taste and exaggeration.¹² His writings do not reach the pitch of anti-Americanism that *Martin Chuzzlewit* (‘dogmatically, compulsively anti-American’¹³) does. However, they do share some of the same targets. Joyce’s letters from Rome in 1906 disparagingly or mockingly refer to the American language (‘It is a relief not to understand the language sometimes’), accent (‘bloody fearful’), and voice (‘English and Americans abroad talk at the top of their voices’) (*LII* 146; 151; 191). There is a whiff of what Baudelaire referred to as a ‘commercial smell’ about America in some of Joyce’s remarks.¹⁴ Joyce urges Stanislaus to ‘dispose’ of ‘The Boarding House’ to an English or American newspaper in 1905 (*LII* 92), and in 1912 in a lecture on ‘Realism and Idealism in English Literature’ Defoe could have enjoyed ‘great fame as a special correspondent for some huge American or English newspaper’ (*OCPW* 172). America’s industrial strength is suggested in ‘After the Race’ in *Dubliners*, in which the

¹⁰ Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit* (London: David Campbell, 1994), pp.286; 273. Joyce was far from alone among his contemporaries in his criticism of *Martin Chuzzlewit*; see for instance the *Freeman’s Journal*, ‘Literature’, 28 May 1897, p.3.

¹¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, ‘Literary Notes’, 18 December 1896, p.3.

¹² Whitman, ‘Song of Myself’, *Poetry and Prose*, p.114.

¹³ Giles, *Atlantic Republic*, p.97.

¹⁴ Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*, trans. by Sharon Bowman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.59.

wealthy American Farley invites the young men onto his yacht, the Belle of Newport¹⁵. The ‘Almighty Dollar’ is mocked as self-evidently ridiculous in *Stephen Hero* (SH 59).

The social hierarchies represented in Dickens’ works were, by the end of the century, being vigorously challenged under the influence of America, as Paul Giles has argued. Giles suggests that the ‘democratising spectre of a “low” popular idiom’ emanating from across the Atlantic threatened to usurp ‘more conservative patterns of culture’ in Britain.¹⁶ However, in Joyce’s early writing, he appears to take a more Dickensian line on the potential of its ‘democratising’ effect. This is in evidence in Joyce’s lecture ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’, and his sardonic portrait of ‘wonderful’ America as a country where declining English nobility go to ask for the hands of the daughters of a ‘different sort of king’ – America’s ‘Paint or Sausage King[s]’ (OCPW 120). Rather than a democratising or subversive effect, this rather suggests an inversion of roles. However, *Dubliners* complicates this picture, as not only does it present a rigidly hierarchical society, but also one experiencing the democratic American challenge to more conservative patterns of culture. The ‘democratising spectre’ at the feast appears most clearly in ‘An Encounter’.

In ‘An Encounter’, subversive tales of the American West come literally hidden in a history of imperial Rome, *The Apache Chief* being smuggled into the classroom in the pages of Leo Dillon’s *Roman History* (D 12). The boys in the story had been introduced to the Wild West by Leo’s brother, Joe, who ‘had a little library made up of old numbers of *The Union Jack*, *Pluck* and *The Halfpenny Marvel*’:

Every evening after school we met in his back garden and arranged Indian battles. He and his fat young brother Leo, the idler, held the loft of the stable while we tried to carry it by storm; or we fought a pitched battle on the grass. But, however well we fought, we never won siege or battle and all our bouts ended with Joe Dillon’s war dance of victory. [...] But he played too fiercely for us who were younger and more timid. He looked like some kind of an Indian when he capered round the garden, an old tea-cosy on his head, beating a tin with his fist and yelling:

- Ya! yaka, yaka, yaka! (D 11)

When Joe’s ‘fat young brother’ (D 11) Leo is caught in school with the copy of *The Halfpenny Marvel* that contained *The Apache Chief* story, Father Butler is quick to assert what Vincent Cheng describes as his ‘strict cultural governance’:

- What’s this rubbish? he said. *The Apache Chief*! Is this what you read instead of studying your Roman History? Let me not find any more of this wretched stuff in this

¹⁵ Gifford and Seidman note of this yacht: “An allusion to Newport, Rhode Island, as a centre of yachting activity and also to Newport’s reputation as the vacation capital of America’s wealthy, the robber barons’ summer showcase”, Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008), p.58.

¹⁶ Paul Giles, *Atlantic Republic*, p.135.

college. The man who wrote it, I suppose, was some wretched scribbler that writes these things for a drink. I'm surprised at boys like you, educated, reading such stuff. I could understand it if you were ... National School boys. (D 12)

The child's failed subterfuge in effect replicates the contemporary concerns of Stephen's 'two masters' (U 1.638) of Britain and Rome about subversive influences being smuggled into the heart of empire through popular culture. Joyce's narrator later makes clear the challenge posed by these Wild West adventures to imperial discourses which stressed rigid social hierarchies when he describes how under their influence 'a spirit of unruliness diffused itself among us' and 'differences of culture and constitution were waived' (D 11). The latter in particular clearly demarcates a 'democratising' effect, and seems pitched at contemporary fears about the influence of such material. The narrator's preference for American detective stories, with their 'unkempt fierce and beautiful girls' (D 12), speaks of the same concerns. The ordered social structures of the British Empire required a domesticated femininity to complement the virtues of masculine vigour and self-discipline, while the Catholic Church in Ireland placed a great emphasis on Marian devotion.¹⁷ 'An Encounter' strongly encourages a reading of the story as a negotiation of 'democratizing' social and sexual forces, 'low' popular idioms, and ultimately the influence of America itself.

In 'An Encounter', images of the Wild West work to create a specific colonial discourse in which popular stories about American westward expansion and battles between 'cowboys and indians' could be translated into a British/Irish context - Ireland and the American West functioning as analogous sites of the colonial encounter between the 'civilised' planters and 'uncivilised' natives. A long-standing racialized discourse had portrayed the Irish as 'primitive' or 'wild'. Luke Gibbons has argued for the primary importance and persistence of Irish/Native American comparisons as a justification of conquest, often recurring long after the period of conquest.¹⁸ So pervasive were these comparisons that they could be employed on both sides of the political and ecumenical borders. An article in the resolutely loyalist *Dublin University Magazine* had insisted that 'the Protestant and Catholic peasantry are beings of a different kind [...]; and the industrious and steady settler of America is no more different from the wild and restless Indians of its native forests, than are those two classes of peasantry in Ireland'.¹⁹ At a United Irish League meeting in Glenamaddy, Co. Galway, in 1899, the Rev. William Conway P.P. addressed some 2,000 people, telling them: 'Fifty years ago a prophet of evil, an enemy of the Irish race, foretold that in a hundred years from that date, that is fifty years hence, an Irishman would be as rare in Ireland as a Red Indian on the streets of New York. Half

¹⁷ Ibid., p.138; James Donnelly, 'A Church in Crisis: The Irish Catholic Church Today', in *History Ireland*, vol.8, no.3 (Autumn 2000), p.12.

¹⁸ Luke Gibbons, 'Race Against Time: Racial Discourse and Irish History', in *Cultures of Empire: Colonisers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.208-10.

¹⁹ See Jason King, "'Their Colonial Condition": Connections Between French-Canadians and Irish-Catholics in The Nation and the Dublin University Magazine', in *Éire-Ireland*, vol.42, nos.1-2 (2007), pp.109-10.

that wicked prophecy had been fulfilled, for more than half the population of fifty years ago had fled from Ireland; fled from her as if she were a plague-stricken land; fled from a country teeming with fertility to lands not as fertile nor as fair; fled from Ireland whose climate was mild as a mother's milk to climates whose rigour tries the most vigorous constitution'.²⁰

Joyce was well aware how this interpretive framework of 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' worked, having described its operations with regards to the trial and hanging of Myles Joyce in 'Ireland at the Bar':

The English newspapers act as interpreters between Ireland and the English electorate [...]. Abroad, Ireland is not spoken of except when some trouble breaks out there such as that which has set the telegraph lines jumping in the last few days. The public skims through the dispatches received from London, which, while they may be lacking in acrimony, have some of the laconic aspect of the interpreter mentioned above. So the Irish figure as criminals, with deformed faces, who roam around at night with the aim of doing away with every Unionist. (*OCPW* 146)

The case of Myles Joyce in the west of Ireland demonstrated for James Joyce in Trieste how Ireland could be interpreted as a primitive uncivilised territory – a place of peripatetic criminals with deformed faces and no love for Unionists. The boys' 'Indian battles' then position them clearly – and ironically for Vincent Cheng – as the 'uncivilised' natives within this racialized colonial discourse.²¹ Their position, further complicated by issues of class, is arguably ironic in a further sense, which involves the Nietzschean concept of the 'transvaluation of values' as adapted by David Lloyd: 'A principal means by which nationalist movements declare their cultural distinctiveness from the dominant power and engage in the refinement of popular culture is manifest in a certain 'transvaluation of values' undertaken generally in the early stages of anti-colonial mobilisation. This transvaluation involves the inversion of colonial stereotypes by which the coloniser has marked as inferior the signs of the colonised's cultural difference'.²² The inversion of stereotypes – turning negative stereotypes positive – in 'An Encounter' lies on the one hand in the positive appropriation of the identity of the 'Indians' for their games. The stated democratising effect of the boys' 'Indian battles' serves to highlight the lack of true democratic spirit under the system which would compare Irish with Native American as a justification of conquest and occupation. On the other hand, chapter one argued that the Joyce of *Dubliners* was in part drawn to and influenced by American writers such as Harte and Whitman, and thus the intertextual connection between Joyce's writing and these models of decolonised American writing to an extent replicates the 'spirit of unruliness' in those 'chronicles of disorder' (*D* 12) in 'An Encounter'. Accordingly, the 'unruliness' and 'disorder' of Irish/Indians is

²⁰ See the *Freeman's Journal*, 3 December, 1899.

²¹ Cheng, *Joyce, Race, Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.84.

²² David Lloyd, *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity, 1800-2000: The Transformation of Oral Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.94.

inverted to create a Nietzschean transvaluation of value for Joyce's writing itself.²³ This is perhaps most clearly seen in the *Wake* – the *non plus ultra* of chronicles of disorder, where Joyce's dismantling of the English literary tradition is complete.

Provisionally, then, we can say that the narrator's preference for those 'chronicles of disorder' (D 12) can be aligned with Joyce's early interest in writers such as Harte and Whitman as analogous sites of 'disorder' with which to pursue his own dismantling of English and Roman cultural governance. However, at the same time, the democratising effect of that culture as observed in 'An Encounter' is to some extent undermined. Joe Dillon's surprising 'vocation for the priesthood' (D 11) and the even more surprising fantasy of whipping at the story's conclusion (D 19-20) seem to confirm a pessimistic outlook. The 'escape' (D 11) afforded by these stories is rapidly closed down. Any 'positive' transvaluation in 'An Encounter' is somewhat undercut by the deflationary movement of the story itself towards its 'penitent' (D 20) conclusion. As we shall see, this is quite typical of how allusions to popular American culture in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* are used to represent two often opposing ideas about the US.

The first reference to blackface minstrelsy in Joyce's work comes early on in 'The Dead', when Gabriel explains to aunts Julia and Kate that Gretta finds the word 'goloshes' funny because it reminds her of the Christy Minstrels (D 181) – possibly because she hears it as 'golly shoes', which she connects to 'golliwog'.²⁴ As Brown points out (D 307-8), by the early twentieth century any shows featuring blackface 'Negro' minstrels would have been referred to as Christy Minstrels, although there was indeed an original minstrel troupe founded in 1842 by one E.P. Christy. Christy Minstrel shows were clearly a familiar subject for the genteel characters of 'The Dead', but certain tacit conventions concerning their standing are revealed in their breaking. Freddy Malins, partly caricatured as a Punch-style simianised Irishman, defends the singing of the 'negro chieftain' at the Gaiety in the face of Bartell D'Arcy's apathy and Mr Browne's sarcasm: '– And why couldn't he have a voice too?' asked Freddy Malins sharply. Is it because he's only a black?' (D 199). Here the narrative voice intervenes as if to spare the reader from the embarrassed silence, which prompts Mary Jane to lead the table back to the 'legitimate opera' (D 199). At this point, the reader must decide exactly whose idea of legitimacy is being endorsed, as well as the possible question of whether Malins has actually mistaken a blackface performer for a black singer. It is quite likely that this is an instance of free indirect discourse, and music teacher Mary Jane apparently has firm ideas on what constitutes the legitimate opera. However, as we have seen in the closely contemporary political writings and

²³ Sam Slote, with a difference emphasis to mine, discusses Joyce's use of this Nietzschean concept in *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), *passim*.

²⁴ Susan J. Adams, 'Joyce in Blackface: Goloshes, Gollywoggs and Christy Minstrels in "The Dead"', in *De-familiarizing Readings: Essays from the Austin Joyce Conference*, ed. by Alan W. Friedman and Charles Rossman (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), pp.33-43.

correspondence, Joyce is quite capable of the ‘cultural snobbery’ that Cheng sees in Gabriel.²⁵ Significantly, it is often directed towards America. Freddy Malins’s intervention has been described as one of ‘imaginative solidarity’ and representative of ‘real aesthetic culture’, placing it in an intertextual relation with racial aesthetics in *Ulysses*, rather than the cruder depictions of race found in ‘Royal Hibernian Academy “Ecce Homo”’ or *Stephen Hero*, where Cranly’s nervous, jittery friend Glynn is described as being ‘a low-sized young man, with a nigger’s face and the curly black head of a nigger’ (*SH* 118).²⁶ Although ‘The Dead’ is closer chronologically to these juvenilia, it is more often read alongside the much later *Ulysses* where stage representations of race, including minstrelsy, will receive closer and more critical attention. Hence, it is to *Ulysses* I now turn.

‘New worlds for old’: American Popular Culture in *Ulysses*

Ulysses, though advancing and complicating the range of allusions to America, continues and embellishes Joyce’s earlier referencing of the ‘low’, demotic idiom of American popular culture. Often, then, what stand out are some of the more lurid and brash examples of that culture: ‘smutty Yankee pictures’ (*U* 12.1168) in the *Police Gazette*; the ‘excrement yellow gospeller on the Merrion Hall’, Alexander J. Dowie (*U* 14.1579); or P.T. Barnum’s Jumbo the elephant, who ‘loves Alice, the elephant’ (*U* 12.1496). Elsewhere, the ‘Oxen of the Sun’ chapter ends with, *inter alia*, recognizably ‘low’ American idioms, or as Joyce described the whole in a 1920 letter to Frank Budgen, a ‘frightful jumble of Pidgin-English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel’ (*LI* 139). However, Joyce also deploys the language of that ‘land of strange phrases’ in a manner not seen in the earlier writings. *Ulysses* features, for instance, a wide variety of songs and styles from the US, including rag time (‘Bill Bailey, Won’t You Please Come Home’, *U* 18.1282-83), Irish-American (‘Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?’, *U* 6.374-75), regional folk ballads (‘Jim Bludso’ *U* 15.797-98), and minstrel songs (‘If the Man on the Moon Were a Coon’, *U* 12.1801; ‘I’ve Been Working on the Railroad’, *U* 15.420-23). The notable appearances of figures including Eugene Stratton, Alexander J. Dowie, and the Bohee Brothers suggests both an expanded interest in the idioms of American popular culture and an historically determined reflection of a social reality in which American commercial and territorial expansion was being increasingly felt.

The deliberate ‘lowness’ and unexceptional presence of such material suggestively advances a perspective on American popular culture that appears contiguous to Joyce’s remarks on ‘marching towards universal Americanism’ in 1906 – that is, Dublin in 1904 displays the signs of an American

²⁵ Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire*, pp.138-40.

²⁶ For ‘imaginative solidarity’, see Elizabeth Cullingford, *Ireland’s Others: Ethnicity and Gender in Irish Literature and Popular Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000), p.235; for ‘real aesthetic culture’, see Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, p.140.

popular-cultural presence on the brink of becoming ‘universal’. Certain American cultural imports in *Ulysses* seem to belong to a commercialised mass culture that accrued strongly negative connotations within the context of ‘Americanisation’ in early twentieth-century Europe. The style of muckraking tabloid journalism the *Police Gazette* represented would be one such instance.²⁷ But American popular culture in Ireland was also considerably mediated through Irish and British-Irish channels. Indeed, just as the imperial adventure stories in ‘An Encounter’ had been published by Chapelizod-born Alfred Harmsworth, the owner of the *Gazette* was Irish immigrant Richard Kyle Fox. When Belfast-born Fox acquired the paper in 1879 it had been declining for years, but he revived its fortunes by turning it into ‘the most lurid journal ever published in the United States’.²⁸ Moreover, far from representing an authentic un-English culture, US cultural imports often overlapped and were associated with their English counterparts. As Peter C.L. Nohnberg has pointed out, for example, George Russell (AE) deplored how the ‘*Police Gazettes*, the penny novels, the hideous comic journals, replace the once familiar poems and the beautiful and moving memoirs of classic Ireland’.²⁹ D.P. Moran also held ‘a steadfast belief in the corrupting influence of British and American mass culture on the Irish’.³⁰ For Moran, preserving ‘Irish Ireland’ would mean protecting it from, *inter alia*, the ‘spicy bits’ (*U* 12.1321) of American popular culture with which Joyce liberally peppers *Ulysses*. This mediating process, which *Ulysses* reflects and to an extent replicates, constantly channels allusions to that culture through Irish history; hence, for example, the racial politics of blackface minstrelsy as it was advertised and performed in Dublin 1904 are inseparable from the racial politics in the history of Ireland’s colonisation. When Stephen on Sandymount Strand sees ‘wigwams’ (*U* 3.156) in Ringsend, it is precisely this ‘parallax’ view of two histories of colonial subjugation which inflects an image of America which most likely derives from popular culture (either from popular fiction or stage representations of America). As in *Dubliners*, however, Joyce complicates this perspective.

Joyce’s mediation of allusions to American popular culture via an Irish/British context is also in part an extension of a long-standing political thought process within Irish nationalism. This process sought repeatedly to compare Ireland’s political situation within an international context.³¹ Arthur Griffith’s Hungarian parallel is but one of the more well known. A leader in the *Freeman’s Journal* from September 1900 entitled ‘American Imperialism’, for instance, sets out why Ireland is fully behind the American Anti-Imperialists: ‘Irishmen almost everywhere seem instinctively to feel that Imperialism, whether exemplified in Cuba, or the Philippines, in South Africa or China, is invariably a new form, merely, of the spirit which has made this country a land of turmoil for seven hundred years, and which is still responsible for the unsettled condition of this nation. [...] it is right to remind

²⁷ Joyce refers in a letter to his aunt Josephine to ‘the gazette or police news or whatever the devil it is, it was always on sale in low newsagents’ (*LII* 471-2).

²⁸ Michael T. Isenberg, *John L. Sullivan and his America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p.94.

²⁹ Peter C.L. Nohnberg, “‘Building Up a Nation Once Again’: Irish Masculinity, Violence, and the Cultural Politics of Sports in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*”, in *Joyce Studies Annual* (2010), p.132.

³⁰ Cited *ibid.*, p.132.

³¹ See Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, p.18.

our readers that the portion of the Philippines “pacified” by the huge American army on the islands, after two years of fighting, is at the present moment harassed by the most vigorous and ingenious kind of guerrilla warfare, and that, after ten months of fighting in South Africa, the burning of Boer homesteads is a daily occurrence’.³² This kind of comparative political thought process mirrors Joyce’s own mediation or parallax view of American popular culture in *Ulysses*, whereby the ‘spirit’ of the British Empire finds a ‘new form’ in, for example, race politics (minstrels, Amerindians) or the alliance of commerce and missionary work (Dowie, Billy Sunday, Moody and Sankey).

The identification of the Irish cause with that of colonised peoples and anti-imperial struggles elsewhere – the Philippines, South Africa, China, Cuba – extends to an identification with the victims of historical colonisation of the Americas and slavery. There is an ‘imaginative solidarity’ with the victims, one with a lasting appeal³³; Jimmy Rabbitte in Roddy Doyle’s *The Commitments* put it memorably: ‘The Irish are the niggers of Europe, lads. [...] An’ Dubliners are the niggers of Ireland. [...] An’ the northside Dubliners are the niggers o’ Dublin. - Say it loud, I’m black an’ I’m proud’.³⁴ Joyce’s writing clearly displays this sense of ‘imaginative solidarity’ when it comes to America. The idea of race is evidently important throughout Joyce’s work, and his *Wokean* alter-ego Shem is repeatedly blacked-up and ‘minstrelised’ by his abusive, censorious brother Shaun. However, it is also clear that Joyce places a limit on that ‘imaginative solidarity’. American popular culture doesn’t ‘Americanise’ Joyce’s writing in the sense that it does for Doyle. Joyce’s ‘idea of America’ is manifestly different to Doyle’s post-war America. The ‘idea of America’ in early twentieth-century Ireland is inextricable from its rhetorical saviour role in Irish politics – ‘our greater Ireland beyond the sea’ (*U* 12.1364-5), as the citizen puts it. In turn, American popular culture is inextricable from the country’s role as saviour, and consequently politically loaded. Accordingly, the process of identification with the victims of historical colonisation of the Americas and slavery is tempered by an awareness of Irish complicity in ongoing American abuses through Ireland’s political and cultural solidarity with its potential saviour nation. The racial abuse of Bloom by the citizen and others exposes the limits of identification with the victims of the historical colonisation of the Americas and slavery, or contemporary victims of lynchings.

But what precisely did American popular culture in turn-of-the-century Ireland constitute? Is *Ulysses* a mirror of that culture, or does it deliberately put a cracked perspective before the reader? The parameters of the first question are too wide for this study, but by narrowing the focus to allusions in Joyce’s work an attempt at the second question is possible.

The ‘self-styled faith healer’ and ‘boss’ of Zion City John Alexander Dowie is one of the more prominent examples – if not the exemplum – of a garish, demotic, commercialized American culture

³² *Freeman’s Journal*, ‘American Imperialism, September 1900, p.5.

³³ Cullingford, *Ireland’s Others*, p.235.

³⁴ Roddy Doyle, *The Commitments* (London: Vintage, 1998), p.9.

in *Ulysses*.³⁵ As such, he has attracted considerable critical attention, despite having only a limited role in the novel.³⁶ The attention has for the most part focused on Dowie's language; Osteen for instance sees Dowie's 'American advertising argot' as turning religion into a 'slightly seedy commercial enterprise'; for Voelker and Arner, Dowie's language is a 'farical' counterpart to Bloom's 'political pantomime'; for Lernout, simply, 'it is clear that [Joyce] is making fun of this particularly enthusiastic form of religion'.³⁷ By contrast, Abravanel argues that through Dowie, Joyce 'links American English to a missionary, globalizing and even imperial project', which 'acknowledges [...] that American English is not only a medium for popular stories but also has worldly power'.³⁸ My argument lies between these two contrasting positions. Joyce does not adopt the US-centric position advocated by Abravanel and others – as pointed out by Jean-Michel Rabaté, Dowie's American English at the end of 'Oxen of the Sun' is often misread as Joyce prophetically indicating the future of the English language as an Americanized slang-filled democratic vista.³⁹ But there is clearly an overlap of 'imperial project[s]': that is, Dowie replicating the forms familiar to Joyce of British proselytizing in Ireland.

Dowie's role in *Ulysses* is closely tied to Bloom. 'Oxen' apart, his appearances are filtered through or occasioned by Bloom's thoughts. Dowie is first mentioned at the start of 'Lestrygonians', when a 'sombre Y.M.C.A. young man [...] placed a throwaway in a hand of Mr Bloom' (*U* 8.5-6). Bloom reads the flyer:

Are you saved? All are washed in the blood of the lamb. God wants blood victim. Birth, hymen, martyr, war, foundation of a building, sacrifice, kidney burnt offering, druids' altars. Elijah is coming. Dr John Alexander Dowie restorer of the church in Zion is coming. (*U* 8.10-14)

Interestingly, 'Y.M.C.A.' is a post-*Little Review* addition, suggesting perhaps a feeling for Pound's quip that 'the U.S.A. should be renamed the Y.M.C.A.'.⁴⁰ Bloom's assessment of the flyer is pithy

³⁵ 'Dowie Comes for Dollars', in *Daily Mail*, 17 September 1900, p.3; 'Zionist Dowie Heckled', in *Daily Mail*, 8 October 1900, p.3.

³⁶ Joe Voelker and Thomas Arner, 'Bloomian Pantomime: J.A. Dowie and the "Messianic Scene"', in *JJQ*, vol.27, no.2 (Winter, 1990), pp.283-91; Robert Janusko, 'More on J. A. Dowie (& Son)', in *JJQ*, vol.29, no.3 (Spring, 1992), p.610; Mark Osteen, *The Economy of Ulysses: Making Both Ends Meet* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), p.122; John Gordon, *Joyce and Reality: The Empirical Strikes Back* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), pp.150-51; Peter Gilliver, 'Billy Sunday: A New Source for "Oxen of the Sun"', in *JJQ*, vol.44, no.1 (Fall 2006), pp.133-135; Genevieve Abravanel, 'American Encounters in *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*', in *Journal of Modern Literature* vol.33, no.4 (2010), pp.153-66; Geert Lernout, *Help my Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion* (London: Continuum, 2010), p.155-6; R. Brandon Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.86.

³⁷ Osteen, *The Economy of Ulysses*, p.122; Voelker and Arner, 'Bloomian Pantomime: J.A. Dowie and the "Messianic Scene"', p.283; Lernout, *Help My Unbelief*, p.156.

³⁸ Abravanel, 'American Encounters in *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*', p.160.

³⁹ Rabaté, "'Crimes Against Fecundity': Poe/Joyce", paper delivered at the Fourth Annual James Joyce Research Colloquium, Dublin, 14 April, 2011.

⁴⁰ *The Little Review*, vol.5, no.9 (January 1919), p.27; Pound cited in R.H.C., 'Readers and Writers', *New Age* (28 April 1921), p.89.

and rationalist: ‘Paying game’ (*U* 8.17). Bloom sees more clearly than most around him the financial demands of religion. He goes on to associate Dowie with another American proselytising mission to Ireland, that of ‘Torry and Alexander last year’ (*U* 8.17) – another later addition, suggesting Joyce wanted to heighten the presence of American proselytising in *Ulysses*.⁴¹ As Lernout has pointed out, in a 1903 revivalist meeting held by Reuben Archer Torrey and Charles McCallom Alexander, ‘3,000 people accepted Christ in the same Metropolitan Hall where Dowie is going to speak’.⁴² Bloom also tries to recall an ad by ‘some Birmingham firm’ for, it would appear, a ‘luminous crucifix’ (*U* 8.18-19). He is less than convinced, and associates it with not just the macabre or bizarre but also the commercial: ‘Our Saviour. Wake up in the dead of night and see him on the wall, hanging. Pepper’s ghost idea. Iron nails ran in’ (*U* 8.19-20). ‘Pepper’s ghost’, as Gifford and Seidman point out, ‘involved the manipulation of phosphorescent costumes, lighting, and dark curtains to produce the dramatic illusion of ghostly presences on stage’.⁴³ It was a highly profitable and commercialised act; a report in 1900 on the death of ‘Professor Pepper’ in the *Freeman’s Journal* emphasises how he ‘reaped a substantial reward’ from his ‘insubstantial troupe’ – ‘patented ghosts are a profitable commodity’.⁴⁴ The report continues:

It was not ghosts merely the Professor raised, but the wind as well. He used his patents as freely as Aladdin used his lamp to keep them going. Those unfortunate apparitions were as hard worked as the trained dog in the circus. [...] All modern illusions are but the perfected performances of the highly-trained ghost of Professor Pepper. He was the first that held the mirror up to magic, and all the modern magicians have profited by his example.⁴⁵

The allusion to ‘Pepper’s ghost’ strongly suggests that the prophet Dowie is also profiting from the example of ‘Professor Pepper’. Joyce was clearly interested in certain excesses of American evangelical Protestantism – as his extensive note-taking from Charles Ferguson’s *Confusion of Tongues* for the *Wake* shows⁴⁶ – but the wonderfully ersatz luminous crucifixes from Birmingham should also remind us that such zealous excesses were not limited to the United States.

Bloom had already reflected on proselytism earlier in the day. In ‘Lotus-Eaters’, his thoughts as he enters the porch of the All Hallows church begin their perambulations on the subject of missionary work, being prompted by a notice on the door:

Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee S.J. on saint Peter Claver S.J. and the African Mission. Prayers for the conversion of Gladstone they had too when he was almost

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.28.

⁴² Lernout, *Help my Unbelief*, p.155.

⁴³ *Ulysses Annotated*, p.157.

⁴⁴ ‘Pepper’s Ghost’, *Freeman's Journal*, 31 March 1900, p.4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁴⁶ VI.B.29.204-9.

unconscious. The protestants are the same. Convert Dr William J. Walsh D.D. to the true religion. Save China's millions. Wonder how they explain it to the heathen Chinees. Prefer an ounce of opium. [...] Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with hand under his cheek. Josssticks burning. Not like Ecce Homo. Crown of thorns and cross. Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock. Chopsticks? (U 5.322-30)

Typical of Bloom, this passage mixes freely the serious and the comic, the sacred and the profane, the eminent and the ordinary. Exemplifying this mix, a brief intonation in the lofty language of the Vulgate follows Bloom's reference to the 'heathen Chinees', which Gifford and Seidman claim is taken from Bret Harte's aptly titled 'Plain Language from Truthful James'.⁴⁷ The intersection of the Bible and China is also particularly apt in the context of the various references to missionary work and proselytising in this passage, in particular the sectarian rivalry in the work of salvation overseas. The Jesuits, who first arrived in China in the sixteenth century and were followed by the Dominicans and Franciscans in the 1630s, were by the mid-nineteenth century competing for souls with a new and vast influx of Protestant missionaries. Protestantism arrived in China after it muscled its way in via the opium trade wars in the nineteenth century; the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing lifted an imperial ban on Christian belief as well as opening ports to the trade in opium.⁴⁸ Its success in promoting China as a missionary cause is reflected in Bloom's association of Chinese missions as Protestant. The 1890s in particular saw a huge increase in the levels of American Protestant missionary activity, notably in China. As Rosenberg points out: 'Protestant missionaries became some of the most zealous and conspicuous overseas carriers of the American Dream'.⁴⁹ It is salient, then, that the most zealous and conspicuous proselytising Protestant in *Ulysses* should be an American, Alexander J. Dowie. For Bloom the modern rationalist and adman, proselytising is a practical problem to be worked out (with 'Chopsticks?'). He thinks of St Patrick and how he used the shamrock to explain the Trinity to the Irish, thereby bringing the Irish and the 'heathen Chinees' into much closer proximity. Moreover, the recent Boxer Rebellion – an attempted anti-imperial and anti-missionary revolution – was to a large extent based on resentment by the 'millions' over attempts to 'save' them, and as such provides a dissident anti-colonial subtext. Britain's problems in China between 1898 and 1900 were closely followed in the Irish press; the *Freeman's Journal*, for instance, regularly reported on 'The Chinese Difficulty' during this period.⁵⁰

Joyce brings the Chinese missions, as well as the Jesuit missions in Africa, much closer to home again by referring to sectarian allegations of attempts to convert William E. Gladstone and the Archbishop of Dublin, William J. Walsh. Within the Irish setting, the figure of the 'zealous' Fr.

⁴⁷ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, p.92.

⁴⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Penguin, 2010), p.895-6. On this point, and Catholic-Protestant rivalry in China, see also Victor Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.123-34.

⁴⁹ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p.28.

⁵⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, passim.

Bernard Vaughan (*U* 10.36) is particularly relevant. As Andrew Gibson has pointed out, Vaughan was an instance of a ‘new, proselytising, evangelical temper in the English Catholic Church’.⁵¹ The English Catholic ‘zealot’ also founded the Society of Foreign Missions and was a ‘puritanical, pragmatic, utilitarian evangelist, with a sympathy for practical business people’.⁵² As such, Vaughan is a mirror image of Dowie in the Catholic-Protestant rivalry Bloom identifies in ‘Lotus-Eaters’.⁵³ Vaughan represents a form of English Catholicism which, like the Irish Church under Archbishop Cullen, emphasised Victorian Protestant values: practicality, resourcefulness, diligence. This, as Gibson points out, led to accusations against the Church in Ireland of complicity with the State, of being in thrall to certain English values.⁵⁴ The values of English Catholic evangelism in Ireland bear striking similarities in *Ulysses* to those of American Protestant evangelism. Sympathy for a mercantilist ethos is reflected and exaggerated in Dowie’s aggressive sales pitch: ‘The Deity aint no nickel dime bumshow. I put it to you that He’s on the square and a corking fine business proposition. [...] He’s got a coughmixture with a punch in it for you, my friend, in his back pocket. Just you try it on’ (*U* 14.1585-91). He is undoubtedly in the business of selling god: ‘Rush your order and you play a slick ace. Join on right here. Book through to eternity junction, the non-stop run’ (*U* 15.2192-93). In the final passage of the ‘Oxen of the Sun’ chapter, in which Dowie speaks in unmistakably American English, an expansionist ideology is clearly evoked through his claim to have ‘yanked to glory most half this planet from Frisco beach to Vladivostok’ (*U* 14.1584-85). However, it is Dowie’s final invitation to ‘try it on’ (*U* 14.1591) that reveals the replication of British models at the heart of his message. Indeed, his speech includes at least half of the ‘British beatitudes’ (*U* 14.1453-54) listed only a few lines earlier: ‘Beer, beef, business, bibles, bulldogs, battleships, buggery and bishops’ (*U* 14.1459-60).⁵⁵

However, perhaps the most damning aspect of Dowie’s presence in Ireland is the reminder he provides of Protestant proselytizing during the Famine. The stigma associated with ‘souperism’ in particular lasted generations, and the invective against proselytizers and converts endured in song and folklore.⁵⁶ Not long in the day after Bloom has received the flyer from Dowie, he passes the reverend Thomas Connellan’s bookstore and reads the title: ‘*Why I left the church of Rome*’ (*U* 8.1070-1). This prompts him to recall:

⁵¹ Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge*, p.83.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁵³ Osteen also briefly compares Vaughan and Dowie; see *The Economy of Ulysses*, p.125.

⁵⁴ Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge*, p.84.

⁵⁵ It is worth noting here that the American impresario P.T. Barnum, who bought Jumbo the elephant (*U* 12.1496), appears in the list of beatitudes in ‘Circe’ (*U* 15.2242).

⁵⁶ See for instance, Irene Whelan, ‘The Stigma of Souperism’, in *The Great Irish Famine*, ed. by Cathal Póirtéir (Cork: Mercier Press, 1995), pp.135-54; Gearóid Ó Hallmhuráin, ‘The Great Famine: A Catalyst in Irish Traditional Music Making’, in *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, ed. by Arthur Gribben, pp.123-24; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Black ’47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.221.

They say they used to give pauper children soup to change to protestants in the time of the potato blight. Society over the way papa went to for the conversion of the poor jews. Same bait. *Why we left the church of Rome.* (U 8.1071-4)

Bloom, among other things, in effect reminds the reader that Protestant missionary work in Ireland is a heavily loaded activity and carries disturbing memories. A preparatory note for *Ulysses* put it concisely: ‘Topical history: places remember events’.⁵⁷ For David Pierce, who discusses at length the place of the Great Famine in Irish literature, the Famine in Joyce writing’s ‘leaves a displaced mark’, intermittently appearing in such forms as Bloom’s pocketed potato. Pierce argues for the proximity of the Famine to 1904, to the point where in ‘Proteus’ famine history in Stephen’s imagination becomes somehow conflated as ‘both the memory and the event’, experienced as something both historical and contemporary.⁵⁸ Pierce’s Joyce ‘seems to be saying [...] the Famine is part of the culture [...] to be accepted as a given’.⁵⁹ If we accept the idea of the proximity of the Famine to 1904 and a topical history where Dublin remembers ‘black ‘47’, then Dowie’s proselytizing evokes disturbing memories.

Both the ‘frightful jumble’ (LI 140) of voices at the end of ‘Oxen’ and Dowie’s appearance in ‘Circe’ concern other key aspects of American popular culture in *Ulysses*: ‘injun[s]’ (U 14.1524), blackface minstrels and what Joyce described as ‘nigger dialect’ (LI 140). The theme of the Wild West and its ‘cowboys and Indians’, which Joyce employed in ‘An Encounter’ in *Dubliners*, recurs in *Ulysses* in a more nuanced elaboration of the coloniser/colonised thematic, particularly with regard to Irish/Native American comparisons. As Vincent Cheng has demonstrated, a self-consciously racialized discourse recurs throughout *Ulysses* and creates parallels between Ireland and other British colonies, past and present. Stephen Dedalus’ remark that the cracked mirror is a symbol of Irish art ‘voices and reasserts the resentment of the Irish at being forced (and racialized) into the servitude of a Caliban’.⁶⁰ This is precisely the abusive name Dowie gives to Bloom in ‘Circe’ (U 15.1760). Stephen recalls a scene from ‘Clive Kempthorpe’s rooms’ in Oxford and refers to the ‘oxy chap[s]’ as ‘Palefaces’ (U 1.154-66); later in the day he calls a group of English tourists ‘palefaces’ (U 10.341); and then tells his audience in the library, ‘The Sea Venture comes home from the Bermudas and the play Renan admired is written with Patsy Caliban, our American cousin’ (U 9.755-7).⁶¹ That such connections are playing on Stephen’s mind is apparent earlier on when he looks across from Sandymount Strand to Ringsend and sees ‘wigwams of brown steersmen and master mariners’ (U 3.156-57). Other references in *Ulysses* to a ‘calumet’ (U 7.464) and ‘wampum’ (U 12.507) reinforce the underlying

⁵⁷ Phillip Herring, *Joyce’s Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p.119.

⁵⁸ David Pierce, *Light, Freedom and Song: A Cultural History of Modern Irish Writing* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp.68-69.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.69-70.

⁶⁰ Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, pp.152-53.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.153-54.

suggestion that the Irish condition should be seen as at least partially equivalent to that of ‘Patsy Caliban, our American cousin’ – Irish and Amerindians sharing a ‘common history of cultural invasion’.⁶²

In the ‘Cyclops’ chapter, the somewhat heated conversation between Bloom and the citizen moves on to the issue of discipline in the British navy, in particular the severity of corporal punishment:

That’s your glorious British navy, says the citizen, that bosses the earth. The fellows that never will be slaves, with the only hereditary chamber on the face of God’s earth and their land in the hands of a dozen gamehogs and cottonball barons. That’s the great empire they boast about of drudges and whipped serfs.
On which the sun never rises, says Joe. (*U* 12.1346-51)

The issue of slavery is clearly prominent here. The reference to the ‘cottonball barons’ recalls an earlier ‘skit’ in the *United Irishman* (*U* 12.1510), in which a ‘delegation of the chief cotton magnates of Manchester was presented to His Majesty the Alaki of Abeakuta’ (*U* 12.1514-5), who also ‘visited the chief factory of Cottonopolis’ (*U* 12.1530). In a parodic account of how ‘[t]rade follows the Bible’ (*U* 12.1541), the skit runs: ‘The delegation partook of luncheon at the conclusion of which the dusky potentate, in the course of a happy speech, freely translated by the British chaplain, the reverend Ananias Praisegod Barebones, tendered his best thanks to Massa Walkup and emphasised the cordial relations existing between Abeakuta and the British empire, stating that he treasured as one of his dearest possessions an illuminated bible [...] graciously presented to him by the white chief woman, the great squaw Victoria [...]’ (*U* 12.18-26). Although the skit is ostensibly about ‘that Zulu chief’ (*U* 12.1510) and ‘British traders’ (*U* 12.1517), the presence of ‘Massa Walkup’ and ‘great squaw Victoria’ significantly Americanises the skit. American popular culture also colours the citizen’s response immediately following the skit to the (false) news that Bloom ‘had a few bob on Throwaway’: ‘– Is it that whiteeyed kaffir?’ (*U* 12.1551-2). The ‘White-Eyed Kaffir’ was the minstrel performer G.H. Chirgwin, who performed in blackface with large white diamonds painted around his eyes.⁶³

The citizen’s subsequent retort to Bloom’s response to the comments above brings together the associations between the Irish and Native Americans, while also suggesting a subtext of black slavery and America’s saviour role in Irish politics:

We’ll put force against force, says the citizen. We have our greater Ireland beyond the sea. They were driven out of house and home in the black ’47. Their mudcabins and the shielings by the roadside were laid low by the batteringram and the *Times* rubbed its hands and told the whitelivered Saxons there would soon be as few Irish in Ireland as

⁶² Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish*, p.83.

⁶³ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, p.366.

redskins in America. [...] Ay, they drove out the peasants in hordes. Twenty thousand of them died in the coffinships. But those that came to the land of the free remember the land of bondage. (*U* 12.1365-73)

Elsewhere in ‘Cyclops’, in close material proximity to the discussion about corporal punishment in the British navy, publican Terry is interrupted in his reading of the *Police Gazette* with Alf to serve his customers, but we hear the narrator’s thoughts on ‘the spicy bits’ the two are looking for in the newspaper:

And another one: Black Beast Burned in Omaha, Ga. A lot of Deadwood Dicks in slouch hats and they firing a Sambo strung up in a tree with his tongue cut out and a bonfire under him. Gob, they ought to drown him in the sea after and electrocute and crucify him to make sure of their job. (*U* 12.1324-28)

This headline and comment interrupt on the page a discussion about colonial violence, however blustering, tempestuous and compromised by the hypocrisy of the citizen’s ‘grabbing of the holding of an evicted tenant’ (*U* 12.1311-16). The close material proximity invites suggestive comparisons between the ‘Deadwood Dicks in slouch hats’ and the ‘rearadmirals drawn up in cocked hats’ (*U* 12.1334), between exploitative and violent coloniser/colonised relations in America and in Ireland. *Ulysses*, it would appear, develops through such exchanges an ironic perspective on the United States, exposing the irony of the ‘land of the free’ being infamous for slavery (‘land of bondage’) and lynchings, and thus heavily implicated in perpetuating a history of colonial expansion and concomitant racial violence. Rather than achieving a democratising or subversive effect through an imaginative solidarity with oppressed races in America – as for instance characters in Roddy Doyle’s novels do – Joyce instead deflates the emancipatory potential of the analogy by pointing out the uncomfortable parallels between the British Empire and contemporary America, and thereby stripping the latter of its credentials in Irish discourse as a revolutionary model. As Declan Kiberd puts it in his discussion of the *United Irishman* skit: ‘In this, as in much else, one tyranny is seen to duplicate another’.⁶⁴ In *Ulysses*, Joyce reminds the reader – ‘Remember’ (*U* 3.366); ‘remember the land of bondage’ (*U* 12.1373) – of past tyrannies in order to interrogate the present; ‘Does the slave’s back forget the rod?’, he asked in ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’ (*OCPW* 121). This historical imperative to remember significantly delimits the idea of America as ‘the land of the free’ in *Ulysses*.

A significant point of overlap which continues the racialized discourse in *Ulysses* with particular reference to America is the depiction of blackface minstrelsy. Since T.S. Eliot’s famous riposte in ‘*Ulysses*, Order, and Myth’ to Richard Aldington’s disapproval of *Ulysses*, critics have latched on to the ineluctable contemporaneity of Joyce’s writings, even while producing vastly different analyses of

⁶⁴ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, p.352.

its exact role in each of those works.⁶⁵ Whether reflecting modernity or shaping it, Joyce's texts are typically seen as being deeply embedded in the now of early to mid-twentieth-century Ireland and Europe.⁶⁶ From mathematics to medical obstetrics, Joyce is 'up-to-date'.⁶⁷ Wrapped up in this all-encompassing 'onto-logico-encyclopaedic field' of contemporary culture, as Derrida put it, it is then surprising to find that references to blackface minstrel shows in Joyce's works follow an almost inverse pattern to actual contemporary interest in this particular form of musical theatre.⁶⁸ Blackface minstrelsy had effectively merged into ragtime, vaudeville and musical comedy by the time Joyce was writing *Ulysses* and, as Len Platt argues, was definitely 'retro' before the composition period for the *Wake*.⁶⁹ And yet, references to this form of popular entertainment grow exponentially as we go from *Dubliners* to *Ulysses*, surging in Joyce's final work just as the shows themselves are becoming considerably *passé*. Indeed, if we take a list of those performers who appear or are referred to in *Ulysses*, we can instantly see that they belong to an older generation coming to an end: Eugene Stratton (1861-1918); George Chirgwin (1854-1922); James Bohee (1844-97) George Bohee (1857-1930); Fred Burgess (1826-93); George Washington Moore (1828-1909). A notice in the *Freeman's Journal* as early as 1897 identifies the shows' lack of contemporaneity as their very selling point:

On Monday next the Moore and Burgess Minstrels will commence their season at the Round Room of the Rotunda. There are few entertainments of the kind that have obtained a greater hold of the good opinions of the Dublin public, who have always been partial to performances fashioned after the manner of the good old Christy Minstrels. [...] Negro minstrelsy is just one of the few things to which that oft quoted phrase 'up to date' does not fittingly apply. To be really good it must follow effectively the inimitable old models, and thus we have our old friends 'bones' and 'tambourine', the sad, sad melody and screaming nigger song, our preternaturally solemn basses, the phenomenally high altos, and above all that almost mediaeval marvel still known as the 'interlocutor', who asks and repeats so many questions which are tackled with such supreme humour by 'Massa Johnson'.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Eliot, in *The Dial*, November 1923, delineates Joyce's use of a 'continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity', reprinted in *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p.177.

⁶⁶ For an elaboration of this point, see Garry Leonard, 'Holding on to the Here and Now: Juxtaposition in Modernity and in Joyce', in *James Joyce and the Fabrication of an Irish Identity*, ed. by Michael P. Gillespie (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), p.45.

⁶⁷ Reed Way Dasenbrock and Ray Mines refer to Joyce being 'up-to-date vis-à-vis the knowledge of his time' in *Medieval Joyce*, ed. by Lucia Boldrini (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p.79. Richard Brown refers to Joyce's knowledge of obstetrics in *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.77.

⁶⁸ Jacques Derrida, 'Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce', in *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*, ed. by Peggy Kamuf (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), p.578.

⁶⁹ Len Platt, *Joyce, Race and Finnegans Wake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.138. See also Matthew Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.30.

⁷⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 'The Moore and Burgess Minstrels', 13 August, 1897.

Moreover, as a 1959 letter to Mabel P. Worthington from J.F. Byrne (the ‘Cranly’ of *A Portrait*) strongly suggests, Joyce is most likely drawing from childhood memories of minstrel shows and songs:

Collections of the words and music to these songs were published, and were to be found in almost any home that had even such a simply musical instrument as a concertina or a mouth organ. Many American folk songs, and melodies of the coloured people, were perhaps as frequently sung, and widely known, as ‘Ye Banks and Braes o’ Bonnie Doon’ or ‘Maxwelton Braes’. And at a conversazione or a smoking concert in, for instance, University College or Nugent’s Hotel, an American folk song and one of the coloured people would almost surely be heard. Amateur Christy Minstrel groups were numerous in Dublin, many of these groups being in schools, and among altar boys and confraternities. And then there were professional groups that frequently visited such places in Dublin as the Rotunda Round Room, the Ancient Concert Room, the Queen’s Theatre, and Dan Lowry’s; and in later years the Savoy and the Leinster Hall (afterwards the Theatre Royal). Yes, such songs as ‘Maryland’, ‘Old Black Joe’, ‘Swanee River’, and many others were to be heard by any child almost from its cradlehood.⁷¹

Byrne fails to elaborate any further on how these songs were received or in what context they were sung, although his emphasis on a home, church, and school setting demonstrates their genteel respectability, and how ‘that oft quoted phrase “up to date” does not fittingly apply’.

Nevertheless, blackface minstrelsy plays a prominent role in *Ulysses*, most noticeably through the figure of the American performer Eugene Stratton who appears ‘blub lips agrin’ at various times during the day (*U* 10.1273). In ‘Hades’, Stratton appears on the hoardings outside the Queen’s Theatre on Great Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street) alongside the American actress Mrs Bandmann Palmer announcing next week’s performances (*U* 6.184-87). Indeed, this brief passage in ‘Hades’ affords us a limited view of the extent of American musical influence in *Ulysses*, as a number of American references occur: *Leah, the Forsaken* (1862), the play Bloom considers seeing as they pass the theatre, was written by the American dramatist John Augustin Daly (*U* 6.185); *Fun on the Bristol* at the Gaiety is, according to Gifford and Seidman, a New York musical comedy version of Henry C. Jarret’s ‘American Eccentric Comedy-Oddity’ *Fun on the Bristol* (*U* 6.187); and a second actress referred to here in connection with Molly, Mary Anderson, is also an American (*U* 6.219).⁷²

Stratton represents a general and widespread fascination with minstrelsy throughout *Ulysses* and the *Wake*. Born Eugene Augustus Rhülmann to first-generation Alsatian parents in New York in

⁷¹ Matthew J. C. Hodgart, and Mabel P. Worthington, *Song in the Works of James Joyce* (New York: Temple University Publications: 1959), pp.4-5.

⁷² Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, p.108. See Mary Power’s ‘Molly Bloom and Mary Anderson: The Inside Story’ in *Joyce, Modernity, and its Mediation*, ed. by Christine van Boheemen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989), pp.113-19), for a comparison of the careers of Molly Bloom and Mary Anderson.

1861, by 1904 he was a familiar and popular minstrel performer on the Dublin stage.⁷³ A review in the *Freeman's Journal* of a musical event that included a lecture on 'Songs' by the Whitman aficionado T.W. Rolleston makes a somewhat unfair comparison, which nonetheless highlights Stratton's standing on the Dublin music scene: 'On Friday evening the National Literary Society provided a most interesting programme at the Molesworth Hall under the presidency of Dr. Sigerson. Its attractions sufficed to fill three-fourths of the hall – that is to say about one-fiftieth of the audience which would be drawn to hear, let us say, Chevalier or Eugene Stratton'.⁷⁴ Stratton had performed before in Dublin, at Dan Lowry's Star Theatre. An 1893 notice in the *Freeman's Journal* reads: 'The bill of fare at Mr Lowry's Star Theatre this week is an unusually strong one. In addition to Mr Harry Lester are some performers who have quite exceptional talents in their own particular lines. For example, as a nigger impersonator, it would be hard to find anyone to beat Mr Eugene Stratton, who is regarded as one of the cleverest and successful of London's music hall stars'.⁷⁵ Another advertisement describes Stratton as 'the great London star'.⁷⁶ This same paper reports that the Araby fête in 1894 at the Royal Dublin Society showgrounds will include impersonations of Albert Chevalier and Eugene Stratton.⁷⁷ The review of Araby in the *Freeman's Journal* praises the impersonator's skill in reproducing Stratton's 'plantation ditties'.⁷⁸ The review also notes that Stratton's songs are 'produced with all the original effects' and that the stage is fitted up as a drawing room, producing the truly bizarre bazaar spectacle of an impersonator of a 'nigger impersonator' singing and dancing in a mock-drawing room at the RDS. Stratton's appearance in *Ulysses*, however ersatz, is nevertheless politically loaded and clearly a function of British/Irish colonial relations. In 'Wandering Rocks', the bills for his upcoming performances greet representatives of Stephen's 'two masters': 'From the hoardings Mr Eugene Stratton grimaced with thick niggerlips at Father Conmee' (*U* 10.141); and, as the viceregal cavalcade passes, 'At the Royal Canal Bridge, from his hoarding, Mr Eugene Stratton, his blub lips agrin, bade all comers welcome to Pembroke township' (*U* 10.1273). Caught between a grimace and a grin, Stratton seems to embody the spirit of the 'gratefully oppressed' (*D* 35).

Stratton reappears in a passage in 'Circe' in which Bloom attempts to defend his being 'down here in the haunts of sin' (*U* 15.395) after Mrs Breen threatens to telly Molly she has found her husband in nighttown:

BLOOM

⁷³ See Judith Harrington, 'A Closer Look at Eugene Stratton (1861-1918)', in *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, no.9 (2009), pp.78-88.

⁷⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 'National Literary Society, Mr. T. W. Rolleston on "Songs"', 22 February, 1898.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 'Star Theatre', 16 August, 1893.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 'Public Notices', 11 August, 1893.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Araby', 9 May, 1894.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 'Araby', 15 May, 1894.

(looks behind) She often said she'd like to visit. Slumming. The exotic, you see. Negro servants in livery too if she had money. Othello black brute. Eugene Stratton. Even the bones and cornerman at the Livermore Christies. Bohee brothers. Sweep for that matter. (U 15.407-11)

Bloom's denigration of Othello as a 'black brute' – although mediated through 'received, popular images of such exotic "negritude"' ⁷⁹ – both recalls Stephen's description of Shakespeare's 'unremitting intellect [which] is the hornmad Iago ceaselessly willing that the moor in him shall suffer' (U 9.1023-4), and anticipates Bloom's own masochistic willingness to suffer at the hands of Bella/Bello later in the chapter. Othello was also, of course, played by white actors in blackface, which leads Bloom's free association to Stratton, and other well-known blackface minstrel troupes, The Livermore World Renowned Court Minstrels and the Bohee Operatic Minstrels.⁸⁰ At this point, the Bohee Brothers enter the Circean stage:

(Tom and Sam Bohee, coloured coons in white duck suits, scarlet socks, upstarched Sambo chokers and large scarlet asters in their buttonholes, leap out. Each has his banjo slung. Their paler smaller negroid hands jingle the twingtwang wires. Flashing white kaffir eyes and tusks they rattle through a breakdown in clumsy clogs, twinging, singing, back to back, toe heel, heel toe, with smackfatclacking nigger lips.)

TOM AND SAM

There's someone in the house with Dina,
There's someone in the house, I know,
There's someone in the house with Dina
Playing on the old banjo.

(They whisk black masks from the raw babby faces: then, chuckling, chortling, strumming, twanging, they diddle diddle cakewalk dance away.) (U 15.412-26)

The infantilising stage directions ('smaller negroid hands'; 'raw babby faces') are somewhat at odds with the general reputation of the Bohee Brothers in 1904. James and George Bohee, rather than Joyce's Tom and Sam, were 'noted for their soft-shoe dances as well as their prodigious banjo playing skills'.⁸¹ Again, the infantilising stage direction puts them in 'clumsy clogs'. They mixed in the highest circles in London and could even advertise themselves as 'Banjoists to the Royal Family'.⁸² The brothers played *The Star* in Dublin in the autumn of 1886 and, as the authors of a history of that

⁷⁹ Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, p.174.

⁸⁰ The Bohee brothers were African-Americans (born in Canada but the family shortly after moved to Boston), although they were part of a minstrel troupe. See Harrington, 'A Closer Look at Eugene Stratton (1861-1918)', p.83; 'Bohee Brothers', *Encyclopedia of the Blues*, ed. by Edward Komara (London: Routledge, 2006), p.135.

⁸¹ Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*, p.28.

⁸² Harrington, 'A Closer Look at Eugene Stratton (1861-1918)', p.83.

hall point out, their appeal was based on their royal celebrity and sophistication as much as on their musical talent:

Their season in the [London] Halls was dazzling; they were wined and dined by Society hostesses, patronized by Earls and seduced by Countesses; and they were engaged to teach the Royal infants – including the prodigal Prince of Wales – to tickle the banjo-strings *a la américaine*. [...] Their Society fame and Royal refinement preceded them to Dublin and a full house at The Star heard the rich timbre of their voices harmonised in tune with the plangent strings – ‘a-ha-bout a-ha mi-hile fro-hom than’ –⁸³

The authors go on to describe ‘how all over Dublin boys were playing imaginary banjos with their fingernails and shuffling in the off-beat two-pulse’.⁸⁴ The brothers returned to Dublin in 1893 to a warm reception, as another report from the *Freeman’s Journal* makes clear:

A crowded house assembled at the Leinster Hall last evening for the opening night of a short engagement of the Bohee Minstrels. The programme is of the old-fashioned sort, with coloured cornermen, a big man with a small sweet voice, talented dancers, accomplished bones, and really expert banjoists. [...] The Brothers Bohee seem to justify their claim to be ‘the most accomplished banjoists in the world’, for very few who have not heard them can have rightly appreciated the amount of expression and melody which can be extracted from a banjo; the selections which they gave last night were a revelation to their audience.⁸⁵

Yet again we are reminded of the direct appeal to nostalgia (‘of the old-fashioned sort’) on which minstrelsy traded, an appeal clearly directed at an ‘appreciative’ genteel audience. The minstrel show in Britain had a reputation for respectability and propriety, which set it apart from early music hall.⁸⁶ Joyce again subverts the reputation of the brothers by having them ‘perform’ in nighttown – Molly later confirms her curiosity is sexual: ‘theyre all made the one way only a black mans Id like to try’ (U 18.483-4). The highly bourgeois (and British) respectability and propriety attached to minstrelsy in the early twentieth century appears to be the target here, as Joyce embellishes the silly and the sexual.

Indeed, the manuscript evidence shows Joyce ‘minstrelising’ this passage further.⁸⁷ The drafts (1920 July-Dec) show a familiar pattern of accretion, with ‘Eugene Stratton’, ‘whiteyekaffir’, and ‘Othello, a black brute’ being inserted alongside Tom and Sam Bohee. This draft also shows the Moore and Burgess minstrels are present, but they subsequently get replaced by the ‘bones and

⁸³ Eugene Watters and Matthew Murtagh, *Infinite Variety: Dan Lowrey's Music Hall, 1879-97* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), p.84.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.84.

⁸⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, ‘The Bohee Minstrels’, 22 August, 1893.

⁸⁶ Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*, p.5. For the ‘embourgeoisement’ of minstrelsy in Britain, see Derek B. Scott, ‘Blackface Minstrels, Black Minstrels, and Their Reception in England’ in *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p.271.

⁸⁷ National Library of Ireland Joyce Papers 2002, MS 36,639/12, II.ii.6, Partial Draft: ‘Circe’.

cornerman at the Livermore christies' (*U* 15.410). The 'Livermore Christies' themselves are revised from 'Livermore minstrels', while 'flashing the white of their eyes' was revised to 'flashing their whiteyekaffir eyes'. This last revision recalls the citizen's term of abuse for Bloom.

The abuse of Bloom is where Dowie re-enters 'Circe', shortly after the Bohee Brothers have come and gone and Bloom has declared the 'new Bloomusalem in the Nova Hibernia of the future' (*U* 15.1544-45). 'Leopold the First', an 'emperor-president and king-chairman' (*U* 15.1471-72), declares: 'New worlds for old' (*U* 15.1685). In what follows, the 'Bloomite[s]' (*U* 15.1736) and the 'antiBloomites' (*U* 15.1753) defend and attack his 'schemes for social regeneration' (*U* 15.1702). Father Farley and Alexander J. Dowie are firmly on the side of the antiBloomites; the latter declares:

Fellowchristians and antiBloomites, the man called Bloom is from the roots of hell, a disgrace to christian men. A fiendish libertine from his earliest years this stinking goat of Mendes gave precocious signs of infantile debauchery, recalling the cities of the plain, with a dissolute granddam. This vile hypocrite, bronzed with infamy, is the white bull mentioned in the Apocalypse. A worshipper of the Scarlet Woman, intrigue is the very breath of his nostrils. The stake faggots and the caldron of boiling oil are for him. Caliban! (*U* 15.1753-60)

Bloom's alleged 'infantile debauchery' recalls Joyce's infantilising and debauching of the Bohee Brothers' reputation a little earlier. The call from 'THE MOB' to '[l]ynch him]' immediately after this also recycles the story from earlier in the day about 'black beast burned in Omaha'. As James Fairhall points out, Bloom as a victim of mob rule in 'Circe' is thus linked with racist violence in Dowie's homeland. Bloom is called a 'kaffir', a 'beast' (twice), a 'mormon' and an 'Anarchist' (*U* 12.1552; 15.845, 1717, 1156).⁸⁸

Bloom's call for 'mixed races and mixed marriages' (*U* 15.1686-99) apparently ignores his own earlier deflation of the idea of polygamy: 'Torry and Alexander last year. Polygamy. His wife will put the stopper on that' (*U* 8.17-8). But the idea of 'mixed races' recurs in connection with Dowie, who, as we have noted, explicitly racialises Bloom as 'Caliban'. From 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' through to the *Wake*, Joyce clearly mocks as absurd the notion of racial purity, and insists instead on a 'mearmerg[ing]' (*FW* 017.24) of races. Anticipating the merging of racial identities in the *Wake*, 'Circe' fuses Dowie with the racial identity he uses to abuse Bloom. The 'second coming of Elijah' (*U* 15.2174-75) occurs after 'THE END OF THE WORLD' (*U* 15.2180) has spoken. We then hear Elijah's 'harsh' voice, and see him more clearly in his American-Dowie guise: 'Perspiring in a loose lawn surplice with funnel sleeves he is seen, vergerfaced, above a rostrum about which the banner of old glory is draped. He thumps the parapet' (*U* 15.2184-87). Dowie/Elijah then launches into a long sales pitch of the Elmer Gantry variety:

⁸⁸ James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.189.

No yapping, if you please, in this booth. [...] Rush your order and you play a slick ace. Join on right here. Book through to eternity junction, the nonstop run. Just one word more. Are you a god or a doggone clod? If the second advent came to Coney Island are we ready? Florry Christ, Stephen Christ, Zoe Christ, Bloom Christ, Kitty Christ, Lynch Christ, it's up to you to sense that cosmic force. Have we cold feet about the cosmos? No. Be on the side of the angels. Be a prism. You have that something within, the higher self. You can rub shoulders with a Jesus, a Gautama, an Ingersoll. Are you all in this vibration? I say you are. You once nobble that, congregation, and a buck joyride to heaven becomes a back number. You got me? It's a lifebrightener, sure. The hottest stuff ever was. It's the whole pie with jam in. It's just the cutest snappiest line out. It is immense, supersumptuous. It restores. It vibrates. I know and I am some vibrator. Joking apart and, getting down to bedrock, A. J. Christ Dowie and the harmonial philosophy, have you got that? O. K. Seventyseven west sixty ninth street. Got me? That's it. You call me up by sunphone any old time. Bumboosers, save your stamps. [...] Now then our glory song. All join heartily in the singing. Encore! (U 15.2189-2208)

Following this extraordinary speech, Dowie/Elijah becomes 'black in the face' and starts to speak in a plantation dialect that would be very familiar from minstrel shows, and indeed from earlier examples of it in 'Oxen' (U 14.1504-5; 14.1555; 14.1557):

Big Brother up there, Mr President, you hear what I done just been saying to you Certainly, I sort of believe strong in you, Mr President. I certainly am thinking now Miss Higgins and Miss Ricketts got religion way inside them. Certainly seems to me I don't never see no wusser scared female than the way you been, Miss Florry, just now as I done seed you Mr President, you come long and help me save our sisters dear. (*he winks at his audience*) Our Mr President, he twig the whole lot and he aint saying nothing. (U 15.2216-24)

Through this Dowie/minstrel figure, Joyce Americanises the 'end of the world', as in a sense 'Oxen' marked a similar endpoint narrated in American English. Again, this seems to anticipate the *reductio ad absurdum* of the *Wake*'s recycling in comic-deflationary mode of teleological world-historical narratives. For Joyce, it would appear that Dowie is an appropriately absurd representative for Christian eschatology. As a racist 'antiBloomite', it also suggests Joyce is less than sanguine about Dowie's homeland providing a model for Bloom's '[n]ew world for old'.

'Funnycoon's Wick': Music, Minstrelsy and Movies in Finnegans Wake

One of the most obvious markers of American popular culture in the *Wake* is music. In her essay on American popular music in the *Wake*, Ruth Bauerle sedulously identifies the vast range of songs from

the United States that appear throughout Joyce's final work, claiming almost seven hundred in total.⁸⁹ Platt argues that 'the *Wake* in particular has a fascination with the blackface minstrel show. There are more references to this version of musical theatre than to any other, with the possible exception of pantomime'.⁹⁰ It was noted earlier that minstrelsy held a particular appeal for Joyce and thus this section will examine how the *Wake* reflects this. It will also single out other specific examples where a song appears to have a distinct significance. The aim is to establish through an inductive process a more general reading of Joyce's use of American popular songs through such particular examples rather than treat every occurrence of an American lyric throughout the entire *Wake*. This approach has the added benefit that it obviates the need to try to force thematic readings on isolated fragments of songs where their use would appear to be confined to a felicitous euphony – pleasing sounds orphaned from their parent songs with little or no allusive quality, and no sense of their American provenance being remarked upon. However, with blackface minstrelsy, there is a clear sense that its idioms, songs, performers, and cornermen-interlocutor dynamics connect to wider structural and thematic conceits in 'Funnycoon's Week' (*FW* 105.21).

Joyce use of blackface minstrelsy and the idioms of this inherently counterfeit performance is quite focused. Perhaps the most notable of the functions given to minstrelsy in the *Wake* is Shaun's abusive, racialized characterisation of Shem as a 'bold bad bleak boy' (*FW* 219.24). This is particularly evident in I.7, where Shaun launches into a lengthy 'character assassination' of his brother.⁹¹ Shaun's Shem is a mixed-race 'hybrid' (*FW* 169.09) and a 'Patsy Caliban' (*U* 9.756-7) figure. He is 'aboriginally [...] of respectable stemming' (*FW* 169.02-3) but now a 'semi-semitic [...] Europasianised Afferyank' (*FW* 191.03-4). As such, Shaun's abuse replicates Dowie's in 'Circe'. Shaun's Shem is either black or blacked-up; he is 'namely coon' (*FW* 187.12) or 'a nogger among the blankards' (*FW* 188.13). A question is posed: 'Why namely coon?' (*FW* 187.16). Because of his 'porterblack lowness' (*FW* 187.17). 'It is looking pretty black against you' (*FW* 188.04-5), Justus tells 'himother' (*FW* 187.24). Shaun's Shem is so low, he becomes an 'alshemist' writing with his own excrement 'over every square inch of the only foolscap available, his own body' (*FW* 185.35-6). A reader of *Ulysses* would know that for Joyce 'coon' could be a racially abusive (rather than merely depreciative) term, as when John Henry Menton's absurdly long-lasting grudge against Bloom (repeatedly racialized as 'Other') causes him to demand, 'what did [Molly] marry a coon like that for?' (*U* 6.704-05). The term recurs throughout the *Wake*, notably in clusters – such as III.3's references to 'ickle coon icocoon' (*FW* 483.35); 'there's leps of flam in Funnycoon's Wick' (*FW* 499.13); 'this pattern pootsch punnermine of concoon' (*FW* 519.03). Its use in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* could also be related to the craze for so-called 'coon songs', which started in the 1890s and lasted into the first

⁸⁹ Bauerle, *Picking Up Airs*, p.131.

⁹⁰ Platt, *Joyce, Race and Finnegans Wake*, p.137.

⁹¹ Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, p.12.

decade of the twentieth century.⁹² The ‘coon song’ craze saw little distinction being made between these songs and ragtime, which also developed among African-American musicians in the 1890s. Accordingly, almost any songs produced in this period that referred to black life could be designated as either.⁹³ The *Wake*, too, freely mixes ‘coon songs’ with older minstrel figures including Zip Coon, Sambo, and Jim Crow.

The Shem/Shawn rivalry is heavily racialized in terms deriving from American popular culture in a cluster of children’s games listed in I.7 (*FW* 176.01-18). In the preceding passage building up to the list, a number of the ‘nigger English’ terms Joyce plants in ‘Oxen’ return here: ‘darkies’ (*U* 14.1557), ‘coon’ (*U* 14.1504), and ‘piccaninnies’ (*U* 14.1555). Here is the passage from I.7:

Darkies never done tug that coon out to play non-excretory, anti-sexuous, misoxenetic, gaasy pure, flesh and blood games, written and composed and sung and danced by Niscemus Nemon, same as piccaninnies play all day, those old (none of your honeys and rubbers!) games for fun and element we use to play with Dina and old Joe kicking her behind and before and the yellow girl kicking him behind old Joe, games like [...](*FW* 175.30-6)

This passage includes other recycled elements found in *Ulysses*. Dina and Old Joe come from those ‘American folk songs and melodies of the coloured people’ that Byrne referred to, with Dina appearing in ‘I’ve Been Working on the Railroad’ and old Joe in Stephen Foster’s ‘Old Black Joe’, a song Byrne mentioned by name. This first song has already been sung in *Ulysses*; Tom and Sam Bohee sing one of its verses in ‘Circe’. Dina and Joe are sometimes paired in the *Wake*, typically as family servants (*FW* 141.29; 170.03; 175.35); at other times they appear separately or in reference to their respective songs (*FW* 226.02; 243.25; 254.24; 445.02; 476.01).⁹⁴ They are joined here by another stock character from minstrel songs, the ‘yellow girl’ (*FW* 175.36), who is more often referred to in minstrel songs as ‘yaller’ (as in a mixed-race or light-skinned black person, *OED*).⁹⁵ At a draft level, Joyce clearly racialized this passage through blackface minstrelsy by replacing ‘fellow’ with ‘coon’ and adding the ‘yellow girl’ in a later revision.⁹⁶ On the one hand, this would appear then to be another example of Joyce actively ‘miscegenating’ his text, putting ‘pure, flesh and blood games’ at the mercy of genealogical corruption (‘misoxenetic’ suggesting miscegenation).⁹⁷ On the other, it also

⁹² Karen Sotiropoulos, *Staging Race: Black Performers in Turn of the Century America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2006), pp.89-90.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.93.

⁹⁴ See Platt for the ‘racialisation of power relations’, and how ‘black identity is invariably connected to servitude’ in the *Wake*; Joyce, *Race and Finnegans Wake*, p.142.

⁹⁵ The Moore and Burgess Minstrels performed ‘The Yaller Girl’ at the Rotunda Round Room venue during their 1897 tour to Dublin. It is described in the advertisements as a ‘Plantation Comedy-Operetta’ (see for example, the *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 August 1897).

⁹⁶ See David Hayman, *A First-Draft Version of Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), p.115.

⁹⁷ Platt argues persuasively for the ‘insistence on cross-contamination’ in the *Wake* as a part of the work’s ‘subversive strategy’; Joyce, *Race and Finnegans Wake*, p.144.

demonstrates the high degree to which Joyce's racial politics are mediated through American popular culture.

Music and minstrelsy coincide again here. The children's games in I.7 are nostalgically described as 'those old [...] games for fun' (FW 175.33-4), evoking the 'inimitable old models' and 'old friends' of the minstrel shows. In a Joycean portmanteau name in the list, a familiar minstrel character is fused with another well-known American figure from song: 'Zip Cooney Candy' (FW 176.14). Zip Coon was an 'urban dandy' figure, contrasting with the 'plantation rustic' figure of Jim Crow.⁹⁸ The game combines the standard 'coon' figure (otherwise known as 'Turkey in the Straw', the next game in the list at FW 176.15), with the lyric 'Yankee Doodle dandy'. The American Revolution-era song is quoted again on the following page: 'but tarded long and then a nation louder' (FW 177.02-3). Joyce took these lyrics from Sigmund Spaeth's 1926 anthology of American songs *Read 'Em And Weep* – a source of extensive note-taking.⁹⁹ As well as lyrics from 'Yankee Doodle' and many other popular American songs, the notebook includes units that will be entered as Shaun's terms of abuse for Shem: 'zip coon' (FW 176.14); 'turkey in the straw' (FW 176.15); 'possum up a gumtree' (FW 191.12); 'cooney in holler' (FW 176.14); and 'I pose you know' (FW 191.12).¹⁰⁰

Spaeth's note for the origin of 'Yankee Doodle' humorously recounts how it derived initially from the mockery of Oliver Cromwell by a group of Cavaliers. It was transposed to the American colonies and adapted by a regimental surgeon with the British Army to mock the appearance of the 'old continentals with their ragged regimentals'. Turning the denigration on its head, as Spaeth notes: 'It was immediately take up in all seriousness, and twenty-five years later the same tune sounded in the ears of Cornwallis as he gave up his sword at Yorktown'.¹⁰¹ Joyce must surely have enjoyed the mockery of 'the great Protector of civil rights [...] who came to Ireland to propagate his faith by fire and sword' (OCPW 121), as well as Spaeth's point about how 'Yankee Doodle' 'started as a folk song, developed into a crude joke, and ended as a national institution'.¹⁰² This also maps neatly onto Joyce's evident preference for popular, burlesque or comic histories where America is concerned: Irving's *A History of New York* is a good example, as is Charles Ferguson's *Confusion of Tongues*, Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, or indeed *Read 'Em And Weep*. Spaeth introduces his volume by stating: 'Actually the history of American manners, morals, tastes, and absurdities is largely written in our songs. [...] Both words and music kept pace with the spirit of the time, and whatever was typical of the contemporary heroes and heroines, the up-to-the-minute beaux and belles, found its way into

⁹⁸ See Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.23.

⁹⁹ Danis Rose, *James Joyce's The Index Manuscript: 'Finnegans Wake' Holograph Workbook VI.B.46* (Colchester: A Wake Newlitter Press, 1978); see also Bauerle, *Picking Up Airs*, p.133.

¹⁰⁰ Rose, *James Joyce's The Index Manuscript*, p.139.

¹⁰¹ Sigmund Spaeth, *Read 'Em And Weep: The Songs you Forgot to Remember* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926), pp.4-5.

¹⁰² Spaeth, *Read 'Em And Weep*, p.3.

melodic utterance'.¹⁰³ Just as Joyce reconstituted aspects of Irish history through stray newspaper reports, American history is embodied in fragments of its popular music.¹⁰⁴ However, in light of the racial politics of minstrelsy, 'coon songs', and more recent accounts incorporated into the *Wake* of lynchings and racial violence in the US, the yoking together of 'Yankee Doodle' and 'Zip Coon' suggests that the Revolution's deferred promise of emancipation and equality was a 'purgatory [that] was more than a nigger bloke could bear' (FW 177.04).¹⁰⁵

Having looked at certain aspects of Shaun's abuse of Shem, it will be useful to investigate how some of these racial dynamics are developed from an earlier pre-textual stage. Joyce's decision to incorporate contemporary racial violence in the US comes very early in the composition process, and is typically filtered through popular culture. The group of early notebooks that begins with VI.B.10 in late 1922 and ends with VI.B.1 in 1924, implicates America most strongly in the legal contretemps of the early drafts through its invocation of persecuted or criminalized groups within the United States, as well their persecutors. A note from 1923 (VI.B.3.119 (a)), for instance, reads: 'Vigilance Cie / Watch & Ward', suggesting a comparison between the social purity societies, the 'Vigilance Committee' of Ireland and the Boston Watch and Ward Society.¹⁰⁶ Joyce also introduced the American 'Juke and Kellikek families' at this early composition stage.¹⁰⁷ Studies of the families had by then achieved near-classic status among eugenicists and, as a 'lesson' in the perceived danger of uncontrolled breeding among the feeble-minded, they 'carried great weight in popular discourse'. In particular, the Kallikak family – as Carole R. McCann points out quoting Henry Herbert Goddard (author of the 1912 eugenicist study *The Kallikak Family*) – stood as the popular emblem of the 'menace of the feeble-minded' for over a decade.¹⁰⁸ Closely aligned with the American eugenics movement, Margaret Sanger, an advocate of birth control and the 'economic ethic of fertility', finds her way into the same notebook.¹⁰⁹ 'Population Peg' (VI.B.3.049(c)) was a common epithet for

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁰⁴ See for instance, Nicholas Allen, *Modernism, Ireland and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.20-41.

¹⁰⁵ Cultural historian Karl Hagstrom Miller writes that southern racial violence against African Americans reached 'epic proportions during the years of the coon song craze. Between 1889 and 1909, white southerners lynched an estimated 1,700 black victims. In the 1890s, a lynching occurred on average once every two and a half days'; see Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), p.42.

¹⁰⁶ Joyce's solicitor John Lidwell refers to a 'Vigilance Committee' in a letter to Joyce regarding 'An Encounter' in 1912; see *LII*, p.306. As Mullin points out, this refers to the Dublin White Cross Vigilance Association; see *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity*, p.28. Joyce may also be referring to Henry James' first novel, *Watch and Ward* (serialised 1871, revised and published 1878). The novel, quietly disowned by its embarrassed author, concerns the familiar guardian-ward plot and may have interested Joyce for both the quasi-incestuous theme and the ward's name: Nora. However, there is a question over availability as James himself refused to include *Watch and Ward* in subsequent editions of his collected works.

¹⁰⁷ See chapter four.

¹⁰⁸ Carole R. McCann, *Birth Control Politics in the United States, 1916-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.105-06.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.16.

Sanger, as Adaline Glasheen has noted.¹¹⁰ Social purity and eugenicist movements had, of course, a strong racial element to their ethics of fertility, along with economic ones. Two of the notes from an American cluster (VI.B.10.047) are added to a passage in I.7 dealing with the abuse of Shem, and 047(e) - ‘niggers toting goods / up & down gangplank’ - suggests Shem’s condition as being ‘more than a nigger bloke could bear’ (FW 177.04).

In VI.B.1, another cluster of American notes makes an arresting reference to contemporary events in the US as reported in the press: ‘lynching bee’ (VI.B.1.008(g)) and ‘singular Senegalese’ (VI.B.1.008(h)). These notes quite likely derive from a report in the *New York Post*, 31 March 1924 – ‘McTigue and Stribling Ready for Title Bout Tonight’. The report concerns the light-heavyweight championship fight between Mike McTigue, the Irish world champion, and William Lawrence (Young) Stribling. Rumours that the Klu Klux Klan would turn up in costume in an attempt to intimidate McTigue – Stribling was known as the ‘Georgia Schoolboy’ on account of his young age and southern background – were dismissed by the organisers. The report notes that McTigue won his title the previous year by beating ‘Battling Siki’, the ‘Singular Senegalese’. That fight was won by McTigue on St Patrick’s Day in Dublin, Ireland; coincidentally, VI.B.1 also includes probably the first reference to Dublin, Georgia (093(j)). However, the ‘lynching bee’ refers not to Siki, an American boxer of Senegalese origin, but to the Georgia crowd who rioted against the decision in the first bout between McTigue and Stribling in Columbus, Georgia, in October 1922. The referee, Harry Ertle, changed his decision to a draw ‘apparently to avert a lynching bee with McTigue as the principal figure therein’.¹¹¹ It is precisely Joyce’s selective note-taking that draws Battling Siki into closer proximity to the lynching bee for Irish champion McTigue. Terry Eagleton has accused American literary studies of Ireland of an excessive focus on race; interestingly, the notebooks demonstrate both Joyce’s own Irish-centred concern with race and how he turns it back on America.¹¹²

The notes from the boxing report combine suggestively with another set in VI.B.1, most likely from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where Joyce copies: ‘Abraham Lynch’ (VI.B.1.117(a)) and ‘emancipation’ (VI.B.1.117(b)).¹¹³ This remarkable juxtaposition of Lincoln, lynching, and emancipation at this pre-textual level suggests an Irish precedent. Daniel O’Connell had openly compared the causes of Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Act of Union to the abolition cause in the United States. In a March 1845 speech to the Repeal Association, O’Connell declared: ‘I want no American aid if it comes across the Atlantic stained in Negro blood’.¹¹⁴ The connection to the

¹¹⁰ Glasheen, *Third Census of Finnegans Wake*, p.254.

¹¹¹ *New York Evening Post*, 31 March 1924, p.14.

¹¹² Eagleton, review of *Allegories of Union in Irish and English Writing, 1790-1870: Politics, History, and the Family from Edgeworth to Arnold*, by Mary Jean Corbett, in *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, vol.56, no.1 (June, 2001), pp.107-10.

¹¹³ Another later note - VI.B.29.031(d) - simply records: ‘Lincoln Abraham / frees Slaves’.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Tracy Mishkin, *The Harlem and Irish Renaissances: Language, Identity and Representation* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), p.10.

emancipation of both Catholics and slaves under Lincoln is suggested further in the *Wake*. In I.6, the first question – via an allusion to Twain: ‘kecklebury and sawyer’ (FW 132.36) – links O’Connell with hanging: ‘though you rope Amrique your home ruler is Dan; figure right, he is hoisted by the scurve of his shaggy neck’ (FW 133.02-4). Later in the same question, Joyce runs together the Duke of Wellington, Huck Finn, and the Juke and Kellikek families – a mocking, playful conflation of the heroic, anti-heroic, and the degenerate – before suggesting that emancipation (‘freedom’) has been replaced by a new kind of slavery (‘new yoke’/New York): ‘artful Juke of Wilysly; Hugglebelly’s Funniral; Kukkuk Kallikak; [...] won the freedom of new yoke for the minds of jugoslaves’ (FW 137.11-33). Another passage in I.4 about HCE and road-building states: ‘And a hungried thousand of the unemancipated slaved the way. [...] But the past has made us this present of a rhedarhoad. So more boher O’Connell!’ (FW 081.04-9).

Joyce juxtaposes Klan lynchings in the US with Irish history again in I.4, where he also makes use of the American comic strip *Mutt and Jeff*. Through the near homophones of Jeff and Mutt’s names with ‘deaf’ and ‘mute’, they are linked with the ‘deaf-mute’ Myles Joyce whose trial and hanging in 1882 Joyce discussed in ‘Ireland at the Bar’ (OCPW 145-7). In the *Wake*, Jute asks Mutt if he is ‘jeff’ or a ‘jeffmute’ (FW 016.14), and the pair are consistently linked with the potential loss of hearing and speech that is suggested by their names (FW 087.24; 467.17; 517.13; 593.21). They reappear during the trial of the Festy King in I.4, in which they function as a sort of failed shibboleth: ‘because they could not say meace, (mute and daft) meathe’ (FW 087.23-4). Festy is accused of blacking-up (‘rubbed some pixes of any luvial peatsmooer o’er his face’ (FW 086.09)) and the trial is ‘attended [...] by large numbers, of christies and jew’s totems’ (FW 086.22-3). Here a gallery of persecuted races is in attendance, black (Christy Minstrels), Jewish and Native American (totem). The murders at Maamtransa that Joyce recalls in ‘Ireland at the Bar’ are important for this trial, and Joyce makes a striking analogy between the hanging of Myles Joyce and contemporary lynchings in the United States. The prisoner, earlier established as ‘a child of Maam’ who ‘gave an address in old plomansch Mayo of the Saxons’ and ‘was subsequently haled up at the Old Bailey’ (FW 085.22-6), is also described as ‘appatently ambrosiaurealisied, like Kersse’s Korduroy Karikature’ (FW 085.33). This suggests that Joyce saw the hanging of ‘deaf-mute’ Myles Joyce as lynch law in operation, and thus analogous with lynchings by the Klu Klux Klan.

‘Abraham Lynch’ can also be read as an intriguing sign that the Enlightenment ideals and foundation of American law itself – the ‘imprescriptible liberties of the pacific subject’ (FW 085.07) as exercised in the ‘Unique Estates of Amessican’ (FW 105.36) – are being brought into question. A passage from II.2 composed in the 1930s suggests some of the implications of the portmanteau ‘Abraham Lynch’, and also shows the possible encroachment of the Third Reich:

Opprimor’s down, up up Opima! [...] Heil, heptarched span of peace! Live, league of lex, nex, and the mores! Fas est dass and foe err you. Impovernment of the booble by the

bauble for the bubble. So wrap up your worries in your woe (wumpumtum!) and shake down the shuffle for the throw. For there's one mere ope for downfall ned. (*FW* 273.02-11)

The Latinate connections between oppression, money, the law and violent death ('opprimor', 'opima', 'lex', and 'nex') seem to adhere readily to our sense of Nazism.¹¹⁵ In lines 6-7 we also hear behind the babble of 'boobles', 'baubles' and 'bubbles' the well-known phrase 'the government of the people by the people for the people'. This was, as McHugh points out, made famous by Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address.¹¹⁶ It is quite likely that Joyce was aware that these words originated with this famous address, as they had been enthusiastically taken up by Irish nationalists. Lincoln was regularly cited in Irish political discourse and could at times appear as all things to all men. Unionists saw him as a preserver of Union, curbing the secessionist aspirations of the South; republicans saw Lincoln as a great political emancipator, equating the fight for the abolishment of slavery with Ireland's struggle for political emancipation from British rule. Historian Kevin Kenny has documented these connections in detail, pointing out that de Valera greatly admired Lincoln and quoted him in a speech in January 1922 before a vote on the Treaty: 'I believe fundamentally in government of the people by the people and, if I may add the other part, for the people. That is my fundamental creed'.¹¹⁷ Arthur Griffith in turn used Lincoln to oppose vigorously de Valera's anti-Treaty position as both sides found something in Lincoln's politics to support their position. In 1933, de Valera, having returned to power, delivered a radio broadcast to national and international audiences (Irish-Americans especially) to draw attention to the ongoing problem of partition: 'It is a great privilege to be able to address American friends on this, Lincoln's birthday. The veneration with which Abraham Lincoln is held by the American people is shared in no small measure by the people of Ireland. Having ourselves so long striven for freedom, we honour him as the liberator of a race'.¹¹⁸ It is slavery and race that Joyce too picks up on, but unlike de Valera's address to salutary precedents, the more irreverent lesson of II.2 is that 'mere ope' won't get you far. Joyce's shadow Gettysburg Address suggests impoverishment, foolishness, and worthless trinkets. The additional allusion to Cromwell's command to 'take away those baubles' as he orders the dissolution of the Rump Parliament adds to the particularly Joycean-Irish sense that 'nex' frequently accompanies 'lex'.

The passage above (*FW* 273.02-11) also refers to both minstrelsy and native Americans in the lines immediately following the Joycean Gettysburg Address, strongly suggesting that America is indeed one of the prime targets of this mocking assault on political posturing and pretensions. After the slightly baffling advice to 'wrap up your worries in your woe', there follows a parenthetical

¹¹⁵ See McHugh, *Annotations*, p.273: 'opprimor' ('I am oppressed'); 'opima' ('rich'); 'lex' ('law'); 'nex' ('violent death').

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.273.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Kenny, "'Freedom and Unity': Lincoln in Irish Political Discourse", in *The Global Lincoln*, ed. by Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.157-72.

¹¹⁸ Quoted *ibid.*, p.165.

allusion to wampum, the ‘currency’ of the Native Americans. This reference to wampum forms part of a further allusion to Stephen Foster’s 1848 minstrel song ‘Old Uncle Ned’ (FW 273.07-11).¹¹⁹ The line ‘shake down the shuffle for the throw’ is adapted from this song:

Den lay down de shubble and de hoe,
Hang up de fiddle and de bow,
No more hard work for poor old Ned,
He’s gone whar de good niggers go.¹²⁰

Foster’s song exemplifies a typically sentimentalised view of plantation life, lamenting the death of the slave Ned.¹²¹ Joyce clearly knew this song; we find another reference to it in *Ulysses*. Stephen, with reference again to *The Tempest*, makes striking use of Foster’s song: ‘prosperous Prospero, the good man rewarded, Lizzie, grandpa’s lump of love, and nuncle Richie, the bad man taken off by poetic justice to the place where the bad niggers go’ (U 9.1038-40). In *Ulysses*, Joyce inverts the ‘poetic justice’ of the minstrel song, which by contrast displays a nostalgia for an antebellum idyll where the ‘Massa’ is always benevolent and ‘good niggers’ get their just rewards in the afterlife. In the *Wake*, however, Joyce undercuts any sense of poetic justice – or any justice at all – by putting Lincoln and lynching together. Earlier in I.7, a blackened Shem is being guarded by what appears to be an officer of the Klu-Klux-Klan: ‘Petty constable Sistersen of the Kruis-Kroon-Kraal [...] who had been detailed from pollute stoties to save him’ (FW 186.19-22). As Finn Fordham has pointed out, Joyce at this point suppressed ‘from lynch law’ (immediately after ‘save him’) in a revision of the first draft. Nevertheless, it tantalizingly suggests that in our latter passage, we might read ‘rope’ for ‘mere ope’ in the case of ‘downfall ned’.¹²²

Having looked at the relation between the notebooks and final text, the focus will now shift to how the contemporary invades the text and pre-text. Between 1923-4, Joyce started to take notes on the Klu Klux Klan. In VI.B.6 (Dec. 1923 - Feb. 1924), a notebook displaying a more purposeful approach to note-taking and in which several sources are mined for attacks on Shem’s character, Joyce records simply: ‘kluklux’ (VI.B.6.059(j)). In VI.B.5 (May-July 1924), he notes: ‘branded KKK’ (VI.B.5(d)). As Mikio Fuse and Robert-Jan Henkes have discovered, this derived from a report in the *Irish Times* from 15 July 1924, which told how an American pastor was branded with the initials ‘K.K.K.’ on his

¹¹⁹ A companion song to ‘Old Black Joe’; see *A Stephen Foster Songbook*, ed. by Richard Jackson (New York: Dover, 1974), p.178. See also Raymond Knapp, *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp.69-70.

¹²⁰ These lines are taken from Gifford’s *Ulysses Annotated*, p.250).

¹²¹ See Knapp, *The American Musical*, p.69.

¹²² Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, p.43.

back for preaching against the ‘fiery cross’.¹²³ This period was also a key turning point for the Klan; 1923-25 saw the rapid rise and equally rapid decline of this particular period of its history.¹²⁴ Remarkably, its popularity in the US had been revived by the release of D.W. Griffith’s *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915.¹²⁵ Joyce refers to this film on two occasions: ‘Moe like that only he stopped short in looking up up up from his tide shackled wrists through the ghost of an notion’ (*FW* 426.19-21); ‘Whyfor had they, it is Hiberio-Miletians and Argloe-Noremene, donated him, birth of an otion that was breeder to sweatoslaves, as mysterbolder, forced in their waste’ (*FW* 309.11). In both instances, Joyce also alludes to slavery: ‘shackled wrists’ and ‘sweatoslaves’. In 1924 when Joyce transcribed the headline from the *Irish Times*, the Klan resurgence was at its peak, with membership numbers reaching approximately four million. As Wyn Craig Wade argues, the ‘available evidence suggests that most of these people were led into the Invisible Empire primarily by spiritual needs’.¹²⁶ The muddled muscular Christianity of the ‘invinsible empores’ (*FW* 367.25) is precisely the context for Joyce’s most important source for KKK material: Charles Ferguson’s *The Confusion of Tongues: A Review of Modern Isms*.¹²⁷

The tone of Ferguson’s ‘brief and striking review [of] the whole pageant of religious oddity in America’ is evident from the start. ‘America, of course, has always been the sanctuary of amazing cults’, Ferguson announces.¹²⁸ He goes on to admit: ‘The material has been so radiant and amusing that to present it attractively has at all times been my chief concern. Clearly I have been beguiled by the odd, but not, I hope, to the point of inaccuracy’.¹²⁹ Thoroughly ‘beguiled by the odd’, the title of a later reissue was revised to *The New Books of Revelations: The Inside Story of America’s Astounding Religious Cults*.¹³⁰ In turning to Ferguson, Joyce is also returning to Newman and *A Portrait*. There, Stephen’s thoughts on the dean follow a train of thought via Newman to a similar roll-call of ‘amazing cults’: ‘Had he felt the need of an implicit faith amid the welter of sectarianism and the jargon of its turbulent schisms, six principle men, peculiar people, seed and snake Baptists, supralapsarian dogmatists?’ (*P* 165). As Geert Lernout has pointed out, these sects are not English,

¹²³ Fuse and Henkes, ‘Emendations to the Transcription of *Finnegans Wake* Notebook VI.B.5’, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 8 (Spring 2008): <http://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/GJS8/errata/VIB5errata.jsp>. Accessed 17 July 2014.

¹²⁴ David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp.135-37; Michael Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi: A History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2010), p.85.

¹²⁵ Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation: A History of ‘the Most Controversial Motion Picture of all Time’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), *passim*; Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1987), pp.119-39.

¹²⁶ Wade, *The Fiery Cross*, p.183.

¹²⁷ The notes from this source are found in VI.B.29, compiled from early February to mid-March 1930.

¹²⁸ Charles W. Ferguson, *The Confusion of Tongues: A Review of Modern Isms* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928), p.4.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹³⁰ Ferguson, *The New Books of Revelations: The Inside Story of America’s Astounding Religious Cults* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930). Other titles attributed to Ferguson include *Fifty Million Brothers: A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1937), and *Pigskin* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929).

but American, and at least some of these Joyce had found in an essay by Newman about the situation of the Catholic church in the United States.¹³¹ In ‘The Anglo-American Church’, Newman writes: ‘Certainly the excesses of sectarianism in the North American States are such that one need not be of a Socinian turn to be disgusted with them’.¹³² Newman’s tone is as unambiguous as Ferguson’s regarding ‘those regions of religious extravagance’, which for Newman resemble ‘early Church-history’ in their competitive diversity.¹³³ Newman would undoubtedly have been disgusted even further by the subjects covered in Ferguson’s history of these ‘religious cults’ in America, including Buchmanism; The Dukhobors; Theosophy; The New Thought; Atheism; Bahaism; Klu Kluxism; The Liberal Catholics; The Swamis and Yogis; Shakerism; Mormonism; The Mennonites; and a ‘A Brief Dictionary of Sects’: The Foursquare Gospel Lighthouse; Rosicrucians; Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Duck River Baptists, General Six Principal, Two-Seed-In-The-Spirit Predestinarian. Joyce takes notes from most of these sections, with the entirety being used in III.3 to flesh out HCE’s status as a ‘founder of religions’.¹³⁴ At VI.B.29.206(a), Joyce records the days of the Klan calendar: ‘Dark / Deadly / Dismal / Doleful / Destitute / Dreadful / Desperate’ (FW 549.10-11). At VI.B.29.206(c), the months of the year are listed: ‘Dark / Bloody / Gloomy / Hideous / Fearful / Furious / Alarming / Terrible / Horrible / Mournful / Sorrowful / Frightful / Appalling’ (FW 549.10-11). Both these lists are transferred almost verbatim. Other Klu Klux Klan notes from VI.B.29 not transferred include: ‘kykloks’, 205(h); ‘Klonvocation’, 205(i); ‘klankraft’, 205(j); ‘kreed’, 205(k); and, ‘Just as I am’, 205(l), which was taken from a KKK initiation rite. Another note taken from *The Confusion of Tongues* – ‘K.K.K. Katekism’ (VI.B.29.207(b)) – enters III.3 unaltered: ‘By whom, as my Kerk Findlater’s, ye litel chuch rond ye coner, and K. K. Katakasm enjoineeth in the Belief’ (FW 533.23-4). Coming shortly after HCE’s declaration ‘Amsatdam, sir, to you!’ (FW 532.06), Joyce ‘enjoins’ (in the obsolete sense of joining together) the Protestant churches of the Netherlands (‘Kerk’), Dublin (Findlater’s Abbey Presbyterian Church), and America (Little Church Around the Corner, New York/‘New Amsterdam’; and the KKK), creating, as it were, an Anglo-Dutch-American Protestant communion entirely appropriate to HCE.

The KKK are also repeatedly referred to through the practice of ‘enjoining’ antagonistic pairs – applying Bruno’s ‘coincidence of contraries’ to create unsettling composite forms. The catchphrase of the Moore and Burgess Minstrels – ‘Take off that white hat’ – recurs in various forms throughout the *Wake*: FW 032.23; 320.08; 322.01; 322.05; 324.14; 342.11; 515.33-4; 536.14; 587.11; 607.03; 614.14; 623.09. Bloom also recalls it in ‘Lestrygonians’ (U 8.605-6). In II.3 in particular it is used to insult and abuse Kersse the tailor, as for example in: ‘Tick off that whilehot, you scum of a botch’ (FW 322.05). But the most disquieting aspect of this Brunian conflation lies in how the white hat of

¹³¹ Lernout, *Help My Unbelief*, pp.135-36.

¹³² Cited *ibid.*, p.136.

¹³³ John Henry Cardinal Newman, ‘The Anglo-American Church’, in *Essays: Critical and Historical*, vol.1 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), pp.324-27.

¹³⁴ Introduction to VI.B.29, p.9.

the Moore and Burgess Minstrels overlaps with the white hood of the Klu Klux Klan. In the chaos of the warlike ‘clashes’ of I.1 (FW 004.01-6), the KKK seem somehow involved through the violent cries: ‘Brékkek Kékkek Kékkek Kékkek! Kóax Kóax Kóax!’ (FW 004.02). They then more clearly emerge as ‘the Whoyteboyce of Hoodie Head’ (FW 004.05). These ‘hooded white boys’ reappear throughout the text.¹³⁵ In II.3, for instance, after closing time in the Mullingar Inn, Chapelizod, ‘Dook Welington’ (FW 371.36), ‘Tuppeter Sowyer’ (FW 372.06) and ‘kailly-kailly kellykekke’ (FW 372.14-5) appear. They are joined by the ‘Mullinguard minstrelers’ (FW 371.34), but also by a ‘lyncheon partyng’ (FW 372.30). In that same chapter, a pertinent question is put before the reader: ‘Why coif that weird hood?’ (FW 342.11). The KKK were certainly ‘weird’ in Ferguson’s sense. But it is precisely the echo of the minstrel catchphrase which disturbs the ‘enjoined’ allusion.

The harvesting of units from *The Confusion of Tongues* is, on the one hand, an elaboration of Joyce/Stephen’s reflections on Newman’s ‘Anglo-American Church’ and the ‘welter of sectarianism and the jargon of its turbulent schisms’ (P 165). On the other hand, the *Wake* also ‘enjoins’ the confusion with a wider interrogation of American history, especially its history of race and violence. The ‘violent’ running together of ‘Abraham Lynch’ performs in microcosm what the *Wake* does in macrocosm; it ‘enjoins’ Lincoln and lynching; emancipation and slavery; Yankee Doodle and Zip Coon, ‘downfall ned’ and the ‘Kruis-Kroon-Kraal’. Accordingly, the *Wake* also ‘enjoins’ (in the modern sense of prescribing) a certain view of American history through its persecuted or criminalized groups. Remarkably, this history is almost entirely constructed out of popular culture.

The *Wake*’s fascination with the minstrel show arguably extends to a structural importance. Specifically, the *Wake* appears to mimic certain dynamics of comic pairings and (mis-)communication within the show’s set pieces. Minstrelsy is not the only source for such back-and-forth repartee. Early on in I.1, Joyce introduces the paired characters of Mutt and Jute seemingly to develop through a dialogue a history of invasion and assimilation. However, as is immediately apparent, the dialogic articulation of this pre-history is confused and confounded by the utter inarticulacy of its participants and their non-conforming behaviour to standard conversational models.¹³⁶ This indirect question and evasive answer format for Mutt and Jute largely comes from the American comic strip *Mutt and Jeff*. Joyce littered the *Wake* with references to this pair of hat-swapping (FW 016.08), little-and-large (FW 017.32) modern vaudeville clowns. Indeed, their significance appears to stretch to embodying a ‘Mutt and Jeff mode’ within the *Wake*, as Fordham describes it, which involves a ‘typical’ mode of ‘mishearing and misquoting’.¹³⁷ A letter from Joyce to Frank Budgen in 1939 refers to the ‘Mutt and

¹³⁵ Typical of the *Wake*, this also conflates the Irish eighteenth-century agrarian secret society the Whiteboys, of which John Stanislaus’s grandfather was said to have been a member; see Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.12.

¹³⁶ For a discussion of narrative theory and the “Mutt and Jute” exchange in *Finnegans Wake*, see David Herman, *Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2004), pp.171-93.

¹³⁷ Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, p.99.

Jeff banter' of book IV (*LI* 406). Minstrels and *Mutt and Jeff* are evidently present throughout the *Wake*, but it is the potential structural relevance of minstrelsy which I shall consider here – the extent to which the *Wake* is 'a little Negro dance', as Joyce told Jacques Mercanton in the thirties.¹³⁸

Structurally, III.3's 'drama parapolylogic' (*FW* 474.05) broadly encompasses the characteristic question-and-answer format of – variously – an enquiry, a séance, a courtroom trial, a criminal investigation, a psychoanalysis session, and quite possibly many more things besides. The Q&A format of the minstrel show maps neatly onto this structure and proves an opportunity to examine certain rhetorical strategies common to both. There were typically three parts to a blackface minstrel show, which drew from a variety of elements: 'folklore, dance, jokes, songs, instrumental tunes, skits, mock oratory, satire, and racial and gender cross-dressing or impersonation'; so far, so *Wake*-like.¹³⁹ The first part is the most important here, and I'll take it up in detail shortly. The second, the olio, involved a kind of variety entertainment, including diverse acts such as the stump speeches. These were cod-oratorical speeches on current affairs, scientific issues or philosophical questions full of puns, mispronunciations, and malapropisms; the *Wake*, too, abounds in such cod-oratorical speeches and lectures. Shaun, in particular, seems fond of them, with III.2 a good case in point. Indeed, Bloom in 'Circe' is invited to give a 'stump speech' on tobacco (*U* 15.1353). He does so wearing 'an apache cap' and recounts how 'Sir Walter Raleigh brought from the new world that potato and that weed, the one a killer of pestilence by absorption, the other a poisoner of the ear, eye, heart, memory, will, understanding, all' (*U* 15.1356-9). Following the olio's chaotic omnium gatherum of performances, the third part of the show, the after-piece, was primarily intended to burlesque high cultural entertainment such as Italian opera and Shakespearian drama.

In the important first part, a row of minstrels sat around on chairs in a semi-circle on stage, with the figure known as Mr Interlocutor in the centre, and at either side the two cornermen, or endmen, Tambo and Bones. Following an overture there was a comic question-and-answer routine involving one of the cornermen, say Mr Bones, and Mr Interlocutor. This on-stage pairing, its Q&A format, is where the minstrel show can be thought of as bearing upon III.3. The comic element of this routine involved the cornermen undercutting the pretension and gravitas of Mr Interlocutor, who served as both *compère* and straight man to the cornermen's gags and puns. Unlike the cornermen, Mr Interlocutor did not perform in blackface, and spoke in a formal, educated, or even ornate style, while the replies of Tambo or Bones provided the comic effects through misunderstandings, malapropisms, and nonsensical interruptions.¹⁴⁰ Many comic effects in III.3 derive from the same principle, with Yawn twisting the words of his interrogators. Take for example the mishearings in an exchange roughly midway through the interrogation. One of the Four asks Yawn:

¹³⁸ *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. by Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p.227.

¹³⁹ Lott, *Love and Theft*, p.9.

¹⁴⁰ Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (London: Eurospan, 2005), pp.30-33; Lott, *Love and Theft*, p.218.

- But you did establish personal contact? In epexegetis or on a point of order?
- [Yawn replies] That perkumiary pond is beyawned my pinnigay pretonsions. I am resting on a pigs of cheesus but I've a big suggestion it was about the pint of porter. (*FW* 511.16-8)

The Four's parliamentary 'point of order' returns as Yawn's disruptive 'pint of porter' and their rhetorical 'epexegetis' mistranslates into 'pigs of cheesus'.¹⁴¹ There are numerous examples of this conforming to the same pattern:

- Or Noe et Ecclesiastes, none?
- Ninny, there is no hay in Eccle's hostel. (*FW* 514.14-5)

Other examples are demonstrably concerned with race, sexuality and fears about miscegenation or 'inversion', such as at *FW* 522.16-9; 522.30-6:

- Did any orangepeelers or greengoaters appear periodically up your sylvan family tree?
- Buggered if I know! It all depends on how much family silver you want for a nass-and-pair. Hah!
[...]
- You have homosexual catheis of empathy between narcissism of the expert and steatopygic invertedness. Get yourself psychoanolised!
- O, begor, I want no expert nursis symaphy from yours broons quadrooms and I can psoakoonaloose myself any time I want [...] without your interferences or any other pigeonstealer.

There are a number of pairs of comic mishearings here: 'family tree' / 'family silver'; 'buggered' / 'begor'; 'narcissism of the expert' / 'expert nursis'; 'psychoanolised' / 'psoakoonaloose'; 'steatopygic' / 'pigeonstealer'. The racial element comes through the 'broons quadrooms', or 'brown quadroom'; according to the *OED*, a 'quadroom' is a 'person who is by descent three-quarters white and one-quarter black' and '[b]y extension: any person of comparably mixed ancestry'. The *Wakean* verb 'psoakoonaloose' also contains 'koon'.

These are prime *Wakean* counterpoints to minstrelsy's routine whereby Bones would deliberately 'mishear' the elevated language of the interlocutor for comic effect. In the example above, Joyce clearly uses this trick to mock the language and theories of psychoanalysis. In III.3, there is a constant echoing across lines in the Four's interrogation of Yawn, from one speaker to the next, full of distorted repetitions and half-rhymes. Moreover, the galley proofs show Joyce added to the minstrel

¹⁴¹ These lines are also recycled from earlier in II.2: 'Where your apexojesus will be a point of order' (*FW* 296.10-1).

presence and extended the general principle of doubling right up until publication. Joyce added ‘Bones Minor’, along with ‘to the town’s major’ and ‘half hang me, sirr’ (suggesting lynching again).¹⁴² Other pairings include: ‘a gig for a gag’ and ‘a gag as a gig’. Joyce also adds the ‘minstrelised’ pair ‘Massa’s star stellar’ and ‘Mrs. Tan-Taylor’ at this late point, which enters the text verbatim at *FW* 511.28-9.¹⁴³ I suggest, given Yawn’s *mediation* of ‘Masta Bones’ only a few pages later, that some of these exchanges might be thought of in terms of the comical-rhetorical strategies repeatedly and famously deployed by blackface minstrels.

Yawn’s ‘minstrelisation’ occurs roughly halfway through his cross-examination by the Four regarding the alleged incident in the Phoenix Park. One of the Four demands of Yawn:

- Well, tell it to me befair, the whole plan of campaign, in that bamboozelem mincethrill voice of yours. Let’s have it, christie! The Dublin own, the thrice familiar.
- [Cast as a Christy Minstrel, Yawn’s prevarications continue] Ah, sure, I eyewitless foggus. ‘Tis all around me bebatters-bid hat.
- [The Four again ‘minstrelise’ Yawn] Ah, go on now, Masta Bones, a gig for a gag, with your impendements and your perroqtriques! Blank memory of hatless darky in blued suit. You were ever the gentle poet, dove from Haywarden. Pitcher cup, patcher cap, pratey man? Be nice about it, Bones Minor! (*FW* 515.27-36)

Yawn’s response to all this is to adopt finally the ‘bamboozelem mincethrill voice’ in which he has been encouraged to speak, and recapitulates at length HCE’s encounter with the Cad in the park.

- Faith, then, Meesta Cheeryman, first he come up, a gag as a gig, badgeler’s rake to the town’s major from the wesz [...] (*FW* 516.03-4)

Prior to this point, Joyce wove elements of American musical theatre into the chapter; the Four, for instance, are wearing ‘broad-awake prober’s hats’, or Broadway hats (*FW* 476.11-12).¹⁴⁴ Compare this to the Four’s line: ‘Blank memory of hatless darky in blued suit’ – also an allusion to the catchphrase of the Moore and Burgess Minstrels, ‘Take off that white hat’. Here ‘blank’ can of course also be read as the French *blanc*, or white, as well as suggesting the kind of historical amnesia (blank memory) upon which blackface minstrelsy relied.¹⁴⁵ Historical amnesia, then, appears as a particular form of ‘white memory’: a proposition perhaps in part reflected in a line in III.3 – ‘Romunculus Remus, plying the rape’ (*FW* 525.33-4), which runs together the *Uncle Remus* plantation stories of

¹⁴² *James Joyce Archive* 62, p.399.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.399.

¹⁴⁴ See VI.B.6.137(o): ‘broadway hat’.

¹⁴⁵ See Lott, *Love and Theft*, p.4.

Joel Chandler Harris with, among other things, the twins Romulus and Remus, the founding of Rome, and the rape of the Sabine women. Joyce appears to be playing with ideas about historical memory, foundational myths and the processes by which such acts of violence as slavery and rape are internalised and naturalised. In a sense, the process of internalisation is *embodied* or *impersonated* in III.3 as Joyce wove racial elements into Yawn's character from the start of the chapter. For instance, a note from French ethnographer Maurice Delafosse's *L'âme Nègre* (*The Negro Soul*), is *incorporated* into Yawn's physical description.¹⁴⁶ Yawn also appears as a kind of Eugene Stratton figure, when the Four first encounter him and see 'his blurbeous lips' (FW 477.28-30) – compare this to Stratton's 'blub lips agrin' in *Ulysses*. Matthew Gregory, later in the chapter, addresses Yawn as 'my labrose lad' (FW 520.36) – meaning, having 'large' or thick lips (*OED*). Yawn's abuse of Shem at the beginning of the interrogation also involves the adoption of a minstrel voice ('Oh laud', FW 483.34), as well as racially abusive terms. Later, Joyce peppers Yawn's replies with notes taken from Marc Connelly's near-minstrel show *The Green Pastures*, which opened on Broadway in 1930.

The interrogation, then, blackens Yawn, just as Shaun has blackened Shem in previous chapters. As Yawn is apparently a ventriloquist for other characters in the novel, this suggests the mediated presence of Shem (already portrayed in racial terms as black) but, as we have seen, Yawn's own physical characteristics attain these qualities previously associated with Shem, pointing to an interchangeability between the two brothers as minstrel figures – the Shem/Shawn structural pairing exercising its potential for mimicry, or impersonation. In III.3, the Four certainly suspect Yawn of deploying deceptive stratagems, especially imitation. At one point, alluding to the Jacob/Esau Biblical pairing whereby Jacob tricked his father Isaac by disguising himself as his brother Esau, Mark says: 'The gist is the gist of Shaum but the hand is the hand of Sameas. Shan – Shim – Schung. There is a strong suspicion on counterfeit Kevin' (FW 483.03-5). And a little later: 'The voice is the voice of jokeup, I fear. Are you imitation Roma now or Amor now. You have all our empathies, eh, Mr Trickpat, if you don't mind, that is, aside from sings and mush, answering to my straight question?' (FW 487.12-5). Of course, Yawn's whole performance is designed to avoid giving a straight answer to the Four's straight question, which leads Matthew to threaten Yawn with exposing his false appearances, which, Matthew suggests, include a blackface mask: 'How would you like to hear yur right name now, Ghazi Power, my tristy minstrel, if yur not freckened of frank comment?' (FW 521.21-3).

In this atmosphere, it is almost impossible to get behind the burned cork mask and the 'bamboozelem mincethrill voice' to find out who is really speaking. Joyce's allusions in III.3 to blackface minstrelsy – an entertainment based entirely on counterfeit performances, fraudulent impersonations – heightens this sense of uncertainty with regards to our unreliable medium. Moreover,

¹⁴⁶ Robbert-Jan Henkes, 'James Joyce in Africa: An Expedition to the Sources of the *Wake*', in *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 8 (Spring 2008): <http://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/GJS8/JJ%20in%20Africa%2023May.jsp> Accessed: 18 July 2014.

Yawn is unreliable from very early on in his composition: As Sam Slote has pointed out, between August 1924 and January 1925, Joyce worked notes into III.3 from Hester Travers Smith's *Psychic Messages from Oscar Wilde*, including the note: ' ^ [Shaun] impersonating/ medium/ third party'.¹⁴⁷ Taken at face value, this could suggest that the other characters are not speaking through Yawn, but rather it is Yawn who is impersonating them. He is doing 'perroqtriques', or parrot tricks. Like any good minstrel, he excels at imitation and has previously boasted: 'I can soroquise the Siamanish better than most' (*FW* 425.15-16), and 'How's that for Shemese?' (*FW* 425.02-3). Interrogating III.3 in terms of blackface minstrelsy doesn't resolve these problems of identification, but rather considerably embellishes them through the dynamics of mimicry, doubling and distorted *mediation* in the context of a burlesque question-and-answer format and Yawn's role as a highly unreliable medium.

American films represent another significant use of American popular culture in the *Wake*. In the aftermath of World War One, Europe simply did not have the capital resources to resist what has been referred to as the American 'export invasion' of the 1920s.¹⁴⁸ As Wim Van Mierlo has pointed out, HCE is omnipresent in the *Wake* 'in his capacity as "Heinz Cans Everywhere"' (*FW* 581.05), and this reflects the sudden post-war influx of not only manufactured products from North America, but also its cultural commodities.¹⁴⁹ For many, the distinction scarcely existed. In his 1927 essay 'The Outlook for America: Some Reflections in a Machine Age', Aldous Huxley wrote that the Americanised 'machine age' would produce not only manufactured goods, but 'mass-produced ideas and mass-produced art'.¹⁵⁰ In the 1920s, the widespread sense of a looming American hegemony over cinema in Europe led to the establishment of the 'Film Europe' movement and to studios creating 'multiple language versions' of films in the 1930s in an attempt to resist what was seen by many as cultural and economic imperialism. As one French film critic put it in the 1920s, suggesting a transition from Dowie to Hollywood: 'Formerly the preachers of Cincinnati or Baltimore deluged the world with pious brochures; their more cheerful offspring, who pursue the same ends, inundate it with blond movie stars; whether as missionaries loaded with Bibles or producers well supplied with films, the Americans are equally devoted to spreading the American way of life'.¹⁵¹ An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1925 declared that 'Trade Follows Film', while a separate magazine article declared: 'The sun, it now appears, never sets on the British Empire and the American motion picture'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Sam Slote, 'Wilde Thing: Concerning the Eccentricities of a Figure of Decadence in *Finnegans Wake*', in *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce*, ed. by David Hayman and Sam Slote (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), p.112.

¹⁴⁸ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, p.19.

¹⁴⁹ Van Mierlo, 'Traffic in Transit: Some Spatio-Temporal Elements in *Finnegans Wake*', in *Finnegans Wake: Teems of Times*, ed. by Andrew Treip (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p.117.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Genevieve Abravanel, *Americanizing Britain: The Rise of Modernism in the Age of the Entertainment Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.40.

¹⁵¹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, p.100.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p.101-03.

The speed of technological change perhaps lent an air of inevitability to the advance of American cinema, and as Rabaté has argued, 1913 was a pivotal year in this process. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, he notes, there were 115 cinemas in Brussels, some 200 in Paris, and in New York, an extraordinary 986 cinemas by 1913.¹⁵³ From 1913 on, the industry moved towards multi-reel, full-length feature films. By 1920, as Rosenberg points out, the Hollywood movie industry had created such an impression on the overseas market that the European honeymoon of its stars Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford was accorded the treatment more typically accorded to royalty.¹⁵⁴ Even if a film Joyce was watching on any particular occasion wasn't an American one, there is a very good chance some part of the mechanical apparatus used to show it was American-made: 'The movie equipment industry also flourished with the global expansion of American films in the 1920s: Kodak manufactured 75 percent of the film in the world; ITT monopolised the production of sound equipment; American companies directly owned over half the leading movie houses in the world and outfitted them with American wares'.¹⁵⁵ If, *à la* McLuhan, the medium is the message, then the message here is one of relentless American cultural and economic expansion – that is, 'Heinz Cans Everywhere'.

Joyce's interest in film is a well documented one, and there is no need to repeat here the details of his involvement with or enjoyment of cinema.¹⁵⁶ As Thomas L. Burkdall has noted, 'the works of James Joyce have been called "cinematic" often enough to consider this pronouncement a critical commonplace'.¹⁵⁷ That body of critical work on Joyce and cinema has for the most part focused on either the stylistic aspect of film in Joyce's writing, or the biographical element, notably Joyce's involvement in the Volta cinema in Dublin. More recently Joseph Kelly has used the Paul Léon Collection at the National Library of Ireland to argue that Joyce was far more eager to get his works made into Hollywood films than either of the biographical testimonies of Ellmann or Léon himself gave him credit for.¹⁵⁸ Whether or not it is the case, as Burkdall argues, that Joyce did indeed see connections between the moving images on a screen and his own stream-of-consciousness, there

¹⁵³ Jean-Michel Rabaté *1913: The Cradle of Modernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p.20. Rabaté cites Paul Virilio's term 'dromology' to describe a form of technological and historical acceleration, especially in the field of warfare, towards the end of the nineteenth century (p.6).

¹⁵⁴ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, pp.99-100.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹⁵⁶ See for example *Roll Away the Reel World: James Joyce and Cinema*, ed. by John McCourt (Cork: Cork University Press, 2010); Joseph Kelly, 'Joyce in Hollywood in the 1930s: A Biographical Essay', *JJQ*, vol. 45, nos. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 2008), pp.521-536; Thomas L. Burkdall, *Joycean Frames: Film and the Fiction of James Joyce* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001); Luke McKernan 'James Joyce's Cinema', in *Film and Film Culture*, vol.3 (2004), pp.7-20; Margot Norris, *Ulysses: Ireland Into Film* series (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004); Maria DiBattista, 'This Is Not a Movie: Ulysses and Cinema', in *Modernism/modernity*, vol.13 (April 2006), pp.219-35; Gostra Werner, 'James Joyce and Sergei Eisenstein', *JJQ* 27 (1990), pp.491-507; Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.140-70.

¹⁵⁷ Burkdall, *Joycean Frames*, p.xii.

¹⁵⁸ Kelly, 'Joyce in Hollywood in the 1930s: A Biographical Essay', p.521.

remains a cultural-historical aspect in need of investigation.¹⁵⁹ As Rabaté points out, Guillaume Apollinaire in 1917 underlined how pressing the contemporary issue of cultural politics and the cinema was when he claimed that cinema in 1917 was less international than it had been before.¹⁶⁰ In ‘The New Spirit and the Poets’, Apollinaire wrote: ‘And notice that the cinema, which is the perfect cosmopolitan art, already shows ethnic differences immediately apparent to everyone, and film enthusiasts immediately distinguish between an American and an Italian film’.¹⁶¹ Apollinaire’s *aperçu* regarding ‘ethnic differences’ in cinema is certainly worth pursuing here, as after 1917 the vast majority of films and the large bulk of film-making equipment in Europe would be American in origin. Indeed, Rabaté places the beginnings of this rise to domination before the First World War: ‘The year 1913 had been a turning point for the American film industry. After 1913, Hollywood became America’s indisputable movie production centre, and it would soon dominate the whole world’.¹⁶² This domination would only compound Apollinaire’s sense that cinema was becoming less international, and raises important questions as to Joyce’s exact use of cinema in the *Wake* in light of an American mono-cultural supremacy. Stanislaus Joyce, as early as June 1907, had derided cinematographs as ‘the greatest sin of American corruption’ and, as John McCourt has noted, in the same entry in Stanislaus’s *Triestine Book of Days*, he says a programme of films he has seen had ‘an air of America and degeneration, and of pandering to the lowest imagination of the rabble’.¹⁶³ For Stanislaus, the ‘reel world’ (FW 064.25) was clearly an American one, and much the worse for it. Ezra Pound, in 1918, would condemn the new medium in similar terms, banishing it to the ‘antipodes of Art’ and granting it only one advantage over contemporary theatricals, that ‘it takes less time to convey to its audience the same amount of sentimental sensationalism’.¹⁶⁴

Perhaps the clearest reference to film in the *Wake* comes in I.3, during a brief digression or pause during the continuing examination into HCE: ‘Just one moment. [...] But resuming inquiries’ (FW 064.21-066.10). We are invited to ‘roll away the reel world, the reel world, the reel world!’ (FW 064.25-6). The rolling of the camera is clearly evoked here, or even invoked in its repetition, a succession of still images creating the impression of motion. Succession of a different kind is also at stake in this chapter. Earlier, before the film starts, we were told how ‘Television kills telephony in brothers’ broil’ (FW 052.18) Thus cinema and television appear dialectically related to the preceding forms of communications technology, replacing them by violent means. It is then surely no coincidence that preceding this Cain-and-Abel pairing of telecommunications and popular entertainment we hear of Annie Oakley (FW 052.01), an American sharpshooter who featured in

¹⁵⁹ Burkdall, *Joycean Frames*, p.4.

¹⁶⁰ Rabaté, *1913*, p.23.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.22.

¹⁶³ McCourt, *Roll Away the Reel World*, p.1.

¹⁶⁴ First published as ‘Art Notes: Kinema, Kinesis, Hepworth, Etc.’, in *The New Age*, 26 September 1918, p.352, and reprinted in *Ezra Pound and the Visual Arts*, ed. by Harriet Zinnes (New York: New Directions, 1980), pp.78-82.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, an important predecessor to the cinema and a significant cultural export.¹⁶⁵ From Buffalo Bill and Annie Oakley to television and cinema, a brief history of popular culture is parsed amid a jumble of diverse references, building up towards the 'reel world' section.

In F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1927 short story 'The Love Boat' an older man is ridiculed for his attempts to rekindle an old relationship with a young girl on an excursion on a steamboat. In mocking his efforts, some boys on the boat call him 'Daddy Browning' and the girl 'Peaches' in reference to a lurid 1926-27 American divorce-case scandal involving a much older man and a 15-year-old flapper girl, the 'Daddy' and 'Peaches' in question. Although these references were removed from the story as it appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1927, its American readership would undoubtedly have instantly recognised the connections with the scandal.¹⁶⁶ It seems that Joyce was also familiar with the story as it recurs in piecemeal in the extended 'movie' section about an old man and a young girl (Mark and Isolde, *inter alia*) following the invitation to 'roll away the reel world' (FW 064.22-065.34).¹⁶⁷ The inquiry's digression hears how 'dear old grumpapar [...] has his gel number two (bravevow, our Grum!) and he would like to canoodle her too some part of the time for he is downright fond of his number one but O he's fair mashed on peaches number two so that if he could only canoodle the two, chivee chivoo, all three would feel genuinely happy' (FW 065.23). The allusion to 'Peaches' and her elderly suitor was apparent from the beginning, as a selection of articles from *transition* collated in 1929 includes this passage as it appeared in 1927 under the heading 'Peaches'.¹⁶⁸ Editors Eugene Jolas and Robert Sage introduce Joyce thus: 'The universality of Joyce's mind is easily discernible in this "muster" and American readers, at least, will observe, in the Joycean [*sic*] treatment of an affair which recently caused a sensation in New York, the author's ability to elevate current events to an importance equal to that of any great occurrence in the world's history'.¹⁶⁹ American and other readers should also easily discern how the scandal clearly contributes to the general air of accusation against HCE in the *Wake*, and, indeed, we hear his characteristic stuttering at choice moments, even imitated, when the young girl says 'so tolloll Mr Hunker you're too dada for me to dance (so off she goes!) and that's how half the gels in town has got their bottom drars while grampapar he trying to hitch his braces on to his trars' (FW 065.17-19). McHugh finds Emerson's advice to 'hitch your wagon to a star' here¹⁷⁰, but less literary Americanisms are more common: 'by

¹⁶⁵ Robert W. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp.32-33.

¹⁶⁶ See the restored Cambridge edition of *All the Sad Young Men*, in which 'The Love Boat' is included, and the editor's introduction; *All the Sad Young Men*, ed. by James L. W. West III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁶⁷ Robert M. Polhemus takes the episode to be primarily focused on Joyce's interest in the incest theme and argues that Joyce's composition of the *Wake* was influenced by this tabloid story: 'Dantellising Peaches and Miching Daddy, the Gushy Old Goof: The Browning Case and Finnegans Wake', in *Joyce Studies Annual*, vol.5 (1994), pp.75-103.

¹⁶⁸ See *Transition Stories, Twenty-three Stories from Transition*, ed. by Eugene Jolas and Robert Sage (New York: W. V. McKee, 1929), pp.187-88.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.180.

¹⁷⁰ McHugh, *Annotations*, p.65.

Sam' (FW 065.08); 'clean dippy' (FW 065.20); 'canoodle' (FW 065.24); 'mashed on' (FW 065.25), and so on. Joyce also Americanises the passage by inserting a reference to the American actor Noah Beery (FW 064.33-5). Beery was perfectly cast; in the 1934 film *Cockeyed Cavaliers*, he played a lecherous old man in pursuit of a young girl. The Chinese-American film detective Charlie Chan also appears (FW 065.16), while D.W. Griffith's 1920 silent film *Way Down East* starring Lillian Gish is suggested by 'way down west' (FW 065.08).¹⁷¹ Joyce thus updates the Mark and Isolde legend in a very 'modern' way: American film, flappers, sex and money - 'Creampuffs all to dime!' (FW 065.11). It's 'the real cream!' (FW 064.27).

Film later gives way to John Logie Baird's invention, the television: the 'bairdboard bombardment screen' (FW 349.08). Here, in this Butt and Taff dialogue in II.3, Joyce describes how Buckley shot the Russian general. A great number of the allusions to television establish a connection with violence. The screen itself 'tends to teleframe and step up to the charge of the light barricade' (FW 349.09-10). The bombardment of images is further suggested: 'Spraygun rakes and splits them from a double focus: grenadite, damnymite, alextronite, nichelite' (FW 349.12-4). The 'tellavicious' (FW 349.29) seems implicated in all manner of crimes, not just the shooting of the general in his 'erseroyal' (FW 353.18). In a detailed analysis of this section, Finn Fordham argues that television here becomes a kind of 'total culture' which 'communicates total war'.¹⁷² A long stage direction interrupts the dialogue to describe the unstable 'appearance of language, like a bomb exploding' and a cinema projector/television screen: 'The abnihilisation of the etym [...] expolodotonates through Parsuralia with an ivanmorinthorrorumble fragoromboassity [...]. Similar scenatas are projectilised from Hullulullu, Bawlawayo, empyreal Raum and mordern Atems' (FW 353.23-30).¹⁷³ Commenting on this passage, Fordham writes: 'The movement from the local to the general need not be understood as a move from the particular to the universal, but about how conflict can spread, how the age of world wars had been ushered in, how they could start from one little explosion and spread to "similar scenes" all over the world, a consequence of the first global empire (the British) collapsing'.¹⁷⁴ Here, in this list of places that would 'projectilise' these 'similar scenes', America is clearly implicated by the inclusion of Honolulu ('Hullulullu'). Both Honolulu and Bulawayo form significant parts of American and British imperial histories respectively in the 1890s in particular; Bulawayo featured prominently in the Matabele Wars of the 1890s, while Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. Joyce connects the 1890s to a longer chronology of empire through the primary models 'empyreal Raum and mordern Atems'. Moreover, the rise and fall of all empires is suggested in the funeral pyre buried in 'empyreal' Rome. Joyce is recycling that pun from an earlier chapter when

¹⁷¹ In late 1922, Joyce noted: 'McAlmon / can see Lilian / Gish / in Rome / (Lucia)' (VI.B.10.66(i)).

¹⁷² Fordham, *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, p.130.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.126.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.129.

‘Derzherr, live wire, fired Benjermine Funkling outa th’Empyre’ (FW 289.09-10).¹⁷⁵ The spurious legal and moral justification of expansionism, whether it is ‘manifest destiny’ or *lebensraum* (empyrean ‘*Raum*’, or ‘space’), is shown to be nothing more than ‘the same old domstool story’ (FW 352.03; ‘domstool’ being Danish for ‘courts of justice’).

Later in III.3, America is again linked back to imperial Rome through the succession of popular cultures: ‘what is seizer can hack in the old wold a sawyer may hue in the green’ (FW 549.25-6). Caesar and Tom Sawyer make for an odd pair, but the idea of succession is clear. Just as comparisons between British and Roman imperial history were often drawn in the nineteenth century, America was being added to the analogy, often amid fears about America overtaking Britain in the longer history of empire. The 1890s (again) in America saw a significant shift in analogies between the United States and imperial Rome, as Margaret Malamud argues: ‘Across America negative references to the decadence and imperial overreach of ancient Rome, previously common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were overshadowed by a celebratory linking of the ancient Roman and modern American empires. Analogies drawn between the ancient Roman and modern American empires now helped to articulate and legitimate America’s recent acquisition of an overseas empire’.¹⁷⁶ Guglielmo Ferrero’s 1914 work *Ancient Rome and Modern America* stands out as a European counterpart to the same recently established worldview. This chapter started with the legend of Tristan and Isolde and how it is used to depict New World Tristan usurping Old World Mark: ‘The new world presses. Where the old conk cruised now croons the yunk’ (FW 387.36-388.01). Another Griffith film is alluded to here – *My Man Godfrey* (FW 387.35) – and Joyce at one point clearly intended to cast Tristan as a Hollywood star: ‘Trist. a film star’.¹⁷⁷ It is entirely in keeping with Joyce’s use of popular culture in sketching out a history of America that the collapse of the British Empire should be overseen by a Hollywood movie star.

¹⁷⁵ Stuart Gilbert’s close reading of this passage, aided by Joyce, equates Franklin and the American Revolution with Lucifer’s rebellion. The analysis is quoted in full in *Finnegans Wake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.xxxi-ii.

¹⁷⁶ Margaret Malamud, *Ancient Rome and Modern America* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p.6.

¹⁷⁷ Connolly, *Scribbledehobble*, p.80.

Chapter 3

‘New worlds for all’: Joyce and Irish America

‘One nation is bound to another by all kinds of subtle threads and no two nations are bound more closely together than Ireland and America’

W.B. Yeats, ‘Emmet the Apostle of Irish Liberty’, 1904

‘Ireland is a Purgatory, where the Irish must suffer in patience before going to America’

Irish proverb

In Louis Paul-Dubois' *Contemporary Ireland*, published in 1908, he describes emigration as a 'modern Exodus' and the 'fundamental characteristic of contemporary Ireland'. Emigration, the French writer predicted in this survey of turn-of-the-century Ireland, 'will soon cause it to be said that Ireland is no longer to be found in Ireland where flows the Shannon, but rather besides the banks of the Hudson River, and in that "Greater Ireland" whose home is the American Republic'.¹ Dubois goes on to describe how the transatlantic route in this 'modern Exodus' came to dominate:

During the last twenty years a deep change has taken place in Irish feeling as regards going to America. America has become their second native land, and emigration one of their customs. Many people live in the hope of seeing or in the regret of never having seen that land of promise, America. Children are brought up with the idea of probably becoming emigrants; trained to regard life 'in the country' as a transitory matter, merely a period of waiting until the time shall come for them to begin life 'over there'. Ireland, according to the proverb, is 'a Purgatory, where the Irish must suffer in patience before going to America'.²

This chapter is concerned with the lines of connection between Joyce's works and the phenomenon of emigration to the United States from Ireland. The concepts of emigration and exile form some of the strongest connections between Joyce's works and indeed are themselves 'fundamental characteristics' of those works. For the Ireland contemporary with Joyce and Dubois, no country was more important in this regard than the United States. As Wim Van Mierlo has pointed out, a relatively early note for *Finnegans Wake* 'further suggests the importance of emigration as a motif: 'American Wake''.³ Kerby Miller, in his seminal account of Irish emigration to the United States, argues that by the late nineteenth century emigration had become 'an integral and essential feature of Irish life'.⁴ Dubois' 1908 account above suggests a naturalisation, or culmination of sorts, in America's turn-of-the-century role as a 'second native land' for the Irish, a post-Famine teleology in which, as Yeats put it in 1904, 'no two nations are bound more closely together than Ireland and America'.⁵ Accordingly, this chapter will address what Dubois describes as this 'deep change [...] in Irish feeling as regards going to America', or the Irish imagining of America, which inevitably encompasses the much longer tradition of emigration and exile from the country that Joyce describes in some detail in his 1907 Trieste lecture, 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages'. That tradition includes a significant proportion of politically motivated exiles, and this, as we shall see, is key to how Irish Americans are represented in Joyce's early critical and political writings. While *Dubliners*, *Exiles*, and *Ulysses* are not silent on

¹ Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland* (Dublin: Maunsel & Co, 1908), pp.350-51.

² *Ibid.*, p.359.

³ Van Mierlo, 'The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea: James Joyce, Exile and Irish Emigration', in *Joyce, Ireland, Britain*, p.190.

⁴ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.131.

⁵ 'Emmet the Apostle of Irish Liberty', in *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats, vol.10* (New York: Scribner, 2000), p.101.

emigration, clear, specific allusions to emigration to the United States are occasional in these works rather than integral, as they are in the *Wake*. Thus, my focus here will be on the ‘Triestine writings’ and the *Wake*.

Joyce’s response to the phenomenon of Irish emigration to ‘Greater Ireland’ – ‘Hither-on-Thither Erin’ (FW 452.27-8) – is two-fold, corresponding to Ireland’s political transformation from a British colony to the Irish Free State in 1922. Before 1922, explicit allusions to the Irish in America are almost exclusively concerned with issues of separatist politics. The frames and limits of Joyce’s understanding of Irish America appear at this stage rigidly political. With the establishment of the Free State, and the decline of emigration to America throughout the twenties to very small numbers indeed in the thirties, the political significance of America to the Free State also declined. This opened a space in Joyce’s writing for a much wider consideration of the culture of the Irish in America, as well as the culture of emigration to the United States in Ireland. Indeed, these two cultures are inseparable for Joyce, each holding up a mirror to each other in ways explicitly alluded to in notes for the *Wake*. In particular – an important focus in this chapter – Joyce fuses the Irish-American tenor John McCormack with the character of Shaun to create ‘Shaun McCormack’, who, Joyce notes, ‘Irish that he is, he / is also USA’ (VI.B.16.133(a)). Another twin motif, Joyce explores Shaun McCormack’s hyphenated (or split) identity politics as a means of reflecting on the cultural memory of emigration in Ireland. This cultural memory is constantly present through the Joycean principle of ‘topical history’ as recorded in a note preparatory to *Ulysses*: ‘Topical history: places remember events’.⁶ The cultural memory of emigration is deeply embedded in the *Wake*. The very title of Joyce’s last work suggests an American wake, and III.2 closes with what appears to be a wake for Jaun, who requests: ‘So now, I’ll ask of you, let ye create no scenes in my poor primmafore’s wake’ (FW 453.02-3).

The culture of Irish America is also treated in the *Wake*, with a particular focus on its militant Catholicism and cultural influence in Ireland through lobbying and market pressure. In Shaun McCormack, Irish Americans are frequently caricatured (particularly in Book III) as a dyed-in-the-wool Catholic mob of ‘vice crusaders’ (FW 434.36) lachrymously nostalgic for John McCormack’s ‘healing music’ about auld Ireland, or ‘Shamrogueshire’ (FW 471.34-472.02). Some of these elements are present in the writings before the *Wake*; an intriguing but ultimately opaque note made for *Dubliners* reads: ‘To take the part of England and her Tradition / against Irish–America’.⁷ While this note refuses to yield a clear meaning in isolation, it can be placed in a pre-*Wakean* context of Joyce’s remarks on America in general to create the broad outlines of a somewhat disparaging attitude to America, and by extension Irish-American culture. However, it will be argued presently that before the *Wake*, Joyce is more concerned with the political aspects of emigration to America and its

⁶ Herring, *Joyce’s Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum*, p.119.

⁷ The Joyce Papers, 2002, National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/2/A, p.39.

relevance for Irish nationalist concerns than he is with the cultures of 'Greater Ireland'. It is to this Purgatorial period, between heaven and the 'devil era' (*FW* 473.08), that I now turn.

'They conquered for Irish as well as American freedom': Joyce, America, and Separatism in Ireland

In 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' Joyce at one point describes the long history of emigration from Ireland to Europe and America, while leaving little doubt as to the political provenance of the 'push' to leave:

No self-respecting person wants to stay in Ireland. Instead he will run from it, as if from a country that had been subjected to a visitation from an angry Jove. From the time of the Treaty of Limerick, or rather, from the time it was broken by the Punic faith of the English, millions of Irish have left their homeland for other shores. These fugitives who, centuries ago, were called the Wild Geese, enlisted in all the foreign garrisons of European Powers, mainly France, Holland and Spain, and won many a victor's laurel on the battlefields for their adoptive masters. In America they found another homeland. The ancient Irish tongue could be heard in the ranks of the American rebels, and Lord Mountjoy himself said in 1784: 'We lost America because of the Irish emigrants'. (*OCPW* 123-4)

This important lecture establishes exile as an affirmative response to the paralysing influence of colonial rule. Irish political exiles would find themselves 'in the ranks of the American rebels' directing their energy and organization back at the British Empire at various key stages from the eighteenth century on. Indeed, such was their influence that William Gladstone was led to declare in 1867: 'In my opinion this Empire has but one danger: it is the danger by combination of the three names, Ireland, United States and Canada'.⁸ Key to this threat was the particular kind of influence Irish radicals exerted across the Atlantic from America. Irish-American nationalism by and large followed what Joyce described in 1907 as the 'extremist and bloody doctrine' (*OCPW* 140) of physical force. To understand how this doctrine held by Irish émigrés in the United States was perceived by Joyce, a brief historical overview of emigration to the US and its political consequences is necessary.

A rough chronology would consist of three key periods and events: 1775-98, the American War of Independence and the United Irishmen revolution of 1798; 1845-49, the Famine and the 'fervent Young Ireland movement' (*OCPW* 138), as Joyce described it; and 1861-70, the American

⁸ Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Penguin, 1989), p.395. Gladstone's inclusion of Canada here most likely comes as a consequence of the Fenian raids on Canada the year before, which will be discussed shortly.

Civil War, the American Fenian raids on Canada, and the 1867 Fenian rebellion in Ireland that Joyce outlined in his article 'Fenianism: The Last Fenian' (*OCPW* 138-40). Fenianism, in particular, mattered to Joyce.⁹ The 'seeds of Fenianism [that] were planted in John Stanislaus Joyce's subconscious' were passed down to the son.¹⁰ This tripartite history of rebellion and exile is deliberately focused on the links between emigration from Ireland to the United States and revolutionary models of nationalist politics that would impact on British-Irish relations. This historical context focuses Joyce's ideas about Irish Americans. Interestingly, Joyce's own brief history of political exile quoted above begins with the Treaty of Limerick, suggesting a continuity between the Wild Geese in Europe in the seventeenth century and Irish exiles in America towards the end of the eighteenth century. More importantly, this grounds the connection between Ireland and America in a revolutionary context and provides the basis for judging subsequent events in similar terms of exile and rebellion.

The impact of the American War of Independence undoubtedly had a lasting influence on Irish politics, not least because of the numbers of those fugitive Irish soldiers who took part over the course of the Revolution. This influence was principally felt through its contribution to what Roy Foster describes as a 'radicalisation of Irish political life'.¹¹ This radicalisation is perhaps best captured in the writings of Wolfe Tone, who, in 1790 declared: 'We had ceased to remember that we were a nation, or that we had a name, 'till the genius of American liberty burst asunder a sleep that seemed the slumber of death; the nation started forth and, by one bold exertion, shivered the manacles which British ambition had hoped were forged for eternity'.¹² As Tone's writings reveal, the settlement that emerged from this crisis of empire, Grattan's Parliament, could be seen, at the same time, as both a restoration and a revolution, guided by the 'spirit of America'.¹³ Tone and the United Irishmen are significant here in considering the impact of the American Revolution on Irish politics (and hence Joyce's politics) as they represent the shift away from parliamentary reform to open rebellion. As a result, for later nationalists, America becomes strongly associated with separatist rather than the more immediate parliamentary aims. Griffith, who saw Grattan's Parliament as a golden age in Irish constitutional history, would also be part of a similar shift with Sinn Féin.¹⁴ In both cases, America was perceived as being firmly on the side of the separatists over the parliamentarians.

⁹ For Joyce and Fenianism, see Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, pp.69-91.

¹⁰ John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello, *John Stanislaus Joyce: The Voluminous Life and Genius of James Joyce's Father* (London: Fourth Estate, 1998), p.37.

¹¹ Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p.240.

¹² *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-98, vol.1*, ed. by T.W. Moody, R.B. MacDowell, and C.J. Woods (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), p.92.

¹³ *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-98, vol.1*, p.98.

¹⁴ See Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p.17.

David Wilson's study of the 1798 revolution argues convincingly for the 'importance of the United Irishmen in redefining Irish America'.¹⁵ Moreover, Wilson argues that 'America served a powerful symbolic and psychological function for the United Irishmen'.¹⁶ Specifically, America was a place of 'wish-fulfilment, where the broken dreams of the failed Irish revolution could actually be realised'. The United Irishmen who arrived between 1795 and 1806 established 'what would become a familiar pattern', namely that 'the Irish-American version of nationalism was from its inception much more radical than that of Ireland'. Hence, while the United Irishmen offered guarded support for Daniel O'Connell's constitutional nationalism, they were 'closer in spirit to the more radical variant that found expression in the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s'.¹⁷ That America had become associated with the physical force movement and its separatist politics is evident from the threats made in the early nineteenth century by O'Connell's supporters to warn Britain that if Catholic emancipation were delayed 'the violent party would have triumphed over the moderate; the American would have gained over the British'.¹⁸ Lord Cornwallis, who surrendered to Washington at Yorktown and – as Mr Casey points out in *A Portrait* (P 45) – to whom Bishop Lanigan presented an address of loyalty at the time of the union, voiced similar concerns in the 1790s about Ireland's politicised emigrants: 'They will embark with a spade, and return with a musket'.¹⁹ Thus America became, as Timothy J. Meagher describes it, a 'nursery of republicanism and revolution'.²⁰ And it was a nursery to huge and increasing numbers, itself a transforming and revolutionizing phenomenon: between 1815 and 1845, as many as 800,000 to one million Irish men and women left for North America.²¹

Joyce coincided with a particular interpretive strain strongly indebted to America's separatist associations in Ireland when he quoted Lord Mountjoy on America being lost because of Irish emigrants (*OCPW* 123-4). American independence was a source of considerable pride in Ireland on the grounds of the Irish involvement Joyce mentions, as well as functioning as a salutary lesson – or warning – in revolutionary politics. O'Connell's *Memoir on Ireland: Native and Saxon*, which addresses directly 'her most gracious Majesty the Queen', captures this mood well:

It is also of the utmost importance that the Sovereign and Statesmen of England should be apprised that the people of Ireland know and feel that they have a deep and vital interest in the weakness and adversity of England. It was not for themselves alone that the Americans gained the victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga. They conquered for Irish as

¹⁵ Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp.153-72.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.8-9.

¹⁸ David Noel Doyle, 'The Irish in North America, 1776-1845' in *Making the Irish American*, p.183.

¹⁹ Seán McConville, *Ireland's Political Prisoners 1848-1922: Theatres of War* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.121.

²⁰ Timothy J. Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p.42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.52-3.

well as American freedom. Nor was it for France alone that Dumourier defeated the Austrian army at Gemappe. The Catholics of Ireland participated in that victory.²²

Joyce's contemporary James Connolly also took devilish pride in his anti-clerical 1910 pamphlet, 'Labour, Nationality and Religion', in declaring: 'The Irish people as a whole are proud of the fact that, according to the reported testimony of General Lee of the American army, more than half of the Continental soldiers during the War of the Revolution were from Ireland'.²³ However, it is worth noting that this pride, according to Kevin O'Neill, was not immediately shared by Irish Americans themselves, who instead perceived the Revolution as a 'Yankee War', owing in part to 'Anglo ethnocentric' groups working to protect the legacy of the war from just such Irish ethnic identification.²⁴ This debate had flared up again around the anniversary of the 1798 rebellion. In a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* in 1898, the constitutional historian and later advisor to the Home Rule party, J.G. Swift MacNeill defended Michael Davitt's repudiation in the *Westminster Gazette* of Arthur Conan Doyle's claim that 'the majority of the Irish who fought in Washington's army were not Celts, but Presbyterians from Ulster'.²⁵ Against a background of such rhetorical skirmishes, the early Joyce can be usefully placed alongside O'Connell, Connolly, Swift MacNeill and Davitt in connecting Irish history to 1776. Provisionally, then, one strand of Joyce's concept of America can be said to tie in with its revolutionary precedent and the rhetorical battles over its legacy in an Irish context. As Joyce put it elsewhere in 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages': 'It is not logical of British historians to salute the memory of George Washington and to profess themselves well pleased by the progress of an autonomous and virtually socialist republic in Australia, while they treat the Irish separatists as madcaps' (*OCPW* 116).

The significance of the Young Irelander rebellion of 1848 lay not in its military achievements, which were non-existent, but its rhetorical legacy – specifically, its successful politicisation of the Famine and emigration-as-exile, which would provide 'much of the nationalist catechism for later generations on both sides of the ocean'.²⁶ In Ireland, as R.V. Comerford has argued, 'the dominant feeling left behind by the Famine was not a desire for self-government but a sense of embarrassment and inadequacy'.²⁷ In America, post-Famine emigrants, under the influence of Young Irelanders who themselves personified the politicised emigrant-as-exile, were offered a redemptive narrative through which they could 'translate their personal sufferings into nationalist terms'.²⁸ As Miller argues, 'the

²² O'Connell, *Memoir on Ireland: Native and Saxon* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1843), pp.7-8.

²³ *James Connolly: Selected Writings*, ed. by Peter Berresford Ellis (London: Pluto Press, 1997), p.61.

²⁴ Kevin O'Neill, 'The Star-Spangled Shamrock: Meaning and Memory in Irish America', in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. by Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.119.

²⁵ 'The Irish and the War of American Independence', in *Freeman's Journal*, 6 December, 1898, p.5.

²⁶ Kerby Miller, "'Revenge for Skibbereen": Irish Emigration and the Meaning of the Great Famine', in *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, p.188.

²⁷ Quoted in Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p.373.

²⁸ Miller, 'Revenge for Skibbereen', p.188.

Young Ireland exiles both validated and modernized traditional perceptions and resentments by “explaining” that the Famine emigrants, like themselves, were in truth “exiles” who had been “driven out of Erin” by political tyranny. Moreover, the Irish-American nationalists offered a redemptive solution to, as well as an explanation for, Irish suffering, for if the Famine emigrants rose above self-pity, renewed communal fealty, and united behind nationalist leadership, then they might expunge their shame, win freedom for Ireland, and take bloody vengeance on those deemed responsible for the Famine graves and the coffin ships: they might, in other words, win “Revenge for Skibbereen”.²⁹

The success of the Young Irelanders in connecting America with a rhetoric of national resurrection – an important theme in the *Wake* where ‘lost leaders live! the heroes return!’ (*FW* 074.03) – can be seen in its recurrence in Joyce’s lecture ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’, where America appears, as it had done since the early nineteenth century, as a large but ultimately never imminent threat to English rule in Ireland: ‘Today those Irish emigrants in the United States number sixteen million, a rich, powerful and industrious colony. Does this not perhaps prove that the Irish dream of resurgence is not entirely a chimera?’ (*OCPW* 123-4). The prospect of a ‘resurgence’ in Irish fortunes was something of a theme in public discourse around the turn of the century, making America’s symbolic role as a place of ‘wish-fulfilment’ here demonstrably an expansive and amorphous one, absorbing political, economic and cultural forms.³⁰ It also importantly challenges the stereotype that riches, power and industry are Anglo-Saxon qualities the Irish do not possess.

Under the influence of the Young Irelanders, the post-Famine period was also particularly important for establishing what Kevin O’Neill describes as the Irish-American ‘charter myth’, which was in turn a powerful influence on the Fenians.³¹ O’Neill argues that it was the Civil War that created a positive identification for Irish Famine emigrants with their new ‘homeland’ in America: ‘And while it might seem odd to use the term “positive” when commenting upon such massive bloodletting, there is no question that for the Famine Irish of America the Civil War provided an opportunity to transform both their role in American society and their self-image in positive ways’. O’Neill goes on to describe the contexts in which Irish-American social memory were conceptualised in the 1860s: ‘republicanism, war, blood sacrifice and a militant American nationalism’. This had important implications for the kind of influence Irish Americans in turn would seek to exert on Irish politics in Ireland as well as Anglo-American relations. If martial valour was the key to the Irish being accepted in America, then it would be also be the key to establishing an acceptable policy for Irish politics and political emancipation from colonial rule. As O’Neill concludes: ‘The moral and political acceptance of massive violence as a legitimate instrument of a just political cause; the belief that in the end only violence really produces results, and that individual self-sacrifices can redeem a people:

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.189.

³⁰ For Joyce’s use of ‘resurgence’, see Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, pp.9-31.

³¹ Kevin O’Neill, ‘The Star-Spangled Shamrock: Meaning and Memory in Irish America’, p.118.

these lessons were writ large in American – not Irish – copybooks'.³² This 'charter myth' would lead directly to the notorious dynamite campaigns of the 1880s. Scattered allusions to their 'infernal machines' can be found in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* (*U* 15.1199; *FW* 320.33). However, one *Wakean* allusion in particular to the Young Irelanders suggests that Joyce came to associate Irish Americans with a particularly aggressive form of nationalism. In II.2, the Young Irelanders exiled in America are ironically hailed after the Nazis: 'Seek hells where from yank islanders the petriote's absolution' (*FW* 228.06-7). Although syntactically unclear, this dark mockery points to Glugg's association with the devil and informers, and overlays the militant patriotism of one with the other.

The history of Fenianism between 1865-7 includes a number of points relevant to Joyce, which build on the sense of a deepening of ties between radical Irish nationalism and America. Moreover, Fenianism was the political counterpart of the social phenomenon of emigration to America which in the 1860s in particular firmly established 'the centrality of an Atlantic triangulation between Ireland, Britain and the USA'.³³ Joyce will in 1912 refer to 'a triangular pact between England, Ireland, and the United States' (*OCPW* 191), and in terms of his worldview the centrality of a post-Famine Atlantic triangulation in Irish politics, culture and society has been significantly under-appreciated in comparison with critical arguments over an Irish/European outlook. Although beyond the scope of the present study, the concept in Ireland of America and the Atlantic world – massively altered by the Famine, post-Famine emigration and radical nationalism's decisive shift from exile in Paris to Boston and New York in the 1860s – could not but have been registered by a writer so sensitive to moments of historical transition.³⁴

The importance of the American connection with physical-force nationalism cannot be understated, and indeed the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* specifically names the Fenians as an 'Irish-American revolutionary secret society'.³⁵ James Stephens, a significant figure for Joyce who is mentioned by name in the political writings (*OCPW* 117; 138) and *Ulysses* (*U* 3.241; 4.491; 8.457; 15.1534), founded the Fenian movement in 1858 with fellow Young Irelander John O'Mahony. Stephens founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin, while O'Mahony founded the Fenian Brotherhood in New York, and members of the two societies soon after were being called Fenians. The Fenian Brotherhood had attracted some 250,000 members by 1865, many of them Civil War veterans.³⁶ Some 150,000 Irishmen had served in the Union Army and these formed the bulk of the

³² *Ibid.*, pp.122; 135-36.

³³ Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.12.

³⁴ Recent studies to have broached this subject with reference to Joyce include: *Ireland and Transatlantic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Denis Donoghue*, ed. by Brian G. Caraher and Robert Mahony (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007); Maria McGarrity, *Washed by the Gulf Stream: The Historic and Geographic Relation of Irish and Caribbean Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

³⁵ 'Fenians', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, vol.10, p.254.

³⁶ Kevin Kenny, 'American-Irish Nationalism', in *Making the Irish American*, p.290.

new recruits, while a smaller number from the Confederate Army added to it.³⁷ On the back of this looming threat, the movement in Ireland nearly collapsed after concerns in Westminster about this potentially large invading Catholic army prompted the government to take action; in September 1865 the *Irish People* newspaper which had been calling for these demobbed Civil War veterans to return to Ireland as plans for a rising progressed, was raided and shut down. Stephens, who had founded the paper, was arrested along with other prominent Fenians, but escaped to France, from where he travelled to America. Joyce recounts this episode, allegedly involving cross-dressing, with evident glee in 'Fenianism: The Last Fenian' (*OCPW* 139) and in *Ulysses*: 'How the head centre got away, authentic version. Got up as a young bride, man, veil, orangeblossoms, drove out the road to Malahide' (*U* 3.241-44).

If Joyce's writings are indeed consistently 'nationalist' in some form – a 'belief widely accepted in contemporary Joyce studies', as Joe Brooker points out³⁸ – then America's connections to Joyce's writing must be taken into further consideration. Where Irish-American Fenianism is concerned, two points stand out. Firstly, as Comerford has argued, the close ties with America directly influenced the behaviour of Fenians in Ireland:

For many Fenians in the mid-60s the Fenian movement was an ante-chamber to the New World. Their perceptions of the USA included the notion of social liberty and equality and they practised hard at the kind of insouciance and impudence towards the respected classes that they believed to be a part of the American way of life. It was well known among the Irish police that Fenians had an 'independent look' about them. Because of their consciousness of America as an easily accessible refuge, because mentally so many of them were already on their way there, they could dare to run the risks inherent in 'cocking a snook' at priests, policemen and magistrates.³⁹

In *Stephen Hero*, a certain attitude of defiance deriving from mid-nineteenth century Fenianism is apparent in Stephen's character. There, Mr Heffernan and Mr Fulham argue over the language question and nationalism, drawing on the example of the United States, whose people 'are more emancipated than Ireland is ever likely to be [and] are content to speak English' (*SH* 247). Stephen, however, professes to 'care nothing for these principles of nationalism' (*SH* 247). More than anyone else here, it is Stephen who exhibits that 'independent look' associated with the America-bound Fenians.⁴⁰ Like those Fenians 'cocking a snook' at priests, policemen and magistrates, Stephen speaks 'boldly' and 'openly' (*SH* 248) in defiance of the 'respected classes', suggesting a shared exile mentality with strong roots in America. As such, it is fitting that it should be America-bound Jaun in

³⁷ McConville, *Ireland's Political Prisoners 1848-1922*, p.125.

³⁸ Brooker, review of Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, in *Textual Practice*, vol.27, no.6 (October 2013), p.1069.

³⁹ Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-1882* (Dublin: Wolfhound, 1985), p.137.

⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the influence of Fenianism on the young Joyce, see Gibson, *The Strong Spirit*, pp.69-91.

III.2 who is ‘cocking a snook at the stock of his sermons’ (FW 471.18-9) as he says his last farewell before ‘making a brandnew start for himself’ (FW 471.10-1).

Secondly, Joyce is very clear that ‘the Fenianism of ’67 was not one of those usual outbursts of Celtic temperament’ (OCPW 138). It was a ‘vast intricate network’ (OCPW 138) of revolutionary cells under Stephens’ command and supported by Irish Americans. Joyce is also very clear on the reason behind the failure of the 1867 rising: ‘Why the collapse of such a well-organized movement? Simply because in Ireland, just at the crucial moment, an informer appears’ (OCPW 139). A sequence of notes taken for *Ulysses* from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*’s decidedly unsympathetic entry on the Fenians illustrates both Joyce’s perception of the effectiveness of the Fenians and – in an account of the second American Fenian raid on Canada in April 1870 (the first took place in 1866) – the role of informers:⁴¹

Clerkenwell (1867) Col. Richard Burke^o, Gladstone disestablished protestant church, 12 killed, 120 wounded, Michael B—hanged: Le Caron (Eng spy) inspects Irish repub. troops in America distributed 15000 [stands] of arms for invasion of Canada, dispersed by 1st volley.⁴²

The relevant entry from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes that in 1867, Richard Burke had been employed by the Fenians to purchase arms, but was arrested and imprisoned in Clerkenwell prison. An attempt to free him while he was awaiting trial by blowing up the wall of the prison caused the deaths and injuries Joyce records (too much gunpowder had been used). Michael Barrett was subsequently hanged and, as the entry puts it, ‘powerfully influenced W. E. Gladstone in deciding that the Church of Ireland should be disestablished as a concession to Irish disaffection’.⁴³ Meanwhile, Le Caron, a ‘secret agent of the English government’, had infiltrated the Fenians in America and their assault on the British Dominion proved, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* put it, ‘a failure not less rapid or complete than the attempt of 1866’.⁴⁴

The exact purpose of the notes is unclear; Joyce knew the details of the Clerkenwell explosion very well; they had appeared in his earlier ‘Fenianism: The Last Fenian’ article (OCPW 139) and he also knew Joseph Casey, a Fenian who had been in Clerkenwell with Richard Burke and on whom Joyce based Kevin Egan in *Ulysses*.⁴⁵ Indeed, it is possible that what interested Joyce most was how his article and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry appear to make the same point, albeit from opposite perspectives. In Joyce’s Fenianism article, he points out that ‘history fully supports’ the ‘so-called physical force party’ that ‘any concession by England to Ireland has been granted unwillingly, at bayonet-point, as the saying goes’. And later: ‘After each of these crimes, when the general outrage

⁴¹ ‘Fenians’, in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, vol.10, p.255.

⁴² NLI Joyce Papers 2002, MS 36,639/3.

⁴³ ‘Fenians’, in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p.255.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.255.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, p.52.

had died down a bit, an English minister would table some motion for reform in Ireland before the Commons, and the Fenians and the parliamentarians would strenuously vilify each other, the former attributing the measure to the success of their parliamentary tactics, the latter attributing it to the hidden persuasiveness of the dagger or the bomb' (*OCPW* 138-9). This is precisely the point in the notes from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* concerning Gladstone and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869. In drawing from such an obviously hostile source, it can be argued that Joyce is indulging again in that pastime of Stephen's in *Stephen Hero*, of 'turning the guns of orthodoxy upon the orthodox ranks and see how they would stand the fire' (*SH* 249). In this case, Joyce turns the orthodox guns of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on Fenian history to find, once again, that 'history fully supports' the 'so-called physical force party'. In so far as America is connected with the Fenian spirit behind the Clerkenwell 'flame of vengeance' (*U* 3.248), the young Joyce's relationship to the US can be understood politically as one of nationalist sympathy in a common cause.

The second American Fenian raid into Canada (1870) marked the end of a period of intense revolutionary activity which was followed by political retrenchment in Ireland. As M.J. Kelly points out: 'Prominent Fenians who had avoided exile in the late 1860s became leading home rulers in the early 1870s, establishing a common career pattern that saw an early Fenianism evolve into a later commitment to constitutionalism and home rule; their Fenian links strengthened their nationalist credentials'.⁴⁶ Joyce identifies this trend in 'The Home Rule Comet', where he mocks the 'converted Fenian', William O'Brien, for the contradictions of his conversion: 'O'Brien [...] has become what all fanatics become when their fanaticism dies before they do. Now he fights along with Unionist magistrates who, twenty years ago, would probably have issued a warrant for his arrest; nothing remains of his fiery youth apart from those violent outbursts that make him look like an epileptic' (*OCPW* 157). Bloom echoes the thought in *Ulysses*: 'Silly billies: mob of young cubs yelling their guts out. Vinegar hill. The Butter exchange band. Few years' time half of them magistrates and civil servants' (*U* 8.438). However, those prominent Fenians who did go into exile in America became conspicuous for their ability to stoke those 'dangerous enthusiasms' (*OCPW* 158) that Joyce described as appearing sporadically following the 'disbanding of the Fenians' (*OCPW* 139) after 1867. Parnell, while addressing an audience in St. Louis in March 1880, told the crowd to much amusement that 'it is far more necessary to speak strongly to the Irish people in Ireland than it is to speak strongly to the Irish people in America. In Ireland, they require to be encouraged and lifted up, because they are oppressed and beaten down; in America, they require to have cold water thrown upon them'.⁴⁷

This historical background shapes and frames Joyce's conception of Irish-American politics where it is contemporary to him. The history of Irish political violence in the early 1880s is directly

⁴⁶ M. J. Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882-1916* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p.2.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, or the Story of the Land League Revolution* (London: Harper & Bros., 1904), p.205.

linked to America, in particular through Clan na Gael's dynamite campaigns and – by association – the Invincibles, who had recently committed the Phoenix Park murders.⁴⁸ This pervasive idea underlies the period between the Phoenix Park murders in 1882 and Parnell's death in 1891. Richard Barry O'Brien's biography of Parnell, an important source for Joyce, cites many examples of Parnell's dealings with the 'American Extremists', as O'Brien describes them.⁴⁹ Irish Americans emerge from this source as a highly volatile element in Parnell's political brokerage between separatism and constitutionalism. O'Brien notes: 'It is idle to shirk the truth. The National League of America [founded 1883 to replace The American Land League] was run by the Revolutionists, who were only held in check, in so far as they were held in check at all, by the fact that they had Parnell to count with'.⁵⁰

Joyce's position on Irish Americans in his 1907-12 'Triestine writings' is deeply indebted to Parnell. As O'Brien describes it, Parnell held two positions simultaneously: 'In sympathy with the rebellious spirit of the brotherhood, he looked upon the dynamite policy as sheer insanity'. The complex simultaneity of Parnell's position coincides with Joyce's. In a turn of phrase closely resembling O'Brien's, Joyce, in 'The Shade of Parnell', writes: 'Parnell, convinced that such a liberalism would only yield to force, united every element of national life behind him, and set out on a march along the borders of insurrection' (*OCPW* 195). The Parnellite position is summed up by O'Brien:

I have said that Parnell derived his political ascendancy in no small degree from the fact that he walked all the time on the verge of treason-felony. He kept that path still. At no period since the beginning of the agitation was English feeling more incensed against Irish Americans than during the years 1883 and 1884. [...] Dynamite plots and rumours of dynamite plots filled the air. There was an epidemic of outrages. [...] Batches of dynamitards were seized, and the public investigations which followed proved the American origin of these plots to lay London in ruins. [...] Any man who was, even to the slightest extent, under English influence would at this moment have shrunk from contact with the Clan-na-Gael. But Parnell held on his course. English opinion was naught to him.⁵¹

Joyce walks on the verge between sympathy and condemnation, creating an independent position in between. John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello, in their biography of John Stanislaus Joyce, argue that the ambiguity of such a position was something of a national condition, and one which Joyce inherited directly from his father:

⁴⁸ Whelehan, *The Dynamiters*, *passim*; Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal*, p.16.

⁴⁹ Richard Barry O'Brien, *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell 1846-1891*, vol.2 (Smith, Elder & Co., 1898), p.30.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.29.

In truth, for many Irishmen the ambiguity was internal. In John Stanislaus's case, his old Fenianism and his continuing friendship with such men as the gun-running and bombing Caseys coexisted easily with his devotion to Parnell and his secret respect for monarchy. The real enemy was betrayal. However mutually exclusive his allegiances might seem, John would never have betrayed any of them. But, like his son after him, he would always keep his best eye peeled for a traitor.⁵²

As Emer Nolan has pointed out, 'ambiguities abound' in Joyce's important lecture 'Ireland: Island Saints and Sages'.⁵³ The same lecture, Andrew Gibson notes, is 'repeatedly on the point of self-contradiction'.⁵⁴ Indeed, Marjorie Howes goes so far as to dismiss the lecture as a coherent source of Joyce's views on colonialism and nationalism because of their 'often contradictory' nature.⁵⁵ Joyce's early ambiguity with regards to America is Parnellite in nature, and distances itself from the extremism associated with the US while refusing to endorse the liberal position which condemns the dynamitards but accepts compromise. In 'The Shade of Parnell', Joyce approvingly cites Irish-American success in advancing Irish nationalism (*OCPW* 191), while in 'Fenianism: The Last Fenian' he outlines a history of physical force nationalism in which America is part of a dying tradition (*OCPW* 140). The latter argues: 'It is impossible now that that an extremist and bloody doctrine such as Fenianism can continue to survive in such an environment. In fact, as violent agrarian crimes are committed less and less frequently, Fenianism has once again changed its name and form. The new Fenians have regrouped in a party called 'ourselves alone'. [...] From many points of view, this latest form of Fenianism may be the most formidable. Its influence has certainly once again remoulded the character of the Irish' (*OCPW* 140). The influence of Sinn Féin and Arthur Griffith, to whom Joyce is referring here, seems to have remoulded Joyce's own politics to the extent that he appears, like Griffith, to favour policies of self-reliance – '[i]ndividual initiative' (*OCPW* 123) – and economic nationalism over physical force. Moreover, the 'extremist and bloody doctrine' of physical force nationalism, which Joyce is rejecting as obsolete, had from 1798 on been closely associated with America. Joyce's article, however, enacts Parnell and his father's refusal to betray the 'extremists' by condemning them.

Irish America in the 'Triestine Writings'

In 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages', Joyce remarks upon the prosperity of the 'rich, powerful, and industrious' Irish colony in America, and also suggests that it is only through exile that the Irishman can 'make his worth felt' (*OCPW* 123). This was not a new idea; D.P. Moran, for instance, in his *The*

⁵² Jackson and Costello, *John Stanislaus Joyce*, p.117.

⁵³ Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism*, p.129.

⁵⁴ Gibson, *James Joyce* (London: Reaktion, 2006), p.85.

⁵⁵ Marjorie Howes, 'Joyce, Colonialism, and Nationalism' in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.257.

Philosophy of Irish Ireland two years earlier wrote: ‘The Irishman of modern times has succeeded in every country but his own.’⁵⁶ Both writers, however, were keen to observe that present conditions in Ireland are inimical to the development of a rich, powerful, or industrious nation at home. In ‘Fenianism: The Last Fenian’, Joyce describes ‘a population decreasing with mathematical regularity year by year, in an uninterrupted flow to the United States or Europe of Irish people who had found the economic and intellectual conditions of their country intolerable’ (*OCPW* 139). For many the Atlantic Ocean must have appeared a vast antechamber to financial success and intellectual freedom in the New World. Given Joyce’s comments elsewhere, it is highly unlikely that he thought of America in quite those terms. Nevertheless, the discursive contexts show how Joyce was using the standard perception of a prosperous Irish community in America in line with other nationalists as a means of attacking English colonial rule in Ireland.

It is equally unlikely, however, that Joyce could not have been aware that not all Irish succeeded in America. The wooden tenements of New York and cellars of Boston, where many Irish settled, including Joyce’s brother Charles in 1908, were notorious for their poor conditions. James had written to Stanislaus about their brother in 1909 in terms that clearly cancel out those of his lectures and articles on the success of the Irish in America: ‘Charlie writes me that he is destitute, has sold everything for food, goes out at six in the morning to look for work etc and his wife is ailing’ (*LII* 263). Although ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’ preceded this correspondence, Charles Joyce’s situation was a familiar one for many Irish who settled on the east coast of America since the Famine. The death rates of the Irish-born in early to mid-1850s Boston were ‘142 per cent of those of the native-born’, while in New York, which by the mid-1850s contained almost as many Irish-born people as Dublin, they were 60 per cent.⁵⁷ Even by 1915, the early death rate among the Irish was still the highest in New York City and tuberculosis was so prevalent that it became commonly known as ‘the Irish disease’.⁵⁸ In the harsh conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the idea that the Irish could prosper and that the freedom they experienced to do so in America was deliberately and cruelly denied them in Ireland by England, was less an evident reality than a persuasive rhetorical tool.

In ‘Fenianism: The Last Fenian’, Joyce claims that two Fenian movements in Ireland and America ‘worked in unison’ (*OCPW* 138-9). The claim that they worked in unison is somewhat misleading, although the two movements were certainly formed with this end in mind. The leadership in America split between William B. Roberts and O’Mahony. Following his escape to America, James Stephens attempted to heal the rift. But instead of reconciling the two American Fenian factions, ‘head centre’ Stephens caused even further division by appropriating O’Mahony’s position. Stephens,

⁵⁶ D.P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1905), p.113.

⁵⁷ Cormac Ó’Gráda, *Black ’47*, p.114; Doyle, ‘The Remaking of Irish-America, 1845-1880’ in *Making the Irish American*, p.231.

⁵⁸ Mick Mulcrone, ‘The Famine and Collective Memory: The Role of the Irish-American Press in the Early Twentieth Century’, in *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, p.223.

whose organisational skills Joyce praised, 'roused so bitter a feeling against him' that he was deposed as leader at a conference in New York in 1866 – a messy divorce for the 'young bride' (*U* 3.242), as Joyce described him.⁵⁹ However, Irish-American nationalist leaders had an extraordinary talent for creating the appearance of unity, numerical strength, and influence on American foreign policy. The appearance of unity, such as between Irish-American Fenians and the IRB, covered up sharp disparities between the groups, as well as between the actual lives and political allegiances of Irish Americans. But for the Joyce of the 'Triestine writings', America has an important propagandist function both as evidence that Ireland's economic paralysis is a direct result of English colonial misrule, because Irishmen succeed abroad, and as the kind of threat issued by the Citizen in 'Cyclops' of 'our greater Ireland beyond the sea' (*U* 12.1364-65). Part of this threat existed in claims, inevitably exaggerated, of the numerical strength of the Irish-American population.

In 'Ireland at the Bar' Joyce reiterates the familiar case against Whitehall policy for causing Ireland's depopulation since the Famine and creating 'this country of exile' (*FW* 098.05):

There are twenty million Irish scattered throughout the world. The Emerald Isle contains only a small part of them. [...] Indeed, the Irish question is still unresolved today, after six centuries of armed occupation and over a hundred years of legislation that reduced the population of the unhappy island from eight to four million, quadrupled the taxes, and further entangled the agrarian problem with many extra knots. (*OCPW* 146)

This passage reveals Joyce's debt to Irish-American propaganda. The figure of twenty million Irish emigrants is one that was frequently cited by Irish-American leaders as part of what now would be called political spin. This exaggeration, perhaps best seen as an estimate commensurate with their own perception of their influence on American foreign policy, would be used to threaten Westminster and the American Senate into submission, though this rarely worked and, when it did, it was usually for other reasons. Alan Ward notes: 'Irish-American propagandists in the twentieth century not uncommonly claimed twenty million Irish-American supporters'.⁶⁰ F.M. Carroll writes on the same subject: 'It is impossible to determine the exact number of Irish Americans (including the third and fourth generations), but the nationalist leaders in the United States seemed to agree that the figure was 20,000,000'.⁶¹ This figure is, as Alan O'Day points out, an 'obvious overestimate'.⁶² Elsewhere, Joyce uses equally impressive but quite different figures. In 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' he writes: 'Today those Irish emigrants in the United States number sixteen million [...]' (*OCPW* 124). Only a

⁵⁹ See *Devoy's Post Bag, 1871-1928*, vol. 2, eds. William O'Brien and Desmond Ryan (Dublin: C.J. Fallon, 1953), pp.2-3.

⁶⁰ Alan Ward, *Ireland and Anglo-American Relations 1899-1921* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), p.3.

⁶¹ Francis M. Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question, 1910-23* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), p.3.

⁶² Alan O'Day, 'Irish Nationalism and Anglo-American Relations in the Later Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership*, ed. by Fred Marc Leventhal and Roland Quinault (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p.174.

month before this lecture was delivered, Joyce wrote in a letter to Grant Richards that the Irish Americans were 15 million in number (*LII* 131). This curious population explosion in the space of a month should remind us that Joyce, much like Irish-American propagandists, is primarily concerned here with effect rather than strict accuracy. It wasn't just Irish-American propagandists deploying such figures, however. Michael Davitt, for example, wrote to *The Times* in May 1898 arguing that the 16 million Irish in America in conjunction with other European groups hostile to an Anglo-American alliance made such a deal an 'utter impossibility' in his estimate.⁶³ Davitt vastly exaggerates the size and influence of this putative lobbying group. Overestimation and exaggeration were key notes of such propaganda, and it is entirely fitting then that in *Ulysses* it is the citizen of the 'Cyclops' chapter who asks: 'Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes?' (*U* 12.1240-41).

Davitt's letter to *The Times* serves as a useful link at this point as it provides appeals to Irish-American unity, numerical strength and political influence similar to those found in Joyce's Trieste journalism, specifically 'The Shade of Parnell' in 1912. In the letter, entitled 'The Proposed "Anglo-Saxon" Alliance', Davitt claims that a 'dream of an alliance' between the Anglo-Saxon countries England and America is impossible.⁶⁴ The alliance in question was, in fact, a series of arbitration treaties between America and England proposed between 1897 and 1911 (Joyce's Parnell article refers to the 1911 treaty). The treaties were designed to resolve international disputes between the signatories; the 1904/05 treaty, for instance, set out that any disagreement would be submitted to the Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague. They were repeatedly referred to as 'alliances' by Irish and Irish-American politicians and commentators, in part because of a growing perception around the turn of the century that Anglo-American relations were improving and developing along lines inimical to Irish separatist aspirations, which were constantly on the watch for England's difficulty. As Ward points out: 'The settlement of the Venezuelan boundary dispute by arbitration in 1899, the Hay-Pauncefote Canal Treaty of 1901, and the settlement in 1903 of the long drawn-out Alaskan boundary dispute between Canada and the USA, reinforced the prevailing British view that conflict between the USA and Great Britain was unthinkable'.⁶⁵ This was a perception reinforced in the English press; in 1896 in *The Times*, A.J. Balfour spoke of an 'Anglo-Saxon patriotism' which made 'the idea of war with the United States of America [carry] with it something of the unnatural horror of civil war'.⁶⁶ In 1897, following the signing of the Anglo-American general arbitration treaty by British ambassador Sir Julian Pauncefote and Secretary of State Richard Olney, *The Times* reported President Cleveland as saying that 'the treaty would not only make war between the two parties a remote possibility, but precluded those fears and rumours of war which too often assumed the

⁶³ 'The Proposed "Anglo-Saxon" Alliance', in *The Times*, 18 May 1898, p.15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁶⁵ Alan J. Ward, *Anglo-American Relations 1899-1912*, p.30.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Stead, *The Americanization of the World*, p.14.

character of a national disaster'. Cleveland also praised the efforts of 'kindred peoples of the same tongue and joined by the ties of common traditions, institutions and aspirations'.⁶⁷ Joseph Chamberlain, who was a target for Irish nationalist attacks during the Boer War ('We'll hang Joe Chamberlain on a sour apple tree', *U.8.436*), was quoted during the 1898 Spanish-American War as declaring: 'Terrible as it may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon Alliance'.⁶⁸

The atmosphere of improved diplomacy and Anglo-Saxon unity led to Irish Americans – Patrick Ford in particular – attacking any signs of cordiality between England and America, and demanding that Irish independence was the price of their supporting any legislative moves in that direction. In 1912, the *New York Times* reported: 'As against arbitration, its chief ally is Patrick Ford, in whose paper there is still an echo of exploding dynamite. "Arbitration", says this implacable Irish enemy of England, "means alliance" – a shrewd twist, since to "entangling alliances", as Jefferson called them, Americans have an inherent dislike'.⁶⁹ In Ireland, John Redmond, ahead of another proposed treaty, told the 1904 United Irish League of America convention: 'It is [...] understood that, if there is ever to be an Anglo-Saxon alliance it will be absolutely necessary to grant Home Rule to Ireland first'.⁷⁰ Between 1895 and 1904 in particular, a 'cult of Anglo-Saxonism' accompanied and arguably directly influenced the legislative rapprochement between England and America.⁷¹ The Irish and Irish-American response was to wage its own rhetorical counterattack on Anglo-Saxonism and reinterpret the Arbitration Treaties of 1897, 1904/05, 1908 and 1911 as evidence of an imperialist Anglo-Saxon alliance. The implications of this go beyond 1912 and 'The Shade of Parnell'; the potential overlap between England and America in terms of Anglo-Saxonism is suggested in the *Wake* where, as Len Platt has pointed out, the 'Anglo-Saxon' is conflated with the Klu Klux Klan: 'Sigerson (or Sistersen) of the KKK is configured as "patrolman Seekersenn" (*FW 586.28*)'.⁷² The period 1895-1912 and its cult of Anglo-Saxonism and series of proposed 'alliances' is thus a significant historical context for perceptions of America in not just the Triestine writings, but the *Wake* also.

An important feature of the opposition in Ireland and America to the alliances was the concerted effort to transform rhetorically an arbitration treaty into a *de facto* Anglo-American alliance. In 1904/05, the United States had signed treaties with Britain, Japan, Germany and other European nations 'to arbitrate with the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague any matter affecting the interpretation of any treaty', but the Irish-American press, appealing not only to Irish emigrants but also to a latent American Anglophobia, attacked the treaty with Britain as an Anglo-American alliance

⁶⁷ 'The Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty', in *The Times* 12 January 1897, p.3.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Ward, *Anglo-American Relations*, pp.47-48.

⁶⁹ *New York Times*, 19 March 1911, p.15.

⁷⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.44.

⁷¹ For the 'cult of Anglo-Saxonism', see Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (London: Associated University Presses, 1981), *passim*.

⁷² Platt, *Joyce, Race, Finnegans Wake*, p.44.

first and foremost.⁷³ On 11 February 1905, living up to its reputation as a ‘graveyard of treaties’, the Senate voted by fifty to nine to amend all the arbitration treaties to the point where President Roosevelt refused to accept them.⁷⁴ The widespread impression was that Irish Americans had single-handedly blocked the 1904/05 arbitration treaty and it was through associations such as the American-Irish Historical Society and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, along with newspapers such as *The Gaelic American* and *The Irish World*, that they succeeded in disseminating this congratulatory but extremely biased and exaggerated account of their efforts. As Ward notes, although Irish-American influence appeared considerable, the defeat of the treaty should be viewed as pertaining more to the question of Senatorial rights in foreign affairs than any fraternal sympathy for Irish independence.⁷⁵

When Joyce wrote ‘The Shade of Parnell’, a month after the third Home Rule Bill was passed and almost a year after the 1911 Arbitration Treaty was signed, he makes the surprising claim that the third Home Rule Bill was somehow linked to the Arbitration Treaty. The essay begins by declaring that the Irish Question has been resolved: ‘The century that began with the buying and selling of the Dublin parliament is now closing with a triangular pact between England, Ireland and the United States’ (*OCPW* 191). The inclusion here of the United States in this ‘triangular pact’ is indicative of how America is referred to in the ‘Triestine writings’ almost exclusively in terms of its role as an element in Ireland’s struggle for independence from England. Joyce’s description of the ‘pact’ bears this out: ‘The present law has been conceded in the full maturity of time under the double pressure of the Nationalist Party in Westminster which, for over half a century, has obstructed the operations of the British legislature, and the Irish Party across the Atlantic, which has blocked the much sought-after Anglo-American alliance’ (*OCPW* 191). However, as Kevin Barry points out, ‘[t]here is no foundation for [Joyce’s] view that the Home Rule Bill of 1912 was linked to this [Anglo-American] treaty’ (*OCPW* 336). It had certainly been proposed, as Davitt’s letter and Redmond’s speech showed, that solving the Irish Question was a prerequisite to carrying any form of Anglo-American alliance in the American Senate, where Irish influence appeared to have such weight. However, by 1912, the weaknesses of the Irish-American lobbyists had been exposed by their failure to block a similar treaty in 1908.⁷⁶ This makes it all the more surprising that Joyce should effectively credit them with advancing the cause of Home Rule through their opposition to the ‘much sought-after Anglo-American alliance’. It is then an especially biased view of the situation that Joyce gives when he links the Home Rule Bill of 1912 to the Arbitration Treaty of 1911, and one very much in line with Irish-American propaganda in its opposition to the ‘cult of Anglo-Saxonism’.

The contextual framework and ideological boundary of Joyce’s understanding of American and Irish-American history and politics between 1907-12 were primarily concerned with how they

⁷³ Ward, *Anglo-American Relations*, p.54.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.56. The Senate is referred to thus by a *Times* correspondent, 26 February 1903, p.3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.55-56.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.68.

affected matters of political and historical significance to Ireland. He saw America through the lens of Irish nationalism and the struggle for independence. The social and political complexities of Irish Americans interested him far less than a counter-propaganda campaign of writing against the ‘idea that the Irish actually are the incapable and unbalanced cretins we read about in the leading articles in the *Standard* and the *Morning Post*’ (OCPW 123). In this sense, he coincides quite closely with Griffith in particular, who oversaw what Michael Laffan describes as Sinn Féin’s ‘formidable propaganda machine’.⁷⁷ In the ‘Triestine writings’, America has a clear function; Joyce is launching his own rhetorical skirmishes, in which an Anglo-American treaty becomes a *de facto* alliance, voluntary emigration to America becomes forced exile, and fluid political allegiances in the Irish-American community harden into a solid body of opinion. He emphasises how successful, numerous and influential the Irish are abroad in order to highlight the condition of ‘those who had not been able to find the courage or the money to undertake the voyage from Queenstown to New York’ (OCPW 139-40). A ‘decimated’ Ireland loses ‘40,000 of her sons’ every year, Joyce claims in ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’. ‘From 1850 to now, over 5,000,000 emigrants have left for America; and every postal delivery brings letters of invitation from these emigrants to their friends and relations at home in Ireland. The old, the corrupt, the children, and the poor stay at home where the double yoke etches another groove upon their docile necks’ (OCPW 124). What a contrast they make to the ‘rich, powerful and industrious colony’ of Irish in the United States. This, of course, is the well- and long-argued point, put succinctly by Tone in 1791: ‘My unalterable opinion is that the bane of Irish prosperity is the influence of England. I believe that influence will ever be exerted while the connexion between the Countries continues’.⁷⁸

‘Shaun McCormack’: Irish Americans in *Finnegans Wake*

Before 1922, explicit allusions to the Irish in America in Joyce’s works are almost exclusively concerned with issues of separatist politics in an Irish colonial context, with the frames and limits of his understanding of Irish America appearing at this stage rigidly political. However, with the founding of the Free State, Irish-American nationalist influence on Irish politics rapidly declined. Within America, organized Irish-American nationalism ‘virtually disappeared for more than forty years’ post-1922 – an extraordinary turnaround given that between 1916 and 1921 some 800,000 Irish Americans joined nationalist organisations and remitted over \$10 million to support Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Army.⁷⁹ Americans still funded commemoration projects, but the basis of Irish-American nationalism lay in the kind of physical force separatism that was not easily applied to the

⁷⁷ Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p.265.

⁷⁸ *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-98, vol.1*, p.104.

⁷⁹ Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish-American History*, p.210; Miller, *Ireland and Irish America*, p.270.

complexities of the Free State.⁸⁰ Irish-American political influence thus retreated, but did not disappear altogether. Indeed, Fianna Fáil took power in 1932 with significant Irish-American backing, and de Valera even claimed that without American financial assistance ‘it would have been impossible for Fianna Fáil’ to have contested the 1927 elections’.⁸¹ De Valera is the nexus through which an indirect (or culturally inclined) Irish-American political influence is exerted and represented in the *Wake*: his connections to Irish-American cultural and religious organizations; his role in the Abbey tour of 1932; his fostering of a culture of idealized peasantry which appealed strongly to an Irish-American market estranged by the bloody chaos of the Irish Civil War. As this suggests, the *Wake* increasingly turns to Irish-American cultural influence at a time when popular culture in Ireland was increasingly dominated by Anglo-American imports, with the cinema at the forefront of that phenomenon.⁸²

By the time Joyce is writing the *Wake*, emigration from Ireland to the United States was also experiencing a rapid decline, with the 1920s seeing a marked shift in the pattern of Irish emigration towards Britain.⁸³ So much was this so that by the 1930s, as the US economy deteriorated in the wake of the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the level of Irish emigration to the United States was practically negligible. This, too, marks an extraordinary sea change in the patterns of emigration laid down since the Famine. It has been estimated that between 1851 and 1921, the total number of Irish emigrants to the United States reached 3,794,852, with the overall emigration figure estimated to be 4,514,017.⁸⁴ Miller notes: ‘[B]y 1900, more Irishmen and -women (including second-generation Irish Americans) were living in the United States alone than in Ireland itself’.⁸⁵ The respective declines in organized Irish-American nationalism and Irish emigration to the United States – transformational events in the histories of both countries – coincide with the composition period for the *Wake* and as such form the historical background for the consideration of Joyce, the *Wake* and Irish Americans.

These declines are particularly noteworthy here as Joyce, from the very first page of the *Wake*, points instead to the expansion of Irish America, rather than any form of decline. Irish Americans are ‘doublin their mumper all the time’ in the *Wake* (FW 003.08-9). In the first question in I.6, the reader is told that HCE ‘stood his sharp assault of famine but grew girther, girther and girther; he has twenty four or so cousins germinating in the United States of America’ (FW 130.26-8). This again suggests the Joycean principle of ‘topical history: places remember events’.⁸⁶ The cultural memory of

⁸⁰ Anne Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.127.

⁸¹ Cited in Donnacha Ó Beacháin, ‘Was Sinn Féin Dying? A Quantitative Post-Mortem of the Party’s Decline and the Emergence of Fianna Fáil’, in *Irish Political Studies*, vol.24, no.3 (September 2009), p.396.

⁸² Brian Fallon, *Age of Innocence: Irish Culture, 1930-1960* (Dublin : Gill & Macmillan, 1998), p.11; Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, p.360.

⁸³ See Enda Delaney, *Irish Emigration since 1921* (Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 2002), pp.7-8.

⁸⁴ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p.569.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.346.

⁸⁶ Herring, *Joyce’s Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum*, p.119.

emigration is deeply embedded in the *Wake*. Moreover, the changed circumstances of the 1920s and 1930s – the negligible influence of Irish-American nationalism; Irish not English economic policy driving emigration – afforded Joyce an opportunity to expand his own consideration of Irish Americans beyond the hitherto narrow range of separatist politics into culture. The genetic evidence suggests this decision to embed Irish Americans in the *Wake* came at a very early stage. Two notes cited earlier – ‘American Wake’ and ‘Irishman that he is, he / is also USA’ (John McCormack, Athlone-born but made a naturalized American citizen in 1919) – date from mid-late 1923 and early-mid 1924 respectively. Furthermore, a 1926 notebook entry makes clear that Shaun/McCormack ‘is going to U.S.A’.⁸⁷ Thus from the first page of *Finnegans Wake* and the earliest stages of *Work in Progress*, Joyce gives a prominence to Irish Americans that is not matched in the critical literature. This critical gap reflects a flagrant and very significant anomaly in need of addressing. I will now turn to the most prominent Irish American of all in the 1920s and 1930s, John McCormack.

Joyce’s relationship with McCormack has been well documented by this stage, with considerable attention paid to the parallels in their respective biographies, although relatively little use has been made of Joyce’s extensive note-taking from Pierre V.R. Key’s fawning pop-hagiography *John McCormack. His Own Life Story* (1918).⁸⁸ Ingeborg Landuyt’s contribution to the work on this relationship has used Joyce’s notebook to ground the origin of the Joyce-McCormack connection much more clearly than before.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, significant aspects of McCormack’s incorporation into *Work in Progress* remain unclarified, specifically his Irish-American identity. Joyce fuses McCormack with Shaun – the decision to do so probably dating from about May 1924, as Landuyt argues – to create ‘Shaun McCormack’, whose double identity Joyce uses as a means of reflecting on Ireland and Irish America. As Vincent Deane argues: ‘McCormack was the idealised embodiment of everything the Catholic Irish Free State of his time aspired towards’.⁹⁰ McCormack’s ‘patriotic simplicity’, as Key puts it, and his pious, clean-living Catholic image, are used in the *Wake* to embellish those traits in Shaun.⁹¹ Resistance to the pressure being exerted across the Atlantic from Irish-American Catholics and the Irish-American market for specific, narrowly defined images of Ireland and Irishness marks Joyce’s writing. McCormack is the focus for Joyce’s treatment of this in the *Wake*.

⁸⁷ See Van Mierlo, ‘The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea: James Joyce, Exile and Irish Emigration’, p.192.

⁸⁸ See for instance, Carole Brown and Leo Knuth, *The Tenor and the Vehicle: A Study of the John McCormack/James Joyce Connection* (Colchester: Wake Newslitter, 1982); John Scarry, ‘James Joyce and John McCormack’, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* (Tome 52 fasc. 3, 1974), pp.523-36; Patrick Reilly, ‘Seánsong, or whatyoumacormack, in *Finnegans Wake*’, *JJQ*, vol.44, no.4 (Summer 2007), pp.719-36.

⁸⁹ Ingeborg Landuyt, ‘Shaun MacCormack’, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 1 (Spring 2001). Accessed 25 August 2014: <http://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/>.

⁹⁰ Deane, VI.B.16, p.11.

⁹¹ Pierre V.R. Key, *John McCormack: His Own Life Story* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1918), p.358.

Joyce had known McCormack for a number of years before he read Key's biography. In 1904, the two shared a stage at the Antient Concert Rooms during a concert held in connection with the Irish Revival Industries Show, an exhibition aiming to foster what a contributor to *An Claidheamh Soluis* described in April 1904 as 'practical patriotism'.⁹² Joseph Holloway, in his journal *Impressions of a Dublin Theatre Goer, 1904*, records that Joyce, in a 'light tenor voice', sang 'In her Simplicity' from *Mignon* ('too high for him'), 'Down by the Sally Gardens' ('suited his method best'), and 'My Love was Born in the North Country' (which he sung 'tenderly' as an encore).⁹³ Holloway, however, is less appreciative of the 'young vocalist', John McCormack, whose 'robust' performance was otherwise very well received by the audience. His specific grievances are of particular interest here as they foreshadow a feature of McCormack's singing career addressed by Joyce in the *Wake*:

Irish-Ireland audiences have little discrimination and seldom display any artistic taste. A good shout is dearer to them than all the artistic vocalism in the world, as witness the enthusiastic reception of Mr. J.F. McCormack's vigorous rendering of 'The Irish Emigrant' (a most crude bit of abominable, inartistic vocalism to my mind).⁹⁴

Holloway adds that he fears McCormack's voice 'has been ruined past all redemption by the blind folly of unthinking, popular audiences'.⁹⁵ These remarks would be later restated by Joyce himself in his letters to Giorgio Joyce in America in the 1930s on the backwardness of Irish-American musical taste, as James saw it.⁹⁶ Joyce nevertheless followed McCormack's career with great interest. According to Sylvia Beach, he 'had followed the career of John McCormack step by step. [...] He read all the newspaper accounts of McCormack's doings, his love affairs, his tennis playing, his way of dressing and his curly hairdo'. Beach describes Joyce's 'infatuation, the extraordinary emotions he displayed as he listened to him'. She adds that McCormack 'dominated' Shaun, but then heard no more of the curly-haired tenor after Joyce finished 'Shaun the Post'.⁹⁷ The notebook evidence corroborates Beach's suggestion that Joyce's later interest in McCormack centred around his role as a model for Shaun, reinforcing already-established character traits and suggesting additional ones. Indeed, Deane argues that the McCormack notes are more a match than a source for Shaun, underpinning Shaun's character rather than pushing it in new directions.⁹⁸ This would suggest, on top of the genetic evidence previously noted, that Joyce had already decided to associate Shaun with America and McCormack presented an ideal candidate to flesh out that connection with the New World.

⁹² See John Strachan and Claire Nally, *Advertising, Literature and Print Culture in Ireland, 1891-1922* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.42.

⁹³ *Joseph Holloway's Abbey Theatre*, pp.42-43.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁹⁶ This will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

⁹⁷ Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), pp.191-92.

⁹⁸ Deane, VI.B.16, p.10.

In the 'Ithaca' chapter of *Ulysses*, we are told that Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus 'prefer a cisatlantic to a transatlantic place of residence' (*U* 17.23). Shaun, however, is an embodiment of 'The Irish Emigrant' McCormack sung about at the Antient Concert Rooms in 1904 and leaves to seek his fortune – and send back 'fresh remittances' (*FW* 428.25) – in 'Amiracles where the toll stories grow proudest' (*FW* 427.23); the narrator at the close of III.1 wishes him well: 'And may the mosse of prosperousness gather you rolling home!' (*FW* 428.10-1). Shaun and John McCormack's westward alignment with a transatlantic place of residence over a cisatlantic one is an essential facet of the *Wake*'s own spatial orientation. Boston letters, newspapers, and music drift across the Atlantic into the *Wake* – 'I heard a voice, the voce of Shaun, vote of the Irish, voise from afar' (*FW* 406.13-4) – and give prominence to a specifically Irish-American emigrant's voice. This emigrant's voice from the USA is occasionally threatening: 'The west shall shake the east awake' (*FW* 473.22-3).⁹⁹ At other times it is 'grandiose' (*FW* 412.01): 'New worlds for all!' (*FW* 412.02). But it is carried across the waves in McCormack's tenor's 'topnoted delivery' (*FW* 439.19). Joyce told Budgen that III.1 and III.2 'contain frequent lyrical reminiscences of count MacCormack's [*sic*] voice'.¹⁰⁰ It is necessary, then, to situate the register Joyce achieves through the musical-textual attributes of Shaun McCormack, in turn allowing a more rigorous contextualizing of the Irish-American connection Joyce embeds in the *Wake*, the very title of which signals the importance of Irish-American music in that work.

As William H.A. Williams argues, a distinctly Irish-American consciousness began to emerge through popular music in the 1860s/70s: 'From out of these songs a relatively new character took shape – the wild, roistering Paddy – he of the shillelagh, clay pipe, and jig'.¹⁰¹ The image of the hard-drinking, always-fighting Paddy would go on to dominate the repertoire of comic Irish songs in the 1880s/90s, with an interesting shift in the titles of these songs occurring after around 1880. The titles of songs changed from being mostly about women – Kate, Kathleen, or Bridget – to men's names, despite Irish men being outnumbered by women in America. Williams notes that 'after 1880 the tendency was to use the last names of men'.¹⁰² 'Tim Finegan's Wake' predates this shift, having been written in the 1860s, around the time this distinctly Irish-American consciousness was being formed, but it is, as Mick Moloney points out, a good example of the 'Irish fight' song genre.¹⁰³ It is also a good example with which to demonstrate the difficulty of distinguishing between Irish and Irish-American songs during this period. 'Tim Finegan's Wake' was written in New York by a Dubliner, John Poole. Is this song Irish or Irish-American, or an Irish song for an Irish-American market? In terms of its subject

⁹⁹ 'Shaun the fiery boy' (*FW* 412.13-4) is 'hottempered' (*FW* 426.06).

¹⁰⁰ See Clive Hart's introduction to Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses and Other Writings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.xvi.

¹⁰¹ William H. A. Williams, 'From Lost Land to Emerald Isle: Ireland and the Irish in American Sheet Music 1800-1920', in *Éire-Ireland*, vol.26, no.1 (Spring 1991), pp.26-27.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁰³ Moloney, 'Irish-American Popular Music', in *Making the Irish American*, p.385.

and genre, it is thoroughly Irish-American. The song fits perfectly the structure of the ‘Irish fight’ song, which was particular to the American stage. ‘Tim Finegan’s Wake’ clearly belongs to this genre, as Moloney describes it:

All the songs in this vein basically had the same structure. A party or an ‘affair’ was arranged. The occasion might be a wedding, wake, birthday, anniversary, or christening. [...] Festivities would begin with an abundance of food and drink. Then a verbal altercation would take place, usually as a consequence of some perceived insult. Verbal repartee would escalate into a fight, which would begin with fisticuffs; then shillelaghs and other weapons would be produced [...]. Murder and mayhem would ensue, with broken heads and sometimes corpses all around.¹⁰⁴

However, by 1900 a particular kind of bourgeois-led Irish-American culture had emerged, a ‘complex, multifaceted, but virtually all-inclusive Irish-American Catholic ethnicity’ which rejected and denounced the image of the fighting, drinking Paddy.¹⁰⁵ Irish-American ethnic identity, as Miller argues, ‘had achieved ultimate synthesis: a “good Irish-American” was at least one if not all of the following: a good Democrat; a faithfully practising Catholic, a good family man (or devoted wife and mother), in most cases a loyal union member, and nearly always at least a passive supporter of Ireland’s freedom’.¹⁰⁶ This culture was defined less by the rhetoric of Mitchel and Rossa than by the imperatives of the Irish-American bourgeoisie, which were more focused on assimilation. This led to a symbolic relationship with Catholic Ireland, and ‘especially to the romanticised, “parlour” renditions of that culture, as retailed in the US by postcards, lithographs, and sentimental “Tin Pan Alley” songs like “My Wild Irish Rose”’.¹⁰⁷ The bourgeoisification of Irish-American culture, then, also involved a transition from the ‘Irish fight’ song to a more respectable ‘parlour’ song tradition as second- and third-generation Irish Americans turned against the vaudeville stage Irishman.¹⁰⁸ The drinking, fighting, singing, dancing stage Irishman of American song peaked in the 1880s, but started to decline in the 1890s as Irish Americans used their increasing political and cultural clout to police their image on stage and in music.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, music was vitally important for so-called ‘lace-curtain Irish’ looking to distinguish themselves from ‘shanty Irish’, or ‘shaunty Irish’ (FW 312.31). William V. Shannon has argued that piano lessons for the daughter of the house were ‘probably as much a symbol as lace curtains’ of this Irish-American petite-bourgeoisie desire for respectability among Protestant neighbours and for separation from perceptions of their slum-dwelling, drinking-and-

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.385.

¹⁰⁵ Miller, *Ireland and Irish American*, pp.279-80.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.279-80.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.280. This song is alluded to in I.4 (FW 092.18).

¹⁰⁸ W. H. A. Williams, *’Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream : The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p.200; Moloney, ‘Irish-American Popular Music’, p.397.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.203.

fighting, working-class compatriots.¹¹⁰ John McCormack, more than anyone else, epitomised this middle-class's pious and genteel aspirations.¹¹¹ The sentimentality and nostalgia of the songs he was famous for, such as 'Mother Machree', became a defining characteristic of that culture.

By the 1920s when Joyce was taking notes from Key's biography, the commercial weight of the Irish-American market had been central to McCormack's success, a fact recognised by the tenor himself: 'The United States is the country in which I have sung most continuously; the land where my career has been developed and whose people, in greatest numbers, have taken me to themselves as though I were one of their own'.¹¹² The type of music demanded of the tenor by that market was the song of the 'unthinking, popular audiences', as Holloway put it. A *Boston Transcript* music critic noted during the 1915/16 season that while McCormack's singing was engaging some of the 'connoisseurs of song', his fame rested on his status as an 'idol of the popular audiences'.¹¹³ Beach records elsewhere her impression, as with Holloway, that McCormack was a fine tenor, but one who pandered to popular tastes: 'I went with Joyce and his wife and son one night to hear John McCormack sing. He and Joyce are old friends. He sang beautifully but it's a pity he doesn't keep away from the subject of that Old Rose of Summer'.¹¹⁴ Beach most likely means here Thomas Moore's 'The Last Rose of Summer', a song from *Irish Melodies* that appears in *Ulysses* (*U* 11.1271) and formed a part of McCormack's repertoire, which was typically a combination of operatic selections and Irish or Irish-American songs.¹¹⁵

McCormack's career as an 'idol' was to a large extent built on re-popularising Moore's *Melodies* for a new generation. As Seamus Heaney recalled with regard to *Irish Melodies*: '[T]his was the note I often heard coming over the wireless from Athlone in the forties, the note that John McCormack struck, the note that was struck in the schoolroom for generations. This was the music of what happened in the sentimental national heart, where Tara and Avoca and Lough Neagh's banks glimmered fitfully in the light of other days'.¹¹⁶ Emer Nolan has argued that the early twentieth century saw a reaction set in to Moore's apparent 'servility' to London, and his 'inauthenticity'. Joyce is generally understood to have shared this prejudice. Stephen Dedalus, in *A Portrait*, describes Moore in distinctly servile terms as a 'Firbolg in the borrowed cloak of a Milesian'.¹¹⁷ McCormack himself acknowledged the criticism of his repertoire: 'I am aware that some so-called "highbrows" charge me with singing "popular stuff". So I do, and I am proud to be able to sing it so that this popular stuff

¹¹⁰ William V. Shannon, *The American Irish: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p.142. See also Miller, *Ireland and Irish America*, p.329.

¹¹¹ He later told Key that he walked out of the St Louis World Fair after witnessing a stage-Irish act, the ultimate insult to Irish-American middle-class respectability: *John McCormack*, pp.82-83.

¹¹² Key, *John McCormack*, p.339.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.337.

¹¹⁴ *The Letters of Sylvia Beach*, ed. by Keri Walsh (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p.105.

¹¹⁵ Moloney, 'Irish-American Popular Music', p.397.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Emer Nolan, "'The Tommy Moore Touch': Ireland and Modernity in Joyce and Moore', in *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, vol.2 (2009), p.65.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.64-65.

performs its mission: a mission that banishes sadness from darkened hearts, that turns the thoughts in the way they should go, that lifts and encourages – or sends a tear into the eye'.¹¹⁸ McCormack's 'Tommy Moore touch' (*U* 12.500) not only provided the basis for his popularity in America, but also a great deal of the *Wake*'s material.

The 'subject' of Moore's *Melodies* was largely one of heightened sentimentality (a staple ingredient in 'popular stuff'), and Shaun McCormack in the *Wake* typifies the association, primarily established by Moore, of Ireland with 'tears' and 'smiles'.¹¹⁹ The tears-and-smiles motif enjoyed something of an American revival after 1910 among Tin Pan Alley writers. This was largely music by Irish Americans for Irish Americans.¹²⁰ 'Mother Machree' and 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling', both sung by Irish-American Chauncey Olcott, exemplified the combination of tears and smiles, as well as certain other Irish-American song titles: 'The Laugh With a Tear in It', 'Every Tear is a Smile in an Irishman's Heart', and so on.¹²¹ Olcott is an important figure in this history, as McCormack clearly capitalised on Olcott's centrality in the transformation of the stage Irishman from the fighting and drinking stereotype to the 'handsome, witty, attractive, yet sentimental hero, who was not above shedding a manly tear for mother and motherland'.¹²² 'Mother Machree' was written in 1910 for the musical *Barry of Ballymore*, in which Olcott starred and which was enormously popular among middle-class Irish-American audiences.¹²³ The huge success of 'Mother Machree' in particular also gave rise to the enduring place of Irish mothers in American popular culture. The image of Irish women in general was transformed by the bourgeoisification of Irish-American culture. 'Rosie O'Grady', alluded to in the *Wake* (*FW* 095.03; 131.15; 133.07), illustrated a new reputation for 'certain old-fashion qualities' in Irish women in popular American song: 'Whereas "Irish" has once signified people who were considered wild, rowdy, and undisciplined, by the turn of the century the word was beginning to suggest attitudes that were conservative and old-fashioned'.¹²⁴

There are, then, two significantly different styles of Irish-American song in the *Wake*: the 'Irish fight' song exemplified by 'Tim Finegan's Wake', and the genteel, sentimental parlour songs of John McCormack, exemplified by 'Mother Machree'. Indeed, these are among the two most heavily referenced songs in the book. 'Mother Machree' is repeatedly referred to throughout the *Wake* (*FW* 092.20; 200.03; 243.03; 343.11; 378.27; 397.12; 426.08; 426.09; 452.15; 542.20), while book III alone makes extensive use of 'Tim Finegan's Wake' (*FW* 415.15; 453.03; 487.20; 496.36; 498.26; 499.13; 499.17; 511.15; 511.23; 512.23; 531.25; 537.34; 565.14). Joyce plays them off against each other throughout, but most notably in book III where Shaun is especially prominent. On the one hand, the Four's interrogation of Shaun (as Yawn) in III.3 reconstructs the very drunk and rowdy

¹¹⁸ Key, *John McCormack*, p.384.

¹¹⁹ See Williams, *'Twas only an Irishman's Dream*, p.225.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.216.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.225-26.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.214.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.214.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.216-22.

wedding/wake scene familiar to the ‘Irish fight’ song. The scene is described variously as ‘funeral games’ (*FW* 515.23); the ‘winker’s wake’ (*FW* 514.20); the ‘marrage feats’ (*FW* 514.04); the ‘shin do’ (*FW* 513.24), or shindig; the ‘Pax and Quantum wedding’ (*FW* 508.06); and so on. The details that emerge from the interrogation closely conform to the song genre. Everyone is ‘thomistically drunk’ (*FW* 510.18) or ‘drinking unsteadily’ (*FW* 513.33). The whisky-and-wake motif is evident in ‘[w]hiskway and mortem!’ (*FW* 510.33). Pious Shaun adds solicitously, if uncertainly: ‘But the right reverend priest, Mr Hopsinbond, and the reverent bride eleft, Frizzy Fraufray, were sober enough. I think they were sober’ (*FW* 510.34-6). Meanwhile, there is plenty of ‘[d]awncing’ (*FW* 513.11), but it appears to get out of hand as tempers fray, including that of the ‘wedding beastman’ (*FW* 511.02): ‘Some nasty blunt clubs were being operated after the tradition of a wellesleyan bottle riot act and a few plates were being shied about and tumblers bearing traces of fresh porter rolling around’ (*FW* 510.21-4). This ‘[m]ayhem’ (*FW* 514.29) re-enacts the pattern of ‘verbal repartee’ and ribaldry being settled by ‘she laylylaw’ (*FW* 511.15), or the ‘shillelagh law’ of ‘Tim Finegan’s Wake’ – ‘Civil war did then engage / Woman to woman, and man to man; / Shillelagh law was all the rage, / And a row and a ruction soon began’.¹²⁵ Shaun, as a ‘witness of this epic struggle’ (*FW* 515.21), is asked to ‘reconstruct for us, as briefly as you can, in exactly the same as a mind’s eye view, how these funeral games [...] took place’ (*FW* 515.22-5). This cross-examination, full of ‘verbal repartee’, soon escalates into a challenge to step outside – ‘Will you repeat that to me outside, leinconnmuns?’ (*FW* 521.28). The allusion to the three provinces of the Free State confirms that the ‘civil war’ of ‘Tim Finegan’s Wake’ is being mapped onto the Irish Civil War.¹²⁶ The evangelist/interrogator currently speaking, Matthew (Ulster), with an allusion to Lord Randolph Churchill’s famous phrase of 1886 (also found in *Ulysses: U* 2.397-98) – ‘Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right’ – replies: ‘Guid! We make fight! Three to one! Raddy?’ (*FW* 521.21). The ‘funeral games’ in question here, then, follow in part the formulaic routine of the ‘Irish fight’ genre in popular Irish-American music, overlaying its violent disputes onto the ‘Northern Ire’ (*FW* 522.04) of recent Irish history. It is fitting then that Shaun, when asked to swear by his account of the melee, does so on the ‘rubricated Annuals of Saint Ulstar’ (*FW* 520.34), or U.S.A. in reverse.

On the other hand, Joyce clearly enjoyed mocking the sentimentality within turn-of-the-century Irish-American culture typified by the popularity of ‘Mother Machree’. In I.4, the ‘maidies of the bar’ flatter and flutter around Shaun McCormack (‘Show’m the Posed’), ‘their masculine Oirisher Rose [...] with their dindy dandy sugar de candy mechree me postheen flowns courier’ (*FW* 092.12-21). In III.1, Shaun swears (possibly in an American accent via a reference to Twain: ‘mark my words and append to my mark twang’, *FW* 425.29-30) that he ‘will commission to the flames any

¹²⁵ Some versions of the song have ‘war’ without the ‘civil’, but Joyce’s use of the song clearly associates it with ‘civil war’.

¹²⁶ Joyce partially explained to Budgen why he chose the Irish-American ballad for the title of his final work: “‘There are plenty of other versions of the resurrection story”, said Joyce, “but this was the most suitable to my purpose””; see Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*, p.326.

incendiariist whosoever or ahriman howsoclever who would endeavour to set every annyma roner moother of mine on fire' (FW 425.36-426.01). At this point, it is also possible to see Joyce fusing the two styles together; Shaun is sentimental about his mother, but also quick to anger. With a reference to McCormack in place ('Mother of Mine'), an extraordinary passage ensues, combining nearly all the motifs of the popular Irish song in America: tears ('tearsilver', 'allarmes'), smiles ('smile', 'laughed', 'smeyle'), fighting ('hottempered', 'pugiliser'), mothers ('Mother Machree' in lyric 'twined through her hair'), as well as references to Moore (moohthead) and Americanisms ('getting quite jerry'):

And, with that crickcrackcruck of his threelungged squool from which grief had usupped every smile, big hottempered husky fusky krenfy strenfy pugiliser, such as he was, he virtually broke down on the moohthead, getting quite jerry over her, overpowered by himself with the love of the tearsilver that he twined through her hair for, sure, he was the soft semplgawn slob of the world with a heart like Montgomery's in his showchest and harvey loads of feeling in him and as innocent and undesignful as the freshfallen calef. Still, grossly unselfish in sickself, he dished allarmes away and laughed it off with a wipe at his pudgies and a gulp apologetic, healing his tare be the smeyle of his oye, oogling around. (FW 426.05-16).¹²⁷

Shaun McCormack's tear-filled eyes are certainly smiling here and his overpowering love for his mother is typical of that core motif in early twentieth-century Irish-American songs, with 'Mother Machree' providing the template for such popular paeans at the maternal altar. Moreover, in terms of filial piety, it would be hard to find a better model than John McCormack for HCE's 'good son', Shaun.¹²⁸ Key's *John McCormack* presents a paragon of parental respect and reverence. 'What a debt a man owes his mother and father!' the tenor tells his faithful amanuensis on the veranda of Rocklea, McCormack's plush Connecticut villa. 'For what I have been able to accomplish I am obligated to many; very deeply to a generous few. But every year which drops behind leaves me with a fuller consciousness of that unpayable debt to father and mother'. McCormack then says in a 'tremulous voice': 'no one thing has filled the heart of me as making my mother and father happy'. Later, McCormack tells Key how he got a lump in his throat when singing 'Mother Machree' in San Francisco, and gave the 'most eloquent' interpretation he had ever given of that song at a concert in Ireland at which his mother was present and both, deeply moved, were near to tears.¹²⁹ Williams notes that this song became so closely associated with McCormack that when he announced he would

¹²⁷ Key's *John McCormack* is the source for 'gulp apologetic', see *VI.B.16.133(f)*. The fighting motif (pugilism and soldiering – 'jerry') could also refer to McCormack's service in the First World War. See *John McCormack*, p.353. For an account of McCormack bringing tears to the eyes of his audiences (and an attempt to 'hide the tears that came from my eyes' – or 'healing his tare by the smeyle of his oye'), see *John McCormack*, pp.349-52.

¹²⁸ For Shaun as the 'good son', see Landuyt, 'Shaun McCormack', *Genetic Joyce Studies*; and Thomas C. Hofheinz, *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History: Finnegans Wake in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.37.

¹²⁹ Key, *John McCormack*, pp.5-6; 312.

become an American citizen in 1919, 1,500 graduating naval trainees sang 'Mother Machree' in his honour.¹³⁰ It was as the 'so-called highbrows' would have expected.

III.2, which ends with what is effectively an American wake for Shaun (as Jaun or Haun), bids farewell to a figure unmistakably shaped by McCormack: 'Wethen, now, may the good people speed you, rural Haun, export stout fellow that you are, the crooner born with sweet wail of evoker, healing music, ay, and heart in hand of Shamrogueshire!' (FW 471.35-472.02). The fantastically twee note Joyce sounds specifically references Moore ['sweet vale of avoca'], and is to an extent a continuation of the tone of the parodies in the 'Cyclops' chapter in *Ulysses*.¹³¹ His departure is accompanied by much weeping and wailing; indeed, he takes on something of the role of a heroic national saviour whose return is longed for: 'Numerous are those [...] still unclaimed by the death angel in this country of ours today [...] who, while there are hours and days, will fervently pray to the spirit above that they may never depart this earth of theirs till in his long run from that place where the day begins, ere he retourneys postexilic, on that day that belongs to joyful Ireland, the people that is of all time' (FW 472.28-35). As such, Jaun become a kind of 'pattern sent' (FW 472.25), or patron saint like St Patrick. The lamenting leapyear girls are 'kneedeep in tears' (FW 470.06). Fears are expressed that 'we ne'er may see again' (FW 472.23) this national saviour: 'Gone is Haun! My grief, my ruin!' (FW 472.14-5). This extended wake scene is heavily 'interlarded' (FW 472.31) with references to Moore and McCormack. Moreover, when Jaun announces his departure on a musical 'pilgrimage to your antipodes in the past' (FW 472.17-8), he makes it clear that he is going to the US in pursuit of his fortune: 'The water's great! [...] Somewhere I must get far away from Banbashore, wherever I am. [...] I'll travel the void world over. It's Winland for moyne, bickbuck! Geejakers!' (FW 469.04-12). 'Winland' is a part of North America discovered by the Norse which also here suggests a promise of success (see also: FW 213.35). McCormack is reported by Key to have said, *apropos* his U.S. citizenship: 'America for me and for mine'.¹³² Although the McCormack references here are mostly silent, the reader has already heard in this chapter that Shaun 'sport[s] a whatyoumacormack in the latcher part of [his] throughers' (FW 450.25), is 'athlone in the lillabilling of killarnies' (FW 450.28-9), and is to be found looking 'always at my west' (FW 457.20).¹³³ The huge success of McCormack in America, along with Tin Pan Alley's industrial quantities of tears-and-smiles 'Oirish' songs, showed that the music of the 'sentimental national heart' was now, in an important sense, also Irish-

¹³⁰ Williams, *'Twas only an Irishman's Dream*, p.216.

¹³¹ The beauty of Avoca is the subject of Moore's 'The Meeting of the Waters' from *Irish Melodies*. McCormack recorded the song in the 1920s.

¹³² 'America for me and for mine' can be found at *John McCormack*, p.339. For 'Winland', see McHugh, *Annotations*, p.469. This reference is supplied by C.K. Ogden, who worked with Joyce on his notes for *transition 32*.

¹³³ McHugh cites Key, *John McCormack*, as the source for 'The water's great' and attributes the lines 'I'll travel the wide world over' to a song sung by McCormack, while *VI.B.16.103(j)* is the source for 'Somewhere I must get'.

American. The *Wake* reflects this by giving Shaun McCormack's 'voise from afar' a strong Irish-American inflection.

The extensive use of Irish-American popular music to reflect on questions of Irish history and a culture of emigration represents a continuation of a process discussed in chapter two, whereby Joyce constructed a history of America almost entirely out of fragments of popular culture. In addition, he plays off 'Tim Finegan's Wake' against 'Mother Machree' in such a way that suggests again Lloyd's concept of the 'transvaluation of values' in a (post-)colonial culture.¹³⁴ 'Mother Machree' was part of a concerted effort to banish the riotous Irish stereotype from the Irish-American stage and replace it with something more respectable and genteel. Joyce puts the stereotype back on centre stage, merging it with its genteel 'usurper'. In a notably complex and musical Brunian 'coincidence of contraries', he reappropriates the negative stereotype of the wild Irishman and gives it a positive twist through – above all – the sheer sophistication of language in the *Wake*.

If Joyce appropriated elements of Irish-American culture for his own ends, he also resisted others. Irish-American Catholicism and the gravitational pull of the Irish-American 'culture industry' were two of these elements. As Diarmaid Ferriter points out, Irish-American lobbyists claimed that *The Playboy of the Western World* and *Juno and the Paycock* 'did nothing to elevate the Irish character, holding up drunken and foul-mouthed murderous Irish characters to be scoffed at by foreign audiences'.¹³⁵ Christopher Murray's biography of O'Casey makes the point that audience expectations in New York had not adapted to the changed circumstances of the Free State, and their conventional theatrical demands were firmly rooted in the past. Hence *The Plough and the Stars* met with concerted Irish-American opposition; there were repeated calls for O'Casey's work to be removed from the Abbey's programme during an American tour in 1932.¹³⁶ Irish Americans sympathetic to de Valera's Fianna Fáil were particularly angered by the programme's pro-Treaty, anti-clerical content.¹³⁷ Renewed opposition was mounted after de Valera won the 1932 election; the United-Irish American Societies and Fianna Fáil Inc., New York, had funded de Valera's campaign and lobbied for the state to withdraw the Abbey's state subsidy. De Valera reduced the Abbey's subsidy in 1933.¹³⁸ In the 1920s, the actress Sara Allgood had written to Lady Gregory about her reservations concerning a tour to the U.S. to play in *The Plough and the Stars*. 'Padraic Colum', she wrote, 'called in to see me and he quite frankly said there is very great likelihood of great trouble with the Irish there [U.S.A.] if we produce it [*The Plough and the Stars*]'.¹³⁹ Joyce, it appears, shared similar concerns about Irish-

¹³⁴ See chapter two.

¹³⁵ Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, p.348.

¹³⁶ Murray, *Seán O'Casey: Writer at Work* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2004), p.234.

¹³⁷ Lionel Pilkington, *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.115.

¹³⁸ Murray, *Seán O'Casey*, p.234.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.197-98.

American influence over his own work. Jacques Mercanton reports that Joyce withheld the title of *Work in Progress* ‘for fear of irritating the American-Irish’.¹⁴⁰

The cultural conservatism of Irish America was clearly bound up in its strong Catholic identity, as Joyce saw it. The Catholic Church plays a prominent role in Key’s *John McCormack*, and this is reflected in Joyce’s notes. The entries regarding McCormack’s Catholicism cluster around his religious education under the Marist Brothers, and his receiving Papal honours. McCormack presents himself as a loyal Christian soldier who had once considered entering the priesthood – ‘I’m a good soldier; better that, don’t you think, than a commonplace general’.¹⁴¹ His childhood is a model of piety and humility, for he ‘knew very little outside the Catholic Church, his school and humble living’.¹⁴² His hometown of Athlone ‘had a certain culture – despite the fact that the people were simple in tastes and felt the constructive effects of religion, in which the Catholic faith exerted a most beneficent influence’.¹⁴³ The influence of the Church is also felt strongly in *John McCormack* through the almost-constant presence of Bishop Michael Curley of the Diocese of St Augustine, in Florida, who grew up with McCormack in Athlone and had become a close confidante. Joyce’s notes on McCormack’s ‘unwavering Irish Catholic faith’ often record some of the more humorous or incidental aspects of McCormack’s religiosity.¹⁴⁴ As he approaches the Vatican, which he adds that he recognises from photographs, McCormack describes his party as ‘a group of pilgrims wending our way to that glorious edifice wherein the Princes of the Church assemble and plan for Christianity’s good’.¹⁴⁵ Joyce’s notes for this are: ‘plan for Christianity’s good’ (or plan for Christianity’s good), and ‘[Shaun] recognises Vatican’. To an extent, Shaun’s own ‘destiny’ as revealed in the *Wake* appears part of this plan: the questioning of Shaun in III.1 reveals

how it was forstold for me by brevet for my vacation in life while possessing stout legs to be disbarred after holy orders from unnecessary servile work of reckless walking of all sorts for the relics of my time for otherwise by my so douching I would get into a blame there where sieves fall out, Excelsior tips the best. [...] Amen; ptah! His hungry will be done! On the continent as in Eironesia. (FW 411.01-12)

This fits and subverts Key’s characterising of McCormack’s decision not to join the priesthood as somehow foretold, while playing up his Papal connections (a brevet is an official or authoritative message in writing, especially a Papal Indulgence). While several of Joyce’s notes are not transferred,

¹⁴⁰ *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, p.243.

¹⁴¹ Key, *John McCormack*, p.31. McCormack’s own presentation of himself as a soldier for the Church may also have influenced the allusions to fighting (‘pugiliser’) and soldiering (‘jerry’) at FW 426.5-16, adding a layer of irony to Shaun’s claim to be a ‘mere mailman of peace’ (FW 408.10).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.18.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.230.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.228-29. McCormack’s use of the archaic ‘wending’ suggests Joyce’s use with regards to Shaun at FW 502.1 and FW 517.6.

it is still clear that ‘dogmestic Shaun’ (FW 411.23) owes much to McCormack, and according to Key, Ireland’s ‘world-famed fidelity’ to Catholicism.¹⁴⁶

That McCormack and Irish-American Catholicism are being targeted by Joyce is further suggested by the Gracehoper’s song in III.1, in which he sings: ‘As I once played the piper I must now pay the count’ (FW 418.16).¹⁴⁷ The count in question is ‘Conte Carme’ (FW 418.03). Pope Pius XI had made McCormack a papal count in 1928, while ‘Artalone’ (FW 418.01) and ‘Aquilaone’ (FW 418.27) suggest McCormack’s birthplace of Athlone. ‘Carme’, as McHugh points out, is French slang for ‘money’.¹⁴⁸ In a (half)rhyiming sequence based on ‘Yankee Doodle’, the reader hears how count McCormack made his riches: ‘Flunkey Footle furloughed foul, writing off his phoney, but Conte Carme makes the melody that mints the money. Ad majorem l.s.d.! Divi glorium’ (FW 418.02-4).¹⁴⁹ The insertion of ‘l.s.d.’ (pounds, shillings, pence) into the Jesuit motto ‘*ad majorem dei gloriam*’ adds to the sense of religion being, as Bloom puts it in *Ulysses*, a ‘paying game’ (U 8.17). The intersection of money and religion is a significant feature of Joyce’s representation of Irish Americans through McCormack. In III.2, Shaun assumes the role of ‘Muscianship made Embrassador-at-Large’ (FW 472.9-10) for ‘joyful Ireland’ (FW 472.35), with ‘our groves so charming’ (FW 472.07). Like many Irish statesmen before him, he goes cap-in-hand in quest of Irish-American dollars; ‘nothing would stop me’, Shaun proclaims, ‘for mony makes multimony like the brogues and the kishes’ (FW 451.11-3).¹⁵⁰ Shaun the postman makes his money from walking (a *bróg* is a shoe in Irish), but here he also clearly plays up his Irish ‘brogue’ by pronouncing his sibilants with an ‘sh’ sound (kisses/kishes).¹⁵¹ Later, one of the narrators in III.4 predicts that ‘Frank Kevin’ (Shaun)

will blare some knight when he will take his dane’s pledges and quit our ingletears, spite of undesirable parents, to wend him to Amoricca to quest a cashy job. That keen dean with his veen nonsolance! O, I adore the profeen music! Dollarmighty! He is too audorable really, eunique! (FW 562.29-33)

This mediaeval knight’s quest to the New World (a reversal of Twain’s *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*) is also preceded by an allusion to Moore: ‘Whene’er I see those smiles in eyes ‘tis Father Quinn again’ (FW 562.27-8). Shaun McCormack’s ambassadorial role, however, appears to be limited to singing the likes of ‘Mother Machree’ to the ‘overking of Hither-on-Thither Erin’ (FW

¹⁴⁶ Key, *John McCormack*, p.345.

¹⁴⁷ Allusions to Twain can also be found here: the ‘piper’ and ‘count’ suggest Twain’s *The Prince and the Pauper*, while shortly after this line the Gracehoper sings: ‘These twain are the twins that tick Homo Vulgaris’ (FW 418.26).

¹⁴⁸ McHugh, *Annotations*, p.418.

¹⁴⁹ The Count McCormack/Yankee Doodle line (FW 418.3-4) was added in revision during the 1930s and is not, for instance, found in *Two Tales of Shem and Shaun: Fragments from Work in Progress* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932).

¹⁵⁰ Joyce adapts this statement of intent from O. Henry’s line in *The Four Million* – ‘money makes money’. See VI.B.3.109 (b).

¹⁵¹ This stage-Irish brogue goes back at least as far as Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, where Macmorris asks: ‘What ish my nation?’ (Act III sc.2).

452.27-8). This, ultimately, signals that, for Joyce, Shaun's role is clouded by the same concerns over 'servility' and 'inauthenticity' that hung over Thomas Moore. Shaun's 'quest' for 'a cashy job' reveals the extent to which Irish-American dollars were funding the preservation of the 'sentimental national heart', a 'Shamrogueshire' deliberately frozen in an idealized past. Shaun McCormack's transatlantic orientation has broken a servile dependence on England ('has quit our ingletears', *FW* 562.30) only to create a new dependence on audiences in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago ('to wend him to Amoricca to quest a cashy job', *FW* 562.31).

Joyce's satirical punning on the 'toll stories' of 'Amiraacles' clearly targets such images of America as Basket-writer Maurice O'Sullivan presents in his autobiography *Twenty Years A-Growing* (1933): 'I looked west at the edge of the sky where America should be lying, and I slipped back on the paths of thought. It seemed to me now that the New Island [America] was before me with its fine streets and great high houses, some of them so tall that they scratched the sky; gold and silver out on the ditches and nothing to do but to gather it'.¹⁵² However, Joyce's perception of American wealth is also possibly influenced by his Dublin background. The Belvedere- and UCD-educated novelist Mervyn Wall (1908-1997), in an interview in 1971 during which he discussed the social and cultural background of his contemporaries, pinpoints the influence this background had on perceptions of America. These writers, who venerated Joyce, were

[...] of urban origin, and like myself they probably never had the experience of listening, as had probably O'Faoláin, O'Connor, Kavanagh and others who had been born in the provinces to aged relatives cracking their swollen knuckles over the fire as they told tales of old Land League days, of evictions and of the lucky shot that winged a land agent. I, and I suppose most of my acquaintances, only learnt about small town and rural Irish life through visits to the Abbey Theatre and subsequent reading. Many of the writers [...] had brilliant academic careers. Many came from prosperous families and no doubt from childhood on believed that a secure place in the world awaited them. It was natural for these people to turn to Europe where culture was, just as the writer of provincial origin nowadays turns to America where the money is. Provincial Ireland has the long tradition of American emigration behind it. Dublin has not.¹⁵³

Wall's account supports Stanislaus's claim that Joyce 'felt a closer kinship of spirit with continental people', with the implication that America – 'where the money is' – fell outside of this spiritual relationship.¹⁵⁴ However, it might also suggest a kind of snobbery in Joyce's circles about the US and

¹⁵² Maurice O'Sullivan, *Twenty Years A-Growing* (Nashville, Tennessee: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1998), pp.214-15.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-2001* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), pp.156-57.

¹⁵⁴ Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p.215. Frank Budgen's description of Shaun clearly associates him with American money: 'What is clear about the shadowy Shaun is that he is a true believer, a gourmand, a sensualist, a persuasive talker [...], an *arriviste* with his face turned towards the west where the money is, a favoured of the gods, an a great success with the girls'; see *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*, p.336.

emigration there. That is, if you were educated by the Jesuits, you didn't go to America. That was for the Christian Brothers boys – 'Paddy Stink and Micky Mud', as John S. Joyce memorably put it.¹⁵⁵

The deadening conservatism of Irish-American culture, as Joyce saw it, is reflected by a repeated association with money in Joyce's works. The 'Almighty Dollar' is held up by the teacher in an Irish class (along with 'Spiritual Saxon') as a self-evidently ridiculous 'witticism' in *Stephen Hero* (SH 59), which features a 'keen dean' (FW 562.31-2) being 'fêted on his home-coming' from a 'cashy' (FW 562.31) quest to America. Father Healy 'had just come back from the United States of America where he had been for seven years collecting money to build a chapel near Enniscorthy'. The 'little fat white priest' spoke with a 'judicious American accent' (SH 156), and his celebrated return stands in contrast to that of Richard Rowan's from the continent in *Exiles*. There, Rowan ironically alludes to flow of Irish-American money into nationalist commemoration projects in Ireland when he mocks Robert Hand's claim that he (Rowan) will be 'honoured here – among our people': 'I can almost see two envoys starting for the United States to collect funds for my statue a hundred years hence'.¹⁵⁶ Elsewhere, in an intermediate draft of the 'Cyclops' chapter, an exchange between Lenehan, the narrator and the Citizen that was left out of the final version again associates Irish Americans with money:

- And aren't they talking of sending Irish consuls to the continent to open up trade? says -
- What about the kudos {wherewithal} says Lenihan.
- There are Irish American millionaires behind it, says ---¹⁵⁷

Joyce had even once walked the approximately fourteen miles from Cabra to Cellbridge, Co. Kildare, to see an Irish-American millionaire about funds for a newspaper he hoped to launch with Francis Skeffington.¹⁵⁸ In the *Wake*, when Shaun is asked about a 'deal' to 'wend himself to a medicis' (FW 517.06) the overlapping of America and the Medicis, the Florentine banking dynasty, reveals a consistency in associating America with money, in particular through Irish emigration and political-cultural fund-raising trips, that is reinforced when Shaun is asked if he was paid in 'spanglers' (FW 521.01) for swearing.

John McCormack's vast wealth is also alluded to in the *Wake*. Indeed, Joyce at times appears to exaggerate it. Key recounts McCormack scotching a rumour that he received a particularly large and expensive pearl from a wealthy Australian to give to Mrs McCormack. The tenor plays down its size and cost; Joyce, however, turns the single pearl into 'ropes of pearls' (FW 446.26).¹⁵⁹ Shaun's

¹⁵⁵ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.35.

¹⁵⁶ *Poems and Exiles*, p.157.

¹⁵⁷ An earlier draft reads here: 'Well, and wouldn't Irish Americans put their money into it.' Quoted in *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for Ulysses, Selections from the Buffalo Collection*, ed. by Phillip F. Herring (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p.179.

¹⁵⁸ See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.141; Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, pp.61-62.

¹⁵⁹ VI.B.16.131(m). Key, *John McCormack*, pp.321-22.

‘earning’, made from the ‘sweath of his fate’ (FW 408.01), or the sweat of a postman’s feet, also suggests the providential note that Key gives to hard-working McCormack’s career success from the opening lines of *John McCormack*: ‘Faith, which burned in the heart of him, was the force that guided him on’.¹⁶⁰ McCormack’s ‘ultimate destiny’ – his ‘hard climb towards success’ – is announced from the first page, taking on a ‘force of destiny’ (FW 413.01), as Shaun puts it.¹⁶¹ Although not quite a rags-to-riches story, McCormack’s rise to fame from sharing a stage with Joyce in a city with a death rate equal to Calcutta’s in 1911 is at times framed thus.¹⁶² The same notebook contains a reference to *The Prince and the Pauper* – alluded to at FW 416.13, 422.15 and 422.20 – and McCormack’s extravagant wealth must at times have seemed to take on fairy-tale qualities.¹⁶³ He owned several houses (San Patrizio, Hollywood; Rocklea, Connecticut; Park Avenue, New York; Alton House, Hampstead; Moore Abbey, near the Curragh); owned yachts (the first was called Macushla, the second Pal O’ Mine); was a collector of art (Corot; Rodin; Cuyp; Rembrandt) and violins (he owned a Stradivarius and a Guarnerius); and, as Hodgart and Bauerle note: ‘During one thirteen-year period McCormack grossed thirteen million dollars, more than a third from performance fees. In 1918 he made \$180,000 from recordings alone, and his total recording income reached several million dollars’.¹⁶⁴ Clearly, McCormack fulfilled the Joycean prophecy that an Irishman can only succeed, or ‘make his worth felt’ (OCPW 123), abroad. The exaggeration of that wealth is part of Joyce’s overall caricaturing of America as a ‘jumboland’ (FW 528.18) of ‘toll stories’ (FW 427.23) in which Shaun McCormack represents proliferating Irish-American paupers-turned-princes. Indeed, Shaun McCormack’s weight is a visible sign of this oversized existence.¹⁶⁵ In III.1, Shaun vows to ‘compound quite the makings of a verdigrease savingsbook’ as long as his ‘selary as a paykelt is propaired’ (FW 412.32-413.01). The green-greasy savings book has a Yeatsian touch to it – a greasy till for an Irish Free State ‘nation of shopkeepers’ – and this is in turn Catholicised when mother-devoted Shaun later swears ‘that I do my reasonabler’s best to recite my grocery beans for mummy’ (FW 411.16-7). However, it is as a ‘pay-Celt’ that Shaun McCormack’s servility as a stage Irishman, or ‘Stodge Arschmann’ (FW 071.34), is evoked most strongly.

The narrow, stereotyped definition of Irishness demanded by Irish-American audiences fuelled Joyce’s mockery of their obsessions, but it also contributed significantly to the *Wake*’s own obsession with Irishness and multiple Irish identities. Joyce’s ‘grocer’s assistant’s mind’ (LIII 304) produced this ‘Ithaca’-like list for Valerie Larbaud defining the multiple unity of the Irish people:

¹⁶⁰ Key, *John McCormack*, p.1. McCormack himself says he ‘worked very hard’, p.29.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.1; 292.

¹⁶² For Dublin’s death rate, see Peter Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1972), p.184.

¹⁶³ VI.B.16.119(h).

¹⁶⁴ Hodgart and Bauerle, *Joyce’s Grand Operoar*, pp.76-77.

¹⁶⁵ Several references to McCormack’s considerable weight can be found at: VI.B.16.102(a) (FW 487.16); VI.B.16.104(d), (e) (FW 102.30); VI.B.16.106(d), (FW 477.28-30); VI.B.16.129(i), (FW 406.33-4).

- (a) Citizens or subjects of Irish Free State
- (b) Citizens or subjects of Northern Ireland
- (c) Irishborn or Irishdescended Americans
- (d) Irish in Great Britain and British Empire (excluding Ireland)
- (e) Irish in foreign countries (Irishborn or Irishdescended)
- (f) The dead Irish ('all Livia's daughtersons') (*LI* 217)

The complex simultaneity of the Joycean Irish identity is evoked by David Lloyd's description of a sense of dislocation within Irish culture: 'With peculiar intensity, Irish culture plays out the anomalous states of a population whose most typical experience may be that of occupying multiple locations, literally and figuratively'.¹⁶⁶ Joyce's repeated doubling of Dublin, Ireland with Dublin, Georgia, for instance, seems to reflect a shared concern with split, or multiple states, and an exile mentality. As the list above notes, those states include the 'dead Irish'; clustered references in the McCormack notebook point to the motif of exile as death and the dissolution of Irish identity: 'faithful departed X'; 'erstwhile'; 'down under (Austr)'; and intriguingly 'un Irish' (VI.B.16.008(g), (k), (l), (m)). Joyce doesn't simply mock 'our dozen cousins from the starves on tripes' (*FW* 265.28-9); an Irish culture of emigration is deeply embedded in the *Wake*, and mostly through Irish-American stereotypes such as Mother Machree and Tim Finegan. The *Wake*, though, does not share in the 'highbrow' aversion to the stereotype. Rather, as in Brian Friel's *The Loves of Cass Maguire* (1966), Joyce puts the figure of the crass Irish American, Shaun McCormack, centre stage as part of a wider exploration of the 'diasporation' (*FW* 257.25; 463.21) of an Irish identity permanently marked by chronic emigration. Terence Brown argues that Friel's play 'has caught a poignant moment of transition in Irish/Irish-American relations focusing at just that point in social history when an economically resurgent country, with its eyes on membership of the European Community, was beginning to recover from its infatuation with all things American [...]'.¹⁶⁷ The *Wake* is situated at another moment of transition; Irish-American political influence was waning as the cultural influence that would turn into an 'infatuation' was waxing.

Letters from America: The Correspondence of James and Giorgio Joyce 1934-38

The years 1934-38 form a key period in judging Joyce's perception of the United States and Irish Americans as they cover the time his son, Giorgio, spent trying to pursue a career in music in that

¹⁶⁶ Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1993), p.3.

¹⁶⁷ Brown, "'Have we a Context?': Transition, Self and Society in the Theatre of Brian Friel", in *The Achievement of Brian Friel*, ed. by Alan Peacock (Gerrards Cross: C. Smythe, 1993), p.190.

country. Irish-American cultural influence was a key factor during these years. Giorgio and Helen Joyce sailed on 19 May 1934, and it was a mark of his father's fame that the *New York Times* announced the arrival thus: 'George Joyce. 29-year-old son of James Joyce, author of 'Ulysses', arrived yesterday on the Bremen, accompanied by his wife, the former Helen Castor of Long Branch, N.J., and their son, Stephen James. They plan to visit Mrs. Joyce's family in Long Branch'.¹⁶⁸ The headline – 'James Joyce's Son Here' – was to set a precedent for Giorgio's tour of America, where the father's fame preceded the son's reception. The tour started promisingly, however, and he sang on National Broadcasting Company programmes. Giorgio was able to present John McCormack with a letter of introduction from his father, and McCormack cabled James back almost immediately after meeting Giorgio to promise he would do 'everything possible' to help his son's career.¹⁶⁹ Despite his initial success, and high praise from McCormack, Giorgio's career did not advance beyond this promising overture. John Scarry makes the point that although McCormack praised Giorgio's voice as a 'magnificent bass', he appears to have been placed in 'unsympathetic hands' at NBC.¹⁷⁰ In addition to this, Giorgio's father's fame continued to be the focus of much of the interest in Giorgio. A *New Yorker* interview of 1935 with Giorgio was, as Ellmann points out, 'chiefly devoted to small talk about his father'.¹⁷¹ However, the *New Yorker's* 'Talk of the Town' gossip column would be a benign example of this fondness for title-tattle about James in America. A 'vulgar and scurrilous' (*LIII* 235) article in the *Catholic World* about Joyce would be much more damaging and hurtful. Meanwhile, Giorgio considered staying in America in the summer of 1935, but returned on the back of what Ellmann describes as a 'campaign' by his father to force his return at the end of September 1935.¹⁷² The next voyage to America would not take place until 1938, precipitated by Helen Joyce's father's illness. They left on 8 January 1938 and returned on 26 April 1938 aboard the Queen Mary. James wrote to the publisher Viscount Carlow on 3 June 1938: 'My son returned from New York a few days ago. He sang a few times over Columbia station [Columbia Broadcasting System] during his short stay and, in fact, I had a new wireless set rigged up for the occasion with the aid of an antenna on the balcony made out of one of my many walking sticks – not the ambassadorial Irish blackthorn – and we heard him singing across the ocean as clearly as if he had been in the next room' (*LIII* 423). This four-year period produced a body of letters, published and unpublished, in which James is at his frankest and most unguarded about the United States and Irish Americans. Often harsh and apparently dismissive, the letters nevertheless highlight the ever-increasing obligation on his part to engage with the transatlantic world and its Irish colony.

¹⁶⁸ See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.672-73; 'James Joyce's Son Here', *New York Times*, 25 May 1934, p.19.

¹⁶⁹ See Scarry, 'James Joyce and John McCormack', pp.532-33.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.536.

¹⁷¹ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.678.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.683.

Giorgio's reception by Irish Americans in particular would strengthen his father's impression that Irish emigration to America had not inspired a cultural renaissance among that group, rather the opposite. Earlier, Joyce's notes for *Exiles* had described a scene at Galway harbour of an 'emigrant ship' departing for America 'over the dark sea which is distance, the extinction of interest and death'.¹⁷³ In *Dubliners*, 'The Dead' had ended with a vision of a 'journey westward' over a country peopled by 'all the living and the dead' (*D* 225). Finally, Joyce's 'book of the dark' (*FW* 251.24) depicts a journey to the west – 'all goes west!' (*FW* 085.15) – in which death is again evoked: 'ebbing wasteward, leaves to the soul of light its fading silence' (*FW* 235.06-7). The irony of the New World – 'that land of promise', as Dubois described it¹⁷⁴ – across Joyce's writings is revealed in this association with death over rebirth, or renaissance: in effect, a 'breach of promise' (*FW* 442.13-4). The 'extinction of interest' also strongly suggests a form of cultural death. In a statement reminiscent of Stanislaus Joyce's description of his brother's notion that art was a form of decay accompanying a decline in the fortunes of a nation, Joyce is reported to have told Georges Borach:

Material victory is the death of spiritual predominance. Today we see in the Greeks of antiquity the most cultured nation. Had the Greek state not perished, what would have become of the Greeks? Colonizers and merchants.¹⁷⁵

Joyce is discussing here the 'subject of Odysseus', in terms explicitly linking culture with the marketplace: 'I find the subject of Odysseus the most human in world literature. Odysseus didn't want to go to off to Troy; he knew that the official reason for the war, the dissemination of the culture of Hellas, was only a pretext for the Greek merchants, who were seeking new markets'.¹⁷⁶ Within this particular context, Giorgio's journey to the New World accrues significant cultural connotations. At one point, James depicts himself as personifying the shabby Old World – 'Paris is like myself a haughty ruin or if you like a decayed reveller' (*LI* 366) – in contradistinction to the lucrative 'new markets' of America, where John McCormack before Giorgio had made 'the melody that mints the money' (*FW* 418.04). However, the letters also register the ongoing effects of '*le Krach americain*', as Sylvia Beach described the Wall Street Crash.¹⁷⁷ The economic boom of the 1920s had given way to the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Joyces were clearly concerned over the repeated 'bad news' from America (*LI* 362; *LIII* 355). Worst of all, however, is the suffocating influence on Giorgio's career of the puritanical Irish American 'mob' whose aggressive Catholicism makes cultural prohibitionists of them in the unsmiling eyes of a protective father.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ *Poems and Exiles* (London: Penguin, 1992), p.349.

¹⁷⁴ Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, p.359.

¹⁷⁵ *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, p.71; Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p.215.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.70.

¹⁷⁷ Letter to Ernest Hemmingway, 21 April 1931, in *The Letters of Sylvia Beach*, p.134.

¹⁷⁸ I will discuss the 'mob' shortly.

Joyce's letters to Giorgio (and Helen) from 1934-38 reveal at least two consistent themes: the narrowness of Irish-American cultural tastes, and a clear association of America with materialist concerns. First, briefly, the economic context of the Great Depression demands attention as the letters make repeated references to sales and currency exchange fluctuations, dire headlines, rates of pay, and other such indications of the global depression caused by the Wall Street Crash of 1929. The prospect of America as a land of opportunity on the one hand, and its 'breach' of that promise on the other, markedly inflect both the *Wake* and the tone of the 1934-38 correspondence with Giorgio and Helen. The Great Depression, of course, inflected the tone of much of the writing of the 1930s. Pound's 'Canto 46', for instance, is punctuated with the sort of dire headlines Joyce's letters allude to: 'FIVE million youths without jobs / FOUR million adult illiterates'.¹⁷⁹ In March 1935, Joyce writes to Giorgio and Helen to inform them that 'depressing stories reach me of the state of the national purse. Stephens says Universities which used to pay him 600 and 700\$ pay now only 15\$' (*LI* 360). The parlous national finances also affected Giorgio. Joyce writes to Harriet Shaw Weaver in May of 1935 to update her on Giorgio's progress, or lack thereof: 'And speaking about the bass voice in general and my son in particular he went over to America, we were told, for four months. He has been there now a year. [...] He has earned in all 35\$. This amount he could have got in any southern French town for one performance' (*LI* 365). Joyce also mentions a 'strange coincidence' in both their singing careers, after hearing that Giorgio too was 'left in the lurch' during a recital (which in James's case formed the basis of 'A Mother' in *Dubliners*): 'I too sang 'Down by the Sally Gardens' and I received exactly 10 dollars or 2 guineas, like you. By the way, that N.B.C. is Scotch! Because \$10 in Dublin in 1904 should be more than \$10 for you in New York in 1934' (*LIII* 340). Giorgio's poor pay was not the only concern. The rate of exchange also troubled Nora Joyce in particular. Joyce writes to Weaver in April 1934: 'My son and his family sail for U.S. on 19 prox. My wife is very wound up about it as she fears they may stay over there if the \$ falls to 12.5fr as is predicted here' (*LI* 340). The dollar's fluctuations also hit James's earnings, in particular after the US decision over *Ulysses*: 'A pity that when I win after 18 years' struggle the \$ drops 50%. Such is life' (*LIII* 317). Elsewhere: 'Ugh! 18 years of struggle, final victory and ... the dollar loses 50% of its value abroad' (*LIII* 318). This is all the more galling for Joyce as the sales of *Ulysses* in the US are 'remarkable': 'Up to April 15 33,000 copies [of *Ulysses*] had been sold'; 'I met my publisher from the U.S. [Bennett Cerf] here and he informed me that the sales now stand at 35,000' (*LI* 340); 'Yes, the sales of *U* in U.S.A. are remarkable. 33,000 in 10 weeks' (*LIII* 302-3). Economic matters did not obsess the Joyces after the Crash of 1929 as they did Pound, but their correspondence illustrates the extent to which both their careers had by the 1930s come largely to depend on an economically erratic American market with its own financial and cultural demands.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ 'XLVI', *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1996), p.235.

¹⁸⁰ For Pound's post-1929 obsessive interest in economics, see Leon Surette's 'Economics' in *Ezra Pound in Context*, ed. by Ira B. Nadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.112.

The gap between sales and earnings (more breached promises) prompts Joyce to mock the apparent trappings of wealth he sees in America, while also seeking to exploit them. With Helen's relatives in mind, Joyce refers in the letters to rich Jewish financiers and in one letter towards the end of November 1934 urges Giorgio to 'try some Jewish melomaniacs' to further his career. In the same letter, evidently addressing Helen, James writes: 'Please inform all your rich relatives about the date [of his birthday – over two months away]. Yes, that is a good idea. I am a little tired of wearing starched collars and I would like to try a diamond necklace' (*LIII* 329).¹⁸¹ In January 1935, another letter requests: 'Please ask all the Jews in America to get up a subscription for me as I am planning to enter the poorhouse on St. Patrick's day next' (*LIII* 342). Again addressing Helen, Joyce asks teasingly: 'Do you realise, dear daughter-in-law, how very difficult it is for a European to remember such an address as 1689 North West 866th Street, floor no.72, room 10,896? We do our poor old world best. But it is *awful* hard...' (*LI* 363). James clearly enjoyed mocking grandiose-sounding American addresses, writing in July of 1935: 'Ay, I note you have moved from Boost and Worstworld Avenue to Booth and Wildwold Avenue and that you will autumn in Bleak and Wetwind Avenue before wintering in Block and Woolworth Avenues. My address is 7 Rapp, Bosquet, Pont Deloge, Dominique and Valentin Avenues, Paris (R.7)' (*LIII* 369). In June of that year, another letter asks: 'I should like to know who keeps order in the servant's room. A redskin?' (*LIII* 363). However, amid this gentle mocking of wealth, more pressing issues arise and provoke stronger responses. In May, 1935, a letter to Weaver follows up on some bad news about Lucia's health: 'How it is all going to end I don't know. The news from America is also bad, though not of the same kind. Americans apparently can't even pay at present (they don't pay me anyway) so why dishonour oneself by going there' (*LI* 362). Later that month, James writes to Lucia, filling her in on more bad news from Giorgio and Helen in America: 'I had a letter from Helen. It seems that they all have their troubles. It is not their fault certainly but they have not found that lucky country that was their dream' (*LI* 364). From James's perspective at least, the 'American dream' has not transpired for Giorgio and Helen. Nor has it turned sales of *Ulysses* into equitable earnings for an author struggling to do his 'old world best'.

Before editions of the newly authorised Random House edition of *Ulysses* could even go on sale, however, Irish-American Catholics had done their 'new world best' to block them and confirm for their author an impression of unrelenting hostility. Following Judge Woolsey's decision in December 1933, a campaign to appeal the ruling was launched. Such campaigns against Joyce's works had been launched in America before and the protagonists would remain largely the same. In 1920, Joyce wrote to Carlo Linati: 'In America the review was suppressed four times. Now, as I hear, a great movement is being prepared against the publication on behalf of puritans, English imperialists, Irish republicans and Catholics – what an alliance! Golly, I deserve the Nobel Peace Prize' (*SL* 270).

¹⁸¹ A letter in March the following year, after his birthday, James writes to Giorgio and Helen: 'My cordial salutations to you both not forgetting the Society of Jewses (quip borrowed from *W.i.P.*)'. This Ellmann glosses as a 'reference [...] to Helen Joyce's Jewish relatives' (*LIII* 351).

That Joyce despaired of Irish-American Catholics in particular is again in evidence in another letter, this time to Weaver:

Soupault, who goes returns [*sic*] to U.S.A. in a month proposed to put the French consul-general of N.Y. on the track of the new Roth edition, it being a *contrefaçon* of a French printer's output just as a falsified French perfume would be and a meeting was arranged between him, Miss Monnier and Miss Beach Léon and myself. [...] Miss Monnier [...] read me a letter she had written to Paul Claudel, the ambassador, who is a lunatic catholic, she says, and intensely annoyed by *Ulysses* [...]. It is not an ambassador's job though a consul might effect a seizure of the copies. Possibly Claudel is a convert like Maritain and if so his protestant mentality would well suit an Irish catholic element over there which is of an even worse breed.¹⁸² (*SL* 359)

In these letters, Joyce presents the 'alliance' of 'lunatic catholic[s]' and 'puritans' of America as united in their hatred of *Ulysses* – a 'product of the gutter' as United States Attorney and prominent Irish American Martin Conboy put it – and they are again identified as allied against Woolsey's decision.¹⁸³ Joyce writes to Weaver in May 1934, the month the appeal was lodged, to warn her that 'the fat is in the fire again': 'By the way, my daughter in law had [Bennett] Cerf (Random House) to lunch on Saturday – he was here for half a day en route for half the world. Up to April 15 33,000 copies [of *Ulysses*] had been sold. He says the Irish catholic and puritan prohibitionists are furious. Hence the pressure on the U.S. govt. at the eleventh hour to enter an appeal' (*LI* 340). Martin Conboy led the appeal, reading twenty-five 'unchaste and lustful' excerpts to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. To help the judges presiding over the case, he also read 'definitions of obscenity from the *Standard Dictionary* and other lexicons'. 'This book', he said, 'is filthy, offensive to modesty, subversive to decency. Therefore it complies with all the definitions of obscenity which I have read'.¹⁸⁴ Conboy was a prominent Irish-American financial and political supporter of de Valera, and had also represented de Valera in court over the issue of Irish bonds.¹⁸⁵ He was a highly successful member of the 'Irish element over there' and a 'lunatic Catholic', in Joyce's terms. Conboy was president of the Catholic Club; director of the National Council of Catholic Men; counsel to the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice; chairman of the lobbying group, the 'Clean Books League' (appointed 1923); a Knight Commander of the Order of Gregory the Great (awarded by Pope Pius XI, who had made John McCormack a count in 1928); a Grand Officer of the Equestrian Order of the

¹⁸² Joyce appears to be indicting specifically Irish-American Catholicism as in some degree 'Protestantized'. This coincides with his exposure of the mid- to late nineteenth-century Protestantization of the Catholic Church in Ireland, as Andrew Gibson shows in *The Strong Spirit*, pp.162-64.

¹⁸³ For Conboy's opinion of that 'filthy, obscene book', see 'Fight on "Ulysses" Heard on Appeal', in the *New York Times*, 17 May 1934, p.21.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹⁸⁵ See F. M. Carroll, *Money for Ireland: Finance, Diplomacy, Politics, and the First Dáil Éireann Loans, 1919-1936* (London: Praeger, 2002), pp.17; 37-39; 50; 71. Also, Tim Pat Coogan, *De Valera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow* (London: Arrow Books, 1995), p.415.

Knights of the Holy Sepulchre; and a Knight of Malta.¹⁸⁶ Joseph Kelly argues that, following Conboy's performance in the appeal case at which the 'red-faced' attorney stammered over the dirty parts, the press generally made Conboy out to be a 'fool'.¹⁸⁷ Conboy may have been a 'fool' and a 'lunatic', but he was a powerful and influential one within Irish-American Catholic circles and he represents the sharp end of Irish-American lobbying and cultural influence in Ireland during the twenties and thirties.

Another letter to Carola Giedion-Welcker coinciding with Conboy's appeal rehashes the list of members of the anti-Joyce alliance: 'I met my publisher from the U.S. [Cerf] here and he informed me that the sales now stand at 35,000 but that my compatriot coreligionists and the puritan prohibitionists are infuriated and have compelled the state attorney to file an appeal at the eleventh hour' (*LIII* 302). Joyce doesn't blame Conboy directly, but writes again, this time to Frank Budgen, of 'the latest development due to pressure from my infuriated coreligionist compatriots and the puritan prohibitionists' (*LIII* 302-3). Some months after the appeal court upheld Woolsey's decision, Joyce again wrote to Weaver: 'All is quiet on the Western Front. In spite of the pressure of the puritan and Irish Catholic mob in the U.S. the Attorney General would not risk a third legal defeat in the Supreme Court' (*LI* 353). Ellmann's Joyce appears selfishly determined to have Giorgio return to Paris; these letters and the people – such as Conboy – they refer to, however, indicate very real concerns over the power and influence of the Irish-American Catholic constituency.

Prior to this, in March 1931, a fellow Dubliner had written a 'scathing *exposé* of Joyce's immorality', as Brenda Maddox describes it, in the American *Catholic World* magazine. Maddox continues:

The author, Michael Lennon, was a Dublin judge whose company Joyce had much enjoyed one evening in Paris. The two men had sat up talking until the small hours. When he left, Lennon had asked for and received a signed copy of *Ulysses*; he later wrote to inquire if his wife might call on the Joyces when passing through Paris. The pleasure of this meeting did nothing to blunt his pen.¹⁸⁸

Joyce wrote to Weaver to express his astonishment at this extraordinary betrayal of his confidence:

[...] there has appeared in the *Catholic World* (N.Y.) an article – leader – on me which Colum and his wife say is so vulgar and scurrilous that they will not show it to me. They are both indignant over it. Guess who the writer is. Michael Lennon who helped me so much in the Sullivan affair, who asked me for a signed copy of *Ulysses*, whom I invited

¹⁸⁶ Paul S. Boyer, *Purity in Print: Book Censorship in America from the Gilded Age to the Computer Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp.104; 422. For Conboy's attempts to censor films, see Laura Wittern-Keller, *Freedom of the Screen: Legal Challenges to State Film Censorship, 1915-1981* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), p.69. Conboy's obituary lists several of his titles: *New York Times*, 6 March 1944, p.19.

¹⁸⁷ Kelly, *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1998), p.132.

¹⁸⁸ Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce* (London: Hamilton, 1988), pp.351-52.

to Llandudno [in July or August 1930], whom I entertained with Hughes to dinner and talked with till 1 a.m., who afterwards wrote asking me if I would allow his wife to call on me on her way through Paris etc. *Pourquoi?* (LIII 235)

With friends like Lennon, Joyce had no need for enemies. Moreover, he directly blamed Lennon for harming Giorgio's career in America. In a letter to Herbert Gorman, who had sent Joyce proofs of his biography that Joyce suspected of having been influenced by Lennon's article in *Catholic World*, Joyce wrote (as dictated to Paul Léon): 'Mr Joyce is definitely of the opinion that his friends did him a singular disservice in not drawing his attention to this article [Lennon's] at the time; it was highly libellous and defamatory to both his father and to himself and in fact there is little doubt that the fact of its publication having gone without legal challenge had an extremely harmful effect on the artistic career of his son in the U.S.A'.¹⁸⁹ Joyce dictated changes to Gorman, informing him:

You could collect much more information from Mr. Ernst if he feels inclined to sanction its publication by you, about the extent of the campaign which was organised by the Irish and Catholic elements in America against the proposed repeal of the [*Ulysses*] ban. There can be little doubt that the defamatory article already alluded to in my letter by such a widely circulated review as the *Catholic World* written by Mr Michael Lennon of Dublin (at present a Dublin police magistrate) alleging that the author of *Ulysses* had amassed 'ample means' by breaking his parole to the Austrian government which had released him and his family and entering the British government propaganda service in Italy at a time when the British government was carrying on a war of its own against the nationalist forces in Ireland which culminated in the Easter Week rebellion had no small effect in forming the virulence of this campaign.¹⁹⁰

Joyce blamed Lennon's 'malignancy and treachery' (LI 311) for Irish-American hostility towards *Ulysses* and, as he perceived it, Giorgio. Joyce largely spares Giorgio and Helen the details of these unpleasant aspects of their collective dealings with Irish Americans, although is happy to report that 'Otto Khan told me the Irish element in U.S. counts for nothing culturally' (LIII 329). Rather, Joyce incorporates aspects of militant, Irish-American Catholicism into the *Wake* through Count John McCormack. The hostility of Irish-American Catholics towards Giorgio, as perceived by his father, would be reflected in the puritanical probity of crawl-thumping Shaun McCormack, blessing himself 'devotionally like a crawsbomb' (FW 424.18).

The March 1932 edition of *transition* contained an authorised 'translation' into Basic English of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' by C.K. Ogden, the inventor of the 'International Language of 850 words in which everything may be said'.¹⁹¹ The 'translation' covers a line in I.8 referring to Irish Americans;

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.724.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.726.

¹⁹¹ *transition*, March 1932, p.259.

that line in the final text is: ‘And all the Dunders de Dunnes in Markland’s Vineland beyond Brendan’s herring pool takes number nine in yangsee’s hats’ (*FW* 213.34-6). The earlier version Ogden worked with reads: ‘And all the Dunders de Dunnes in Markland’s Wineland, the other side of the water, take number nine in American hats’.¹⁹² Ogden, apparently with Joyce’s collaboration, ‘translated’ this as: ‘the American Irishman has a very high opinion of himself’.¹⁹³ That is, they have big heads. Some of Joyce’s letters to Giorgio bring him very close to this line and Otto Khan’s position on the American Irishman, particularly where it concerns music. In one letter to Constantine Curran about a memorial broadcast for A.E at which Giorgio sang, Joyce writes (partly in stage Irish): ‘They wanted him to sing “Believe me if all those endearing young charms” bedad they did so but sure bejapers he wouldn’t and begorra he wouldn’t sing that fine old memorial service melody “Doran’s Ass” for the boys and girls and they all listening and waiting with a tear and a smile’ (*LI* 379). Continuing in the same vein, Joyce wrote Weaver to complain that: ‘[Giorgio] sang twice there over the radio to the natives who love poor old Ireland and insist that, if he is to please them, he must forget all about the musical countries of Europe and croon to them about “Mother Machree” and “A Little Bit of Heaven”’. In the same letter, in which James claims that Giorgio could have earned the same money singing to a French audience, he adds that the latter: ‘however redolent of garlic, unlike the halfcastes in Covent Garden and the Metropolitan really does know the difference between a B and a bull’s foot. They insist that he is from Erin’s green isle and must sing that classical aria “Blatherskite”’ (*LI* 366). Joyce had previously written to Giorgio and Helen about ‘Blatherskite’ to explain: “‘Blatherskite’ [...] is not Irish at all but Scotch American. [...] In Ireland the word is “blatherumskite”. [...] I suppose the “Blatherskite” is that tawdry thing supposed to be “to an ould ancient air of ould Ireland” after all, about women and kissing. O dear!’ (*LIII* 347). In other letters, Joyce roundly dismisses Irish-American musical taste: ‘The Irish in America probably know more about the hindquarters of a hunter than they do about the thorax of a singer’ (*LI* 357). In a letter from late 1935 Joyce claims ‘whyever two elegant people like you and my daughter-in-law persist in wanting to enter the palace of song by the service stairs is not altogether clear to me’ (*LIII* 379-80). Another letter puts it more bluntly: It does not greatly surprise me to hear that America causes Giorgio to vomit’ (*LI* 360).

Evidently, Joyce’s opinion of Irish Americans was strongly coloured by Giorgio’s experience in the US from 1934-38. Indeed, as Landuyt points out, overt references to McCormack – his name and songs he made famous, for instance – only entered the text as additions to the *transition* proofs for the final version of the text during the thirties.¹⁹⁴ This shows Joyce directly reacting to Giorgio’s treatment. However, as Ogden’s ‘translation’ illustrates, Joyce already thought of Irish Americans as ‘big headed’ before Giorgio was forced to sing ‘an ould ancient air of ould Ireland’ to the ‘natives

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.260.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.260; McHugh, *Annotations*, p.213.

¹⁹⁴ Landuyt, ‘Shaun MacCormack’, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 1 (Spring 2001).

who love poor old Ireland'. The events of 1934-38 simply led to a heightening of the 'tear and a smile' and 'Mother Machree' element of Irish-American culture in the *Wake* through the crass Irish American, 'Shaun McCormack'. With this in mind, it raises the question as to why Joyce would decide – much earlier – to give Irish America such a prominence through Shaun and HCE, as well as the Boston Letter. On the one hand, as this chapter has argued, the *Wake* is integrally concerned with the cultures of exile and emigration from Ireland – the topical memory of emigration. Its very title alludes to the significance of this phenomenon for Joyce, who was of course an emigrant himself. On the other hand, it also shows that for Joyce in the 1920s and 30s inscribing the history of 'this country of exile' (FW 098.05) into the *Wake* also meant having to address the role of the US in Irish affairs. For a work as self-reflexive as the *Wake*, this would also mean having to address the role of America in Joyce's own writing. Joyce's incorporation of his American reception in the *Wake* is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

‘mespilt reception’:

Joyce’s American Reception in *Finnegans Wake*

‘Give us your mespilt reception, will you?’

FW 535.24

In 1951, a special Joyce edition of the Irish periodical *Envoy* was published. The one-off Joyce edition was guest-edited by Flann O'Brien, and his contribution, entitled 'A Bash in the Tunnel', lent its name to a later volume published in 1970, which was edited by John Ryan and included several additional essays, poems, and extracts. 'The pervasive temper of the special issue', as Bruce Stewart argues in an essay on the Irish response to the 1967 James Joyce International Symposium in Dublin, 'is exemplified by Denis Johnston's "Short View of the Progress of Joyceanity"', which 'is ultimately less concerned with the character of Joyce's writings than with the fact that American students are being led to regard him as a literary evangel'.¹ Johnston observed that while 'almost all literate North America' has a 'genuine regard for every syllable of our bad boy from Belvedere', '[n]owadays, scholars and critics have gone one better than lawyers in this trick of turning their job into a mystery by a powerful use of hard words'.² Both the 1951 *Envoy* and the 1970 *A Bash in the Tunnel* include numerous instances of such critic bashing, with the majority of it aimed at the 'mad commentators' from the US, to borrow Patrick Kavanagh's epithet. Kavanagh's own poetic contribution to the special issue begins:

Who killed James Joyce?
I, said the commentator,
I killed James Joyce
For my graduation.

What weapon was used
To slay mighty *Ulysses*?
The weapon that was used
Was a Harvard thesis.

And later:

Who killed Finnegan?
I, said a Yale-man,
I was the man who made
The corpse for the wake man.³

And so on. O'Brien claimed that Joyce had been invented by Americans, but here Kavanagh's Harvard-Yale tag-team seem hell-bent on destruction.

The *Envoy* circle was responding to the particular historical conditions of post-war Ireland and Europe, which saw American presence after 1945 massively boosted as part of the 'cultural Cold

¹ Stewart, 'Another Bash in the Tunnel: James Joyce, the *Envoy*, and Irish Critical Reception', in *Ireland and Transatlantic Poetics*, p.59.

² *A Bash in the Tunnel: James Joyce by the Irish*, ed. by John Ryan (Brighton: Clifton Books, 1970), p.163.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.51-52.

War', often perceived as the 'Americanisation' of Europe.⁴ This chapter, however, focuses on how 'our bad boy from Belvedere' himself viewed the forerunners to the Cold War Yale man and the Harvard-thesis wielding graduate. It argues that Joyce's final work prominently addresses and incorporates key aspects of his American reception: the financial clout of the American market; the cultural clout of American critics, notably Pound; the piratical clout of American publishers; as well as the question (preoccupying the *Envoy* writers) of the increasingly central role of America and Americans in the interpretation of Joyce. Bernard Benstock has credited Edmund Wilson and Harry Levin with initiating the 'Americanisation of Joyce studies', but this chapter argues that Joyce's writings from the earliest stages of *Work in Progress* are already engaged with the issues this putative process engenders: Joyce saw the 'handwriting on his facewall' (*FW* 135.15-6), so to speak.⁵ The numerous allusions in the *Wake* to America's trials, pirates, publishers, impresarios, editors, agents and expats suggest not merely an awareness of a trend, but that research into the beginnings of that phenomenon may be fruitfully pushed back to at least the early 1920s, when Joyce began *Work in Progress*. The period 1924-26 saw, according to David Hayman, a reconceptualisation of Books I and II according to the principles developed over the course of this two-year phase. In the previous chapter, it was argued that important conceptual notes referring to Irish America first appear between mid-late 1923 and early-mid 1924, and again in 1926. Hayman describes Joyce '[taking] stock of his progress' in March 1926 after all ten of the early chapters were completed, revised and typed by this time. These early compositional stages also saw the development of the Boston Letter, which connects America to reception as well as indicating a significant new point of departure in Joyce's relationship with the New World. The central motif of the Boston Letter (both an emigrant's letter and synecdochally the *Wake* itself) and its importance from an early stage, its focus on source and destination as metaphors for reading and dissemination, give American readers a significant, if ambiguous, prominence in the *Wake*, one not seen in the earlier writings.

Joyce's career-long preoccupation with audience and reception (as persuasively argued by John Nash⁶) is heightened through a process of what David Lloyd describes as 'a perception of self-estrangement', a process (not unique to Ireland but common to post-colonial cultures) of 'being perceived and perceiving through alien media'. Lloyd argues that 'Irish intellectual life is, for better or worse, profoundly marked by metropolitan circuits of theory, and in particular by English and American influences, as we apprehend our own productions refracted through international prisms'. Lloyd is here reflecting on his own work, but as he goes on to point out, this 'self-estrangement' goes back to and can be found in Joyce's image of the 'cracked lookingglass of the servant'.⁷ Before the

⁴ See for instance Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Vintage, 2010), p.230. Of course, this process has a much longer history; see for instance Joyce's 1906 reference to the 'Americanisation' of Europe.

⁵ Introduction to *Critical Essays on James Joyce*, ed. by Bernard Benstock (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1985), p.6.

⁶ Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception*, passim.

⁷ Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, pp.1-2.

Wake, the alien media that most concerned Joyce were evidently English, and the *Wake* continues this concern. But it also manifestly registers the weakening of the English connection and Joyce's apprehension of his work being 'refracted through international prisms' with a strong American character: journals such as *transition* or the *Little Review*; publishers such as Shakespeare & Co., or Black Sun Press; and editors such as Ezra Pound; patrons such as John Quinn; critics such as Edmund Wilson or Joseph Collins. Joyce's concern with interrogating the forms of reception in his present – a key point for Nash⁸ – means that America is given a prominence duly commensurate with its role in Joyce's reception in the 1920s and 30s.

Un-American Activities: Joyce's US Reception in I.5

On 25 March 1936, Samuel Beckett wrote to Thomas McGreevy regarding a recent offer from the United States: 'Mary née Manning, touting for Houghton Mifflin, writes for more copies of my works, and urges me to put in for lectures at Harvard, where her father-in-law is a mugwump. *Je n'en ferai rien*'.⁹ Beckett does indeed ignore the offer. However, in his next letter to McGreevy, he offers to put his friend forward for the possible position by grace of Manning Howe's mugwump-in-law: 'I shall certainly suggest you for Harvard. All one needs apparently is a chit from Joyce, whom the proudest in Mass. adore'.¹⁰ Beckett's sense of Joyce's standing in Massachusetts is revealing as Beckett was – in 1936 – still familiar with the Joyce circle in Paris, having become temporarily *persona non grata* in the Joyce household over his behaviour towards Lucia.¹¹ Following up on his suggestion to McGreevy, Beckett, on 7 May 1936, wrote: 'I had a line from Mary Manning this morning in which she says that she is writing to you and will speak to Howe *père*. With a little management the job should come off. Would you object to asking Joyce for a chit? It appears they adore him at Harvard'.¹² As the editors of Beckett's letters point out, from 1933 to 1935 there were three senior honours theses on Joyce written by Kavanagh's homicidal Harvard students, and a humorous piece in *The Harvard Crimson* notes that 'The Harvard Man', among other things, 'knows his James Joyce'.¹³ One can push this Harvard connection further. In the 1940s, Harvard provided the setting for pioneering works on Joyce by Harry Levin and Joseph Prescott, with the former's 1941 *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* credited by Geert Lernout with both 'making Joyce academically respectable' and, along with Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle* in 1932, inaugurating the academic 'shift away from Paris to the United States, where

⁸ Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception*, p.6.

⁹ *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, Volume I: 1929-1940*, ed. by Martha Dow Fehsenfeld, Lois More Overbeck, George Craig and Dan Gunn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.324.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.326.

¹¹ See Maddox, *Nora*, p.337; James Knowlson, *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), p.159.

¹² *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, Volume I*, p.333.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.335.

the centre of the Joyce industry has remained ever since'.¹⁴ Furthermore, as Joseph Brooker points out, Jacques Derrida's 'first sustained encounter with Joyce took place not in Paris but in Harvard in the 1950s'.¹⁵ Given Beckett's remarks to McGreevy and the early indications of the subsequent role Harvard would play in establishing Joyce's pre-eminent place in academia, it seems likely that Joyce would have been aware of the reputation he was garnering in Massachusetts. Maria Jolas even recalled fan mail arriving for Joyce from a Harvard student in praise of *Ulysses*.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the *Wake* records a very different quality of message coming from Massachusetts. In III.3, Yawn's interrogator replies somewhat pompously: 'My dear Sir! In this wireless age any owl rooster can peck up bostoons' (FW 489.36-490.01). Boston here is phonetically merged with the Hiberno-English term 'bastún', meaning something like an uncultured lout. Joyce may have been adored by the proudest in Massachusetts, but the *Wake* – a 'chit from Joyce' to the 'proudest in Mass.' – suggests at this point that the feeling was not entirely mutual.

And yet, Boston features prominently in *Finnegans Wake*, particularly in I.5 – the so-called 'Letter Chapter'. Here we learn that ALP's 'mamafesta' exonerating HCE 'originat[ed] by transhipt from Boston (Mass.)' (FW 111.08-10). The 'goodish-sized sheet of letterpaper' (FW 111.08-9), dug up from 'that fatal midden' (FW 110.25) by the hen 'Belinda of the Dorans' (FW 111.05), ends with a 'teastain' signature, marking it out as both an allusion to the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution, as well as 'mark[ing] it off on the spout of the moment as a genuine relique of ancient Irish pleasant pottery of that lydialike languishing class known as a hurry-me-o'er-the-hazy' (FW 111.21-4). If we go back through the drafts for this passage, we find Joyce originally had the letter 'known as a hurry-me-o'er-the-hazy' as a letter 'known as a hurry-me-off-from-Queenstown'.¹⁷ The port of Queenstown, whose name by this time (1924) had been changed back to Cobh, had been the primary point of departure for Irish emigrants going to North America since around 1867. Although Joyce will go on to obscure this connection when making revisions for *transition* 5 in 1927, the tie between Boston and Queenstown is part of a systematic inscription of communication networks between Ireland and America throughout the *Wake*. Despite Joyce's deliberate muddying of the transatlantic waters, we find references to Boston and (more so) letters right the way through the text. Such references include: 'boaston nightgarters and masses' (FW 011.22); 'epistolear' (FW 038.23); 'radiooscillating epiepistle' (FW 108.24); 'oldworld epistola' (FW 117.27); 'farced epistol' (FW 228.33); 'Ask for bosthoon, late for Mass' (FW 301.05); 'shoving off a boastonmess' (FW 364.35); 'Wait till we hear the Boy of Biskop reeling around your postoral lector! Epistlemadethemology for deep dorfy doubtlings' (FW 374.16-374.18); 'trancedone boyscript' (FW 374.03-4); 'the Transton

¹⁴ Geert Lernout, *The French Joyce* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p.22. For Joseph Prescott, see Dirk Van Hulle, 'Genetic Joyce Criticism', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.116.

¹⁵ Brooker, *Joyce's Critics*, p.149.

¹⁶ See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.709.

¹⁷ *JJA* 46, p.327.

Postscript' (FW 393.31); 'Geity's Pantokreator with my fleshfettered palms on the epizzles' (FW 411.15); 'Sender. Boston' (FW 421.10); 'post as from Boston transcribed' (FW 617.23); 'Rased on traumscrip from Maston, Boss.' (FW 623.36). Moreover, the hen's night-time companion – the 'owl rooster' who 'can peck up bostoons' – is not simply a throw-away insult. The 'owl rooster' refers us back to another 'ould' rooster in a highly significant passage in II.4; King Mark, representing the Old World, is the 'old conk', or cock, to Tristan's 'new world [...] yunk' (FW 387.36-388.01). Thus, to 'peck up' messages from Boston links this passage to one of the *Wake's* most important thematic elements: the Boston Letter, described in II.4 by Yawn's interrogator as '[t]hat letter self-penned to one's other' (FW 489.33-4).¹⁸ Yawn's 'other' here is Shem – 'my shemblable! My freer! (FW 489.28) – who is 'sender of the Hullo Eve Cenograph in prose' (FW 488.23-4), linking him to the authorship of the chit from Boston. Shem, we're told by Yawn, is his 'namesick, as we sayed it in our Amharican' (FW 489.20-1). This strengthens the connection between the Letter, its deliverer, who 'never dramped of prebeing a postman' (FW 488.18), and the New World.

Another family namesake invoked here, HCE, is also alleged to have a self-identical 'other', a 'dablinganger' – signalling, among other things, that Dublin, Georgia (doblin.ga(nger) - Dublin, Ga.) is again present in the narrative. Indeed, transatlantic signalling and doubling (from one Dublin to another) is a recurring theme in the *Wake* and frequently involves a play on Joyce's own transmission of his word/writing, which itself is a prominent motif in the highly self-reflexive I.5. Finn Fordham notes a Joycean self-reference in the mourner's words to HCE/Tim Finnegan, 'where was your like to lay the cable [...]?': 'Laying the cable could easily refer to attempts at establishing telegraphic communication lines between America and Europe in the nineteenth century, especially as this involved a connection that joined specifically Ireland and America. Under the waves, joining separate parts of the world, they produce an instance of "Doublends Jined"'. Transatlantic communication in the *Wake* thus takes on a specific metaphorical role of 'unifying disparate parts: Joyce's own composition process engaged in this practice of linking up the disparate'.¹⁹ The Letter chapter is by far the most self-reflexive of all the *Wake's* chapters, with myriad allusions to Joyce's own writing process. That a letter from the New World should play a central part in this is a significant innovation with important ramifications for a consideration of Joyce's incorporation of his American reception into the *Wake*. Why this emphasis on Boston and the New World? Yawn's interrogator, shortly after referring to the bastúns from Boston, asks: 'His producers are they not his consumers?' (FW 497.01-2). The production and consumption of the written word is central to the *Wake's* meaning – the 'variable processes of writing, transmission, and reception' that impinge on determining authorial

¹⁸ For an early but influential discussion of the source for the Boston Letter, see Adaline Glasheen, "'Finnegans Wake" and the Girls from Boston, Mass', in *The Hudson Review*, vol.7, no.1 (Spring, 1954), pp.89-96. Here, Glasheen identifies Morton Prince's *The Dissociation of a Personality* (Boston 1905, 1908) as a source for Issy's multiple personalities. Glasheen argues persuasively for the contextual relevance of Prince's work for the *Wake's* final text, though my own argument presupposes that Boston in the *Wake* takes on a meaning that can be divorced from the Boston in the source.

¹⁹ Fordham, "'The End"; "Zee End": Chapter I.1', in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, p.467.

intention²⁰ - and it is in this sense that the 'post as from Boston transcribed' (FW 617.23) can be read as Joyce 'addressing' the material circumstances of his exponentially increasing engagement with the United States and that country's production and consumption of his works.

The dominant critical position on the role of the Boston Letter in *Finnegans Wake* has coalesced around the idea that while it is purportedly a letter from ALP exonerating HCE, it is also a synecdoche for writing in general, or the *Wake* in particular. The Letter 'represents all literature', William York Tindall argues, 'especially *Finnegans Wake*'.²¹ James S. Atherton argues that the Letter 'stands as a symbol for all attempts at written communication including all other letters, all the world's literature, *The Book of Kells*, all manuscripts, all the sacred books of the world, and also *Finnegans Wake* itself'.²² For Geert Lernout, the text 'in one way at least' is the Bible.²³ Hayman argues that Joyce, shortly after writing the first draft of the Letter, 'concerned himself with the question of transcription and transmission, which ultimately became the far larger problem of aesthetic generation and the fate of the Word'.²⁴ That is, the author-like figure of Shem the Penman is introduced, thus establishing what Mikio Fuse describes as the 'double authorship' of the letter, which 'is so dark an enigma that it was left unsolved in this chapter and remains ambiguous throughout the *Wake*'.²⁵ Fuse also cites an early formational period, 1923-25, as the point at which the 'Letter plot' was developed to 'emphasize the essential identity of the Letter as Every-letter and as No-letter (synecdochally the *Wake*)'.²⁶ The symbolic *all-and-nothing-ness* of the Letter is restated later in the same essay: '[...] the Letter achieves a Gargantuan assimilation of all letters – natural or artificial, international or regional. [...] Thus the Letter – synecdochally the *Wake* – becomes the most typical exemplar of human language'.²⁷ For Milesi, the radical absence of a clearly identifiable author and addressee is a fundamental part of Joyce's writing process as embodied in the Letter, a 'tantalising small-scale replica of the *Wake*'.²⁸ Both source and destination are left unclear as part of Joyce's efforts to frustrate any quest for unique origins: 'Source and destination as well as the genetic origin itself of the document are therefore of paramount importance and a proper elucidation of these is indissociable not only from the questers' attempts to pin meaning and message down and establish the truth about the mysterious Phoenix Park events but also from the reader/interpreter's efforts to retrieve the process of metaphoric derivation

²⁰ Vicky Mahaffey, 'Intentional Error: The Paradox of Editing Joyce's *Ulysses*', in *James Joyce's 'Ulysses': A Casebook*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.243.

²¹ William York Tindall, *A Reader's Guide to Finnegans Wake* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p.98.

²² James S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake: A Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's Finnegans Wake* (London: Feffer & Simons, 1974), p.62.

²³ Lernout, *Help My Unbelief*, p.197.

²⁴ Hayman, *The 'Wake' in Transit* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.175-76.

²⁵ Mikio Fuse, 'The Letter and the Groaning: Chapter I.5', in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, p.117.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.100.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.120.

²⁸ Milesi, 'Metaphors of the Quest in *Finnegans Wake*', in *Finnegans Wake: Fifty Years*, ed. by Geert Lernout (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), p.89.

the quest has been made to undergo from its earliest stages'.²⁹ Thus, the failure to discover a unique origin for the Letter is inscribed into the genetic process itself, according to Milesi.³⁰ Nevertheless, the letter's origin in Boston was in place from the earliest stages. As Fuse notes, 'the manuscript evidence of I.5 demonstrates how the whole chapter was composed so as to imply the identity and sameness of the Letter'.³¹ Despite the uncertainty surrounding its authorship, it is undoubtedly an American letter. If the Boston Letter is indeed a synecdoche for the *Wake*, then the production and consumption of Joyce's final work is signalled in the text to be markedly connected to America.

The decision to have the Letter originate in Boston was made at a very early stage in the composition of *Work in Progress* and was sustained throughout, evidence that the New World and networks of transatlantic communication had a formative role in what would become *Finnegans Wake*. The first reference to a Boston Letter occurs in the so-called *Scribbledehobble* notebook, compiled mostly in 1922-4.³² This notebook acted as a bridge of sorts between Joyce's earlier work and the new one in progress. In *Scribbledehobble*, Joyce 'used the frame of his earlier works to sort materials he was going to use in his new book'.³³ It is thus that we find the reference to the letter under the heading 'Exiles (I.)': 'On the N.E. slope of the dunghill the slanteyed hen of the Grogans scrutinized a clayed p.c. from Boston (Mass) of the 12th of the 4th to dearest Elly from her loving sister with 4 ½ kisses'.³⁴ The relative clarity of the embryonic set of relations sketched out here would soon be deliberately obscured by Joyce, in particular the identities of sender and addressee (Elly and her loving sister). Indeed, the obscuring, or replacing, of the epistolary signature appears in the final text to be achieved through the aforementioned 'teastain' (*FW* 111.20), although the reader is soon cautioned about interpreting this mark: 'whether it be thumbprint, mademark or just a poor trait of the artless, its importance in establishing the identities in the writer complexus (for if the hand was one, the minds of active and agitated were more than so) will be best appreciated by never forgetting that both before and after the battle of the Boyne it was a habit not to sign letters always' (*FW* 114.31-115.01). Such caveats aside, the first draft of the Letter was written in December 1923, and as Dirk Van Hulle points out, its composition was preceded by that of a 'protodraft of its signature and conclusion'.³⁵ That is, Joyce wrote the end of the letter before the beginning. This, Van Hulle argues, 'suggests a special interest in the signature and the question of authorship',³⁶ which in turn suggests a concern over the question of *being authored*; that is, an awareness of writing being 'refracted through international prisms'. The question of the Letter's authorship becomes disputatious to the point whereby the final

²⁹ Ibid., pp.89-90.

³⁰ Ibid., p.102.

³¹ Fuse, 'The Letter and the Groaning: Chapter I.5', p.101.

³² Hayman, *A First-Draft Version of Finnegans Wake*, p.17.

³³ Lernout, 'The *Finnegans Wake* Notebooks and Radical Philology', in *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce*, pp.19-48.

³⁴ Connolly, *Scribbledehobble*, p.75.

³⁵ Dirk Van Hulle, 'The Lost Word: Book IV', in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, pp.447-48.

³⁶ Ibid., p.448.

text warns against ‘idle dubiousity as to its genuine authorship and holusbolus authoritativeness’ (*FW* 118.03-4). As with the reference to Queenstown, Joyce arranges it so that the Letter cannot be reduced simply to an emigrant’s letter, say, and is instead enmeshed in wider concerns about interpretation and, ultimately, reception. I.5 subverts the ‘authoritativeness’ of the exegetical voice: the voice, say, of Oliver Wendell Holmes’ ‘grave Brofèsor; àth é’s Brèak – fast – table’ (*FW* 124.09-10). The reader, presented with the ‘more or less intermisunderstanding minds’ (*FW* 188.25) of the exegetes, is in danger of becoming a ‘bafflelost bull’ (*FW* 118.07), a baffled, lost Buffalo Bill with a ‘roughshod mind’ (*FW* 118.06-7). As Laurent Milesi has noted, the entry regarding the letter in *Scribbledehobble* ‘deals with discovery, sender and addressee’.³⁷ Sender and addressee are soon detached from the conceptual beginnings, but the ‘slanteyed hen’ for the most part remains ‘that original hen’ (*FW* 110.22), as does her scrutiny of a letter from Boston. The particular focus on Boston set important conceptual preconditions for how the novel would evolve with the vital conceit of a transatlantic transmission at its foundational centre. From the earliest stages, the letter is explicitly connected with the new world, and as readers we are encouraged to ‘take our slant at it’ (*FW* 113.31).³⁸ This is particularly important for a consideration of Joyce’s engagement with America and his American readers because, as David Hayman argues, ‘the composition and history of the Letter inspired and even dictated the shape of chapters to come’.³⁹ The literal and figurative transatlantic correspondence established from the outset paves the way for the later, more focused incorporation of Joyce’s American reception.

Further evidence of the importance of Boston and transatlantic communication can be found in the same *Scribbledehobble* notebook. As Hayman points out, in a full-page entry dating from the autumn of 1924 Joyce ‘described chapter I.5 [the Letter chapter] as a three-part sequence beginning with “△ [ALP] writes petition”, followed by “Hen finds Boston Letter”, and concluding with “Collaboration on MS”’. Later still, in two entries under the heading ‘Circe’ and through a process Milesi describes as ‘crossbreeding’ and ‘parallel composition’, the new world provenance of the letter is again evident:

Masjedsty, p.87
 arabicised, foot
 -I wrote letter, put
 letter together Maggdsty
 softnosed, O do
 psycho or unes,
fornix, jerry
 (VI.A.753; *JJA* 28:171)

³⁷ Laurent Milesi, ‘Metaphors of the Quest in *Finnegans Wake*’, p.90.

³⁸ This Americanism (‘to take a slant’) is noted by Joyce in 1924: VI.B.6.035 (n).

³⁹ Hayman, *The ‘Wake’ in Transit*, p.197.

Boston (Mass), 1st. last,
 dear (gap) Maggy, many
 asleeps between ourworld
 and the new, someathome
 & more in ausland hate turns
 MilkMike general,
 born gent, present of cakes,
 waiting Kate thank you,
 funeral, unto life's dinna
 forget, hopes soon to hear.
 close, fondest to the twin
 underlings,
 (VI.A.754; JJA 28:172)⁴⁰

The final text retains many of these nascent features, including the suggestion of a wider gesture towards Australia: 'and dinna forget, that there is many asleeps between someathome's first and moreinausland last's' (FW 116.20-1). Similar allusions to New Zealand – 'Now Sealand' (FW 111.01) or 'Old Zealand' (FW 171.02) – underline the *Wake*'s critical concern with the Irish diaspora, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, 'ausland' here is also a Germanic *Ausland* (outland, foreign countries) and the final text reiterates and more fully develops throughout the embryonic emphasis in *Scribbledehobble* on the letter from 'outland' Boston, Massachusetts. Enjoiners to keep in touch – 'wrote letter'; 'waiting'; 'dinna forget'; 'hopes soon to hear'; 'fondest to the twin underlings' – underline Boston's significance as thus connected to the letter and wider thematic concerns with Old/New World relations ('between ourworld and the new'). The Old World morphs into 'ourworld' in the entries in *Scribbledehobble* under 'Circe', perhaps a reflection of a Circean dream-phantasmagoria in which an 'oldworld epistola' (FW 117.27) of the night (while there are 'many asleeps') might well be described as a 'traumscraft' (FW 623.36). The distance between 'ourworld and the new' is the distance, then, between waking and sleep, and the distance between life and death (hence perhaps 'funeral' in the notes). The Boston Letter is, moreover, a form of night-time correspondence between two worlds (old/new, living/dead), such as is signalled in the children's decidedly creepy Nightletter at the close of II.2:

With our best youlldied greedings to Pep
 and Memmy and the old folkers below and
 beyant, wishing them all very merry Incarnations
 in this land of the livvey and plenty
 of preprosperousness through their coming
 new yonks (FW 308.20-2)

⁴⁰ Milesi, 'Metaphors of the Quest in *Finnegans Wake*', pp.91-92.

Specifically, a nightletter is ‘a cheap-rate *overseas* telegram delivered *overnight*’ (*OED*, my emphasis), and it is also a juvenile form of the Boston Letter. Here, the historical dynamic of the New World superseding the Old is figured through technological advancement, telegrams replacing letters. The point to emphasise here, though, is that the *Wake* points to an expanded concept of audience and readership, and in particular an American audience, through the figurative use of transatlantic correspondence.

We can thus say that the Boston Letter functions at least in part as a figure for the material conditions of the reception of Joyce’s work in the early 1920s. It represents the vastly increased involvement of New World Americans in the production and consumption of Joyce’s Old World works in the figurative form of the Boston Letter’s delivery, discovery, scrutiny: its production and consumption. The early notes indicate that the Letter’s discovery is connected to the ‘discovery’ of America – or the ‘undiscovery of americle’ (326.31) – and the legend of Tristan and Isolde. As the reader observes on the first page of the finished *Wake*, Tristan hails from ‘North Armorica’ (*FW* 003.05). This important details can be traced back in part to notes in (again) the ‘Exiles’ subsection of *Scribbledehobble*, where vitally important Tristan and Isolde material is gathered. Hayman has argued for the centrality of the Tristan and Isolde material to Joyce’s early conception of the *Wake*, suggesting that, although it is impossible to know for sure, it may have at one point occupied a structural role in the composition process analogous to that of the *Odyssey* in *Ulysses*. Hayman adds: ‘It is certain, however, that he continued to use Tristan as *the* central model even after he had discovered and begun to develop the family romance’.⁴¹ The relevant notes relating to this pre-eminent model read thus:

Mark & Trist change characters : Trist & Is change clothes : kiss encored : [...] price 2 rivulets T sends leaves to Is (cf Columbus & Brendan) : T good butcher, horse queer show, country of old (young) : Ir & Amer : Mark gets anon letter : Tristan (Swift) : [...] mon ami : Rich & Rob change : King Gorman Corigan : Mark (56) bon roi : Armorican (American) : [...]

This farcical sequence pulls back the covers on the embedded *Wakean* allusion to North America on the opening page (and elsewhere). It makes explicit what is implicit in the final text, and reveals both a structural paring of Ireland and America, as well as the significance of communication between the two: ‘sends leaves to’; ‘gets anon letter’; greetings and farewells (‘mon ami’, ‘kiss encored’). Tristan’s ‘leaves’ to Isolde are cross-referenced with the competing claims of Columbus and Brendan to have first discovered America.⁴² If anyone could claim to have discovered Joyce, it would probably

⁴¹ Hayman, *The ‘Wake’ in Transit*, p.58.

⁴² In ‘The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran’, Joyce wrote: ‘Christopher Columbus, as everyone knows, is venerated by posterity because he was the last to discover America’ (*OCPW* 203).

be the American, Ezra Pound, who is also referenced in the 'Exiles' subsection of *Scribbledehobble* and elsewhere.⁴³

The pairing of 'Rich[ard Rowan] & Rob[ert Hand]' is a reminder that Joyce is still working through material from *Exiles*. In a note explaining the play's title, Joyce wrote: '*Exiles* – also because at the end either Robert or Richard must go into exile – perhaps the new Ireland cannot contain both. Robert will go. But her thoughts will they follow him into exile as those of her sister-in-love Isolde follow Tristan'.⁴⁴ Once again, the question of communication, 'however basically English' (*FW* 116.26), is paramount. Bertha/Isolde's thoughts following Robert/Tristan in exile is a mode of address and reception repeated across the *Wake*, such as when Jaun (Tristan/Robert), speaking to 'Sis dearest' (Isolde/Bertha, *FW* 448.34), hears 'the wireless harps of sweet old Aerial and the mails across the nightrives (peepet! peepet!)' (*FW* 449.29-30).⁴⁵ These 'open tireless secrets' (*FW* 407.21) are also a mode of address that 'any owl rooster [Mark/Richard] can peck up'. As such, the danger of miscommunication and misinterpretation 'stalks all over the page' (*FW* 121.02-3). Although necessarily diffuse at the developmental stages, the Boston Letter and Joyce's preoccupation with the material conditions of reception are thus strongly tied to networks of communication across New and Old Worlds via new and old media. As the *Scribbledehobble* notes, the Letter chapter and the Nightletter show, both early- and final-text expressions of a foundational thematic concern with questions of audience/reception and New/Old worlds are to a considerable degree concerned with (mis)communication across fundamentally opposed worlds, which are nevertheless joined like Old and New World Dublins.

'only an amirican': Joyce's American Audience in the *Wake*

In 1938, when making revisions to the galley proofs for I.6, Joyce inserted the line: 'the cabalstone at the coping of his cavin is a canine constant but only an amirican could appproxemete the apeupresiosity of his atlast's alongement' (*FW* 132.01-4).⁴⁶ Parsing 'amirican' as 'American', this late addition clearly fits in with a strong American element already present in the Q&A section on HCE as Finn MacCool in this chapter (*FW* 126.01-139.14). This approximating American sits alongside several allusions to America itself (*FW* 130.28; 133.02; 135.33), New York (*FW* 137.32; 139.06), Mark Twain (*FW* 132.36, 137.12), Tammany Hall (*FW* 131.08), Pike County (*FW* 134.15-6), American money (*FW* 138.15), and so on. It also approximates a position held by William Carlos

⁴³ Connolly, *Scribbledehobble*, p. 81; 96.

⁴⁴ Joyce, *Poems and Exiles*, p.351.

⁴⁵ A notebook entry from 1924 – 'wireless harp' (VI.B.16.017(f)) – was apparently inspired by a report in the *Irish Times* about a scheme to erect an aerial in the shape of a giant harp over the military barracks in Athlone to broadcast music and government messages.

⁴⁶ *JJA* 50, pp.176-77.

Williams in 'A Point for American Criticism', his contribution to *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*. There, Williams makes the case for an ideal American reader who can approximate/appreciate ('apparoxemete the apeupresiosity') Joyce's work. 'A Point for American Criticism' makes this case through an attack on Rebecca West, who 'cannot take Joyce, as a whole, into the body of English literature for fear of the destructive force of such an act'. West's criticism of Joyce is 'to an American just the English viewpoint, an old basis, without further capacity for extension and nearly ready to be discarded forever'.⁴⁷ Williams is adamant that 'English criticism cannot tolerate' Joyce.⁴⁸ Moreover, West's views 'seem incompatible with American appreciation'; they are 'typically British and should be detected as such from the American view, a criticism not quite legitimate, save for England where it may be proper due to national exigencies like the dementia of Wyndham Lewis'.⁴⁹ Williams' point is that 'this is the opportunity of America! To see large, larger than England can', and adds:

An appearance of synchronicity between American and English literature has made it seem, especially at certain times, as if English criticism could overlay the American strain as it does the English. This cannot be so. The differences are epochal. Every time American strength goes into a mould modelled after the English, it is wholly wasted. There is an American criticism that applies to American literature – all too unformed to speak of positively. This American thing it is that would better fit the Irish of Joyce.⁵⁰

Williams concludes that West is 'a product of English literature' and thus, of Joyce's true significance, 'she knows nothing. America, offering an undeveloped but wider criticism, will take this opportunity to place an appreciation of Joyce on its proper basis'.⁵¹ Unfortunately for Williams, at no point does the *Wake* support his claim that 'only an amirican' has the right 'fit' for Joyce's writing. Indeed, as the final text and genetic evidence show in the case of the Boston Letter, Joyce deliberately worked to undermine the organic connection between sender and addressee, writer and reader, making the case for an ideal reader – even 'that ideal reader suffering from an ideal insomnia' (*FW* 120.13-4) – an impossible one to prove. As Nash has argued: 'For Joyce, an ideal future audience would be at odds with the cultural situations and generic forms within which he worked: overt political divisions, as well as the inevitable disjunctions of textuality, did not lead Joyce to imagine a "future ideal audience", or to reclaim one from history, but to interrogate the forms of reception in his present'.⁵² Nevertheless, Williams' claim for an 'epochal' difference between English and American criticism does point to the changing nature of the inter-war literary/academic market – Nash's 'forms of

⁴⁷ William Carlos Williams, 'A Point for American Criticism', in *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p.178.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.179.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.184.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.180-81.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.185.

⁵² Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception*, p.6.

reception in his present' – and the coming of the Harvard and Yale men post-1945 'like a plague of locusts', as American scholar Ellsworth Mason memorably put it.⁵³

Joyce repeatedly confronts the cultural politics of reception, situating literary reception within particular contexts and interrogating those contexts. In contrast to Williams' claims for an ideal American criticism, Nash contends: 'Joyce consistently grounds reading in material circumstances, which is nowhere more evident than in his depictions of actual readers and historical scenes of reading, particularly those pertaining to reading of his own work or conditions in which his work might be read'.⁵⁴ In the *Wake*, Joyce's actual American readers, then, are for the most part those expatriate American critics, artists, and publishers he had dealings with in the 1920s and 30s. Joyce was concerned with his reception in that country and paid close attention, in particular, to critical commentary and sales. Certainly, he would have been exposed to highly negative judgments on the tastes of the wider American reading public. Pound was a vociferous and unswerving critic of what he called 'the wrong side of the Atlantic', and a number of his denigrations find their way into his correspondence with Joyce and elsewhere. After the American ban was lifted on *Ulysses*, publisher Bennett Cerf wrote to Joyce through Paul Léon urging him to include the chart Joyce had lent Gorman for his biography, on the basis that Americans are 'notorious seekers of short cuts to culture'.⁵⁵ Despite this, Joyce asserted in a separate correspondence with Cerf that 'American readers [...] have always proved very kind to me', and the material circumstances of Joyce's reception in the 1920s and 1930s involve a great number of Americans. The historical pressure exerted on Joyce's reception by American academics is understood to have fully developed post-1945, with Joyce's place in American academic institutions before then uncertain and contested.⁵⁶ However, as Beckett's letters illustrate, the perception of American interests gaining hold over Joyce's writings can be usefully pushed back into at least the 1930s. Moreover, the financial interests of manuscript-collectors John Quinn and A.S.W. Rosenbach were registered as early as the 1910s and 1920s. This pressure lends weight to Williams' contention that an 'epochal' difference separates English and American criticism. This section will argue that the *Wake* registers the shifts and tremors of this period of transition.

The historical pressure exerted by these American readers and critics on Joyce's reception will require a certain amount of contextualisation. The inter-war period was a key moment in the professionalisation of literary criticism. The American lecture tour, previously a staple of Irish political life and a lucrative source of income for writers including Wilde and Yeats, was between the

⁵³ Mason, 'Ellmann's Road to Xanadu', in *Essays for Richard Ellmann: Omnium Gatherum*, ed. by Susan Dick et al (Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1989), p.10.

⁵⁴ Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception*, p.6.

⁵⁵ Catherine Turner, *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), p.205.

⁵⁶ Brooker, *Joyce's Critics*, p.92.

wars a facet of the ‘unprecedented growth’ in American colleges and universities.⁵⁷ The 1920s in particular was part of an extended period of rapid growth that saw enrolments almost doubling every decade from 1890 to 1930.⁵⁸ By 1931, Joyce could write of his US reception with a mixture of confidence, hope and despair:

Soupault who has been on a lecture tour in the U.S.A. told me yesterday that the government would have no chance of winning a suit against *Ulysses*. He said it is on the extension lecture programme for many universities and actually prescribed for the M.A. degree for next year in the New York university. So let them take off the ban and I suppose England will follow suit as usual a few years later. And Ireland 1000 years hence. (SL 358)

Meanwhile, the so-called ‘lost generation’ of American Modernists were establishing themselves in Paris and many were becoming involved in the promotion and dissemination of Joyce’s work there. ‘There is not another country on the face of the earth whose best spirits have run from it as do its artists from the United States’, as Williams put it in *A Voyage to Paganry* – an extract from which was published in September 1927 in *transition* 7 alongside an early version of I.7.⁵⁹ These American Modernists played a vital role in Joyce’s critical reception. Moreover, the small publishers who promoted the work of Paris-based American Modernists would also be key to Joyce’s reception. A great number of the published fragments from *Work in Progress* were published by Americans in Paris-based American journals or presses: *transition*; Black Sun Press; Contact Collection; *This Quarter*; Three Mountains Press. In the case of arguably the most important of these publications, *transition*, one of its primary aims was to inform the American reading public of the latest developments in avant-garde art in Europe, or as Eugene Jolas put it in a 1938 issue of the journal: ‘the construction of a bridge between creative Europe and America’.⁶⁰ This massively raised the profile of American critics for Joyce, leaving material traces in the *Wake*. The overlap between Joyce and American Modernism is an important and potentially voluminous subject. To document comprehensively the full range of connections in this relationship is beyond the scope of the present study. Instead, I will focus on how this particular overlap relates to Joyce’s concept of America as it appears in the *Wake*.

An initial dismissal of American critical opinion can be detected in the correspondence of certain European writers, such as Joseph Conrad, who wrote to Edward Garnet in 1896 to tell him: ‘[T. Fisher Unwin] is touched by my allusion to the American rights – evidently. I had said that: “judging from the idiotic tone of press comments over there I would have thought the Am. rights worth hardly

⁵⁷ David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), p.17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.59.

⁵⁹ Williams, ‘A New Place to Meet’, *transition* 7 (September 1927), p.13.

⁶⁰ Jolas, ‘Frontierless Decade’, in *Eugene Jolas: Critical Writings, 1924-1951*, ed. by Klaus H. Kiefer and Rainer Rumold (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009), p.119.

anything”⁶¹. D.H. Lawrence also noted in a letter in 1911 to Louie Burrows: ‘Then [...] there came a letter from America asking me to give an order to the “Press Cuttings Company” – allowing them to send me the American notices of the book [*The White Peacock*] – in return for five dollars. Their letter and pamphlets are just flaming under the grate’.⁶² By 1913, Lawrence could say with greater equanimity: ‘I liked the American reviews – those that weren’t screamingly funny understood quite well’.⁶³ In Joyce’s case, the amusement he got from his American notices lay in how they differed from English reviews: ‘As you are so kind to mention my novel I am taking the liberty of enclosing some English and American notices which are amusingly contradictory’ (*LII* 411); ‘I send you some English and American notices of my novel, as usual all very contradictory’ (*LII* 415). However, Joyce’s correspondence around 1917-18 reveals a keen interest in the reviews from America, writing to the Irish-American critic Ernest Boyd to thank him for his review of *A Portrait* (*LII* 391). B.W. Huebsch forwarded a number of reviews from the American press to Joyce, and Joyce records in a letter to Pound that he found James Huneker’s review in the *New York Sun* ‘very favourable’.⁶⁴ Letters to J.B. Pinker in April 1917 show Joyce requesting ‘a copy of each American edition of my book of stories and verses’ (*LII* 393), and acknowledging John Quinn’s long article on *A Portrait* in *Vanity Fair* (*LII* 394). In October 1918, Huebsch forwarded some typically mixed reviews of *Exiles*, adding: ‘The American reviewers of *Exiles* also were baffled though a few of them have perceived the significance of the play and it became the subject of some interesting reviews’ (*LI* 121-2). The shift from relative indifference to a much keener interest in the American reviews can be attributed at least in part to the same ‘epochal change’ that saw a change in the perception of American literature in Europe and led Williams to champion American criticism over English. Thus American criticism and the American market became, especially in the 1920s, more and more significant in Joyce’s reception as part of a broader trend and changing market conditions.

One review in particular takes on an important role in the *Wake*. On 28 May 1922, the *New York Times Book Review and Magazine* published a review of *Ulysses* by a Dr Joseph Collins with the title ‘James Joyce’s Amazing Chronicle’. Joyce had met Collins in the spring of 1921 and, according to Ellmann, he lent the American doctor copies of *Ulysses* instalments in the *Little Review*. Collins included a modified form of his review in his 1923 study *The Doctor Looks at Literature* and this later (December 1923 – February 1924) became a source for Joyce’s notes that went into I.7: focusing in particular on *ad hominem* attacks on Shem. Hayman argues that Collins, the grandson of Irish immigrants, provided ‘a model for Shaun’s hyperbolic style’, adding: ‘We may assume therefore that the medley of strongly negative and mildly positive remarks in Collins’ assessment of *Ulysses* struck

⁶¹ *Letters from Joseph Conrad, 1895-1924* (Indianapolis : The Bobbs-Merrill, 1928), p.71.

⁶² *The Letters of D H Lawrence, Volume 1: September 1901 - May 1913*, ed. by James T Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.226.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.522.

⁶⁴ *Joyce/Pound: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. by Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1970), p.105.

Joyce as a characteristic betrayal of his friendship and confidence and made Collins an ideal and typical candidate for what we might call Shaunification'.⁶⁵ That a review by a 'ponderous Irish-American neurologist' should play such an important role in providing a model for Shaun (even if it is a negative one) is significant in itself, marking a shift from widespread attitudes of near-indifference towards American critical opinion in Europe before the First World War.⁶⁶ Chapter one looked at how standard pre-war critical works such as Saintsbury's *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912) or even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911) tended to regard American literature as an inferior substitute for English works or to dismiss it entirely. The First World War, however, 'tipped the uncertain transatlantic balance of economic, political and culture power decisively in America's favour'.⁶⁷ At the bottom of an early sketch concerning westward-, America-orientated Shaun and the Letter, Joyce noted: 'postman & style of narrative symbolical of our time'.⁶⁸ By 1924, when this note was made, Henry Ford's *My Life and Work* had been translated into every major European language and the American-dominated Dawes Plan of that year was cementing America's position as economic arbiter of European affairs.⁶⁹ This shift is precisely one towards a sense of the change in the balance of power, the ubiquity of America and Americans in Joyce's reception during the interwar years and the necessity to respond to it.

Collins' mixed reception of Joyce is also in some measure characteristic of the American interwar literary/academic market in which Joyce's works were being produced and consumed. The 'medley' of negative and positive commentary on Joyce that Hayman identifies in Collins' review is a microcosm of Joyce's 'mesplit reception' (*FW* 535.24) in America between the wars. As Jeffrey Segall has argued, Joyceans today 'are inclined to forget the furore that erupted around Joyce in American literary circles during the twenties and thirties. Joyce's current prominence induces a sort of historical amnesia that in its most extreme form tempts us to believe his reputation was given, not wrought from fierce debate'. His elevation into the canon only came at the 'end of two fractious and politicised decades in American criticism'. Segall notes that critical discourse in America regarding Joyce was at times 'marked by polemic, hyperbole, invective, and *ad hominem* attack'.⁷⁰ In the case of Collins, it is precisely such *ad hominem* attacks that Joyce deploys in the *Wake*. Fred Lewis Pattee, in his preface to the anthology *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919) – the most widely used anthology of American literature in that country's college classrooms for at least the first half of the 1920s – points ahead to the antagonism of the 1920s and 30s:

⁶⁵ Hayman, 'Dr. J. Collins looks at J.J.: the Invention of Shaun', in *Joyce and Popular Culture*, p.90.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.98.

⁶⁷ Mary Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century: Europe and America, 1890-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.2.

⁶⁸ *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, pp.349-50.

⁶⁹ Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century*, p.86.

⁷⁰ Jeffrey Segall, *Joyce in America: Cultural Politics and the Trials of Ulysses* (London: University of California Press, 1993), pp.49-52.

The recent manifestation of American patriotism, the new discovery by Europe of the soul of America, and the new insistence on the teaching of Americanism in our schools and colleges, especially in those that for a time were under government control, has brought the study of American literature into the foreground as never before. More and more clearly is it seen now that the American soul, the American conception of democracy, – Americanism, should be made prominent in our school curriculums, as a guard against the rising spirit of experimental lawlessness which has followed the great war, and as a guide to the generation now moulding for the future.⁷¹

For many conservative American critics such as Harvard's Irving Babbitt, Joyce was the foremost representative of the 'rising spirit of experimental lawlessness'. Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism* (also 1919) laid the foundation for the New Humanists' anti-modernist attacks on formal experimentation in the 1920s and 30s, and Babbitt himself later dismissed *Ulysses* as the work of a writer 'in an advanced stage of psychic disintegration'.⁷² Meanwhile, despite his later advocacy of Joyce as a European writer particularly amenable to American thought, Williams in his 1923 work *The Great American Novel*, published in Paris by Three Mountains Press, warned in similarly confrontational terms: 'Europe's enemy is the past. Our enemy is Europe, a thing unrelated to us in any way. Our lie that we must fight to the last breath is that it is related to us'.⁷³ Furthermore, Gerald Graff has characterised American academia in the period between 1915 and 1930 in directly antagonistic terms as 'scholars versus critics': 'It is in this period that scholar and critic emerge as antithetical terms'.⁷⁴ Indeed, Graff argues that 'the story of academic literary studies in America is a tale [...] of a series of conflicts'.⁷⁵ The 1920s and 30s were thus intensely fractious decades in American academia and literary criticism. The debates which greeted Joyce's work in America could not but have contributed to his perception of the 'continually more or less misunderstanding minds of the anticollaborators' (*FW* 118.24-6) that we find in I.5 and elsewhere. It is in this context of partisanship and conflict that Joyce's works were being damned and disseminated.

So what does the *Wake* tell us about Joyce's response to the changing literary/academic market between the wars? Joyce's response to these developments is mixed, but within certain limits. The market forces being exerted on Irish artists by Irish-Americans discussed in the previous chapter, for instance, are again highlighted in Joyce's correspondence and in the *Wake*. Joyce's resistance to American (and Irish-American) market forces is perhaps expressed most clearly in a 1935 letter to Helen and Giorgio Joyce during their stay in America; Joyce wrote them in February to say: 'I got an

⁷¹ Cited in Csicsila, *Canons by Consensus*, p.9.

⁷² Segall, *Joyce in America*, p.52; Babbitt is cited in the obituary for Joyce in the *New York Times*: 'James Joyce Dies; Wrote "Ulysses"', *NYT*, 13 January 1941.

⁷³ Williams, *The Great American Novel*, in *Imaginations*, ed. by Webster Schott (New York: New Directions, 1970), pp.209-10.

⁷⁴ Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p.122.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.14.

offer from some impresario to make a lecture tour in the U.S. What on earth do these people want to be lectured to all the time about? Every old fool in Europe goes over to lecture to them about something or other. And they lap it up like soup' (*LIII* 344). It is hard to know to whom exactly Joyce is referring here, but the sentiment is nevertheless quite clear. Another letter to George and Helen in April says much the same: 'Stephens was here yesterday with his wife. Like Soupault he gives a very sombre account of things in the U.S. [...] He has been lecturing too. 40 no less. And I suppose Messrs O'Flaherty and O'Malley are also lecturing to the good people over there who are doing their level best to improve themselves' (*LI* 360). Certainly, lecture-going was an extremely popular pastime in America, as an article in the *New York Times* (published in January of the same year) points out: 'Americans are the greatest lecture-going people in the world'. The article goes on to note that bookings are up as the business recovers from the depression, before giving an idea of the scale of interest in the lecture season:

A year or two ago someone estimated a total of 10,000 lecturers appearing annually in the United States. Nobody in the business will confirm it, or even hazard a guess at the number. The figure may be a million for all anyone knows. [...] There are more than 10,000 auditoriums in the United States, and it is a safe guess that in every one of them there will be a lecture series this winter.⁷⁶

As this paper's correspondent makes clear, the 'lecture business is run like any other, for profit'. America had long been a source of income for Irish and European intellectuals on lecture tours. W.B. Yeats had toured from 1931-32, and before him Wilde.⁷⁷ Indeed, one of Joyce's notebook entries – 'one is fain' – is taken from a passage in Frank Harris's biography of Wilde regarding his US tour:

'The Nation' underrated American curiosity. Oscar lectured some ninety times from January till July, when he returned to New York. The gross receipts amounted to some £4,000: he received about £1,200, which left him with a few hundreds above his expenses. His optimism regarded this as a triumph. One is fain to confess today that these lectures make very poor reading.⁷⁸

This appears in the *Wake* as 'one is fain in this leaden age of letters now to wit' (*FW* 061.30), carrying with it an arch suggestion of literary devaluation from a putative golden age. More recently Joyce's Parisian acquaintance Philippe Soupault had returned from an America tour. In Soupault's *Souvenirs de James Joyce*, he writes that he cannot understand why Joyce never went to America where he would have been received in great style: '*On l'a souvent sollicité de se rendre aux Etats-Unis qui, comme en beaucoup d'autres domaines et pour beaucoup d'écrivains, furent le premier pays à saluer*

⁷⁶ 'The Lecture Business Is Picking Up, Too', *New York Times*, 20 January 1935.

⁷⁷ For Yeats, see R. F. Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life, Vol.2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.452-58.

⁷⁸ See *VI.B.3.149(d)*.

la vraie grandeur de Joyce. Il refusa. Moi qui eus l'occasion de parler de lui a maintes reprises dans toutes les grandes villes d'Amérique, j'imagine quel accueil on lui eut réservé et quel triomphe on eut organisé'.⁷⁹ Soupault's efforts 'to wend him to America to quest a cashy job' (FW 562.31) failed, despite the financial attractions of 'Dollarmighty' America (FW 562.33), but America's lucrative lecture business finds its way indirectly into the *Wake* through Shaun's money-obsessed professorial manifestation in I.6, for instance.

In an extended parody of Wyndham Lewis's *Time and Western Man*, westward-orientated Shaun repeatedly refers to the 'dime-cash problem' (FW 149.17), whilst 'remarking you that the sophology of Bitchson while driven as under by a purely dime-dime urge is not without his cashcash characktericksticks' (FW 149.20-2), adding: 'I congratulate myself, for the same and other reasons as being again hopelessly vitiated by what I have now resolved to call the dime and cash diamond fallacy' (FW 150.21-4). And later:

I proved to mindself as to your sotisfiction how his abject all through (the quickquid of Professor Ciondolone's too frequently hypothecated Bettlermensch) is nothing so much more than a mere cashdime however genteel he may want ours, [...] for to this graded intellecktuals dime *is* cash and the cash system (you must not be allowed to forget that this is all contained, I mean the system, in the dogmarks of origen on spurios) means that I cannot now have or nothave a piece of cheeps in your pocket at the same time and with the same manners as you can now nothalf or half the cheek apiece I've in mind unless Burrus and Caseous have not or not have seemaultaneously sysentangled themselves, selldear to soldthere, once in the dairy days of buy and buy. (FW 161.01-14)

The overwhelming emphasis on money (quick quid; cash; dime; cheap; sell dear; sold there; buy), along with a possible allusion to Ezra Pound's idiosyncratic spelling ('intellecktuals'), has the ironic effect of devaluation, whereby the 'cash system' is revealed to be a spurious dogma ('dogmarks of origen on spurios').⁸⁰ That Joyce is thinking along national lines when it comes to time and money is (just about) apparent in the attribution to Oliver Wendell Holmes of similar time/space concerns: 'Yard inquiries pointed out → that they ad bîn "provoked" ay /\ fork, of à grave Brofèsor; àth é's Brèak - fast - table; ; acùtely profèssionally *piquéd*, to=introduèce a notion of time [ùpon à plane (?) sù ' ' fâç'e'] by pùnc! ingh oles (sic) in iSpace?!' (FW 124.08-12). It is also in evidence in the 1924 notebook VI.B.1, where Joyce writes: 'Time is money Eur / Money is eternity USA', though he does not transfer it.⁸¹ Gnostic but also richly suggestive, it appears to say something about American materialism, but it is also (perhaps more) noteworthy that Joyce should place America, as it were, in

⁷⁹ *Entretiens avec James Joyce par Arthur Power; Suivis de Souvenirs de James Joyce par Philippe Soupault* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1979), p.178.

⁸⁰ Joyce, in a parody of the style of *Cantos* in a 1925 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, imitates Pound's c/k spelling practice, such as Pound later used in the title for his *Guide to Kulchur* (1938); see *Letters I*, p.228.

⁸¹ VI.B.1.096(e).

the cross-currents of European intellectual concerns about (uneven) transatlantic exchanges here and elsewhere in the *Wake*.

Although Joyce was not incapable of mocking what has elsewhere been praised as a ‘culture of aspiration’, the genetic and textual evidence registers the influence of the booming lecture business and the unprecedented growth in American colleges and universities.⁸² The notebooks reveal that the ‘Janesdanes Lady Andersdaughter University’ (FW 389.09-10) in II.4 started out more straightforwardly as ‘John Hopkins Univ’.⁸³ This Robbert-Jan Henkes has traced back to *The Erotic Motive in Literature* (1919), Albert Mordell’s ‘plain reductionist Freudian theorizing about what writers hide in their writings’, according to Henkes. The relevant passage from chapter fourteen, a ‘Psychoanalytic Study of Edgar Allan Poe’, reads: ‘A poem by Poe was only recently unearthed by Prof. J. C. French, of Johns Hopkins University, and printed in the *Dial* for January 31, 1918’.⁸⁴ The first draft of 1923 refers to ‘Jane Andersdaughter University’, suggesting the fused presence of Jane Heap and Margaret Anderson from the reference to the *Dial* (although only Anderson worked on the *Dial* before co-editing *The Little Review* with Heap).⁸⁵ While the conflation of the American university and the editors of *The Little Review* could be argued to be in effect replicating the nascent process of the academic institutionalisation of Modernism, it is, again, notable that we can find any American academic presence at all. Elsewhere in the *Wake*, signs of this growing American academic presence are noticeable: ‘the campus calls them’ (FW 246.21). This links back to an entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on the American University in Washington,⁸⁶ while another American university can be found in II.3: ‘How Old Yales boys is making rebolutions for the cunning New Yirls, never elding, still begidding’ (FW 346.07-9). Here the sense of an epochal change is again in evidence, the New World overtaking the Old, conflated with a suggestion of permanent revolution (never ending, still beginning) and historical cycles. The never-ending, still-beginning *Wake* itself, which ‘moves in vicous circles yet renews the same’ (FW 134.16-7), is also suggested here, as it was synecdochally in I.5 as an ‘epiepistle to which [...] we must ceaselessly return (FW 108.24-5). Following the appearance of the ‘Old Yales boys’, Butt immediately repeats this New/Old World conflation by superimposing Wapping on Boston in a section of dialogue with Taff: ‘daring my wapping stiltstunts on Bostion Moss, old stile on new style and heave a lep onwards’ (FW 347.12-4). The exchange here is also considerably fleshed out with notes taken from *Huckleberry Finn*; a dense cluster of units from ‘Harkabuddy, feign’ (FW 346.26) is entered at FW 347.22-5, for instance.⁸⁷ We see here in a passage mostly sculpted out of Twain’s dialects how education is a tool for conquering:

⁸² For instance, Levine’s *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940*.

⁸³ VI.B.3.126(g).

⁸⁴ Robbert-Jan Henkes and Geert Lernout, ‘My Life and the Erotic Hounds of Banba: Three New Sources in Notebook Z’ch B.03’, in *Genetic Joyce Studies* - Issue 9 (Spring 2009). Accessed 21 July 2014: http://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/GJS9/GJS9_RJHGL.htm

⁸⁵ *James Joyce Archive* 56, p.42.

⁸⁶ VI.B.29.055f (b).

⁸⁷ See Rose, *James Joyce’s The Index Manuscript*, pp.19-20.

‘So I begin to study and I soon show them day’s reasons how to give the cold shake to they blighty perishers and lay one over the beats’ (FW 347.23-5). Through education, young American Huck learns how to ‘give the cold shake’ to old ‘blighty’, or Britain.

This is not to reiterate Derrida’s point about Joyce’s writing containing ‘traces of the future’ (that is, the post-1945 Joyce Industry), but to argue that the material conditions of Joyce’s *contemporary* reception are registered here.⁸⁸ By the 1920s and 1930s, the *Wake* can be read as a kind of barometer for the historical pressure being exerted from America on Irish and European letters. Already by 1915 T.S. Eliot was warning Pound: ‘I am more alarmed at the Americanisation than at the Prussianisation of our universities’.⁸⁹ The New/Old World conflation is again at work in II.4, where we read of ‘all the tercentenary horses and priesthunters, from the Curragh, and confusionaries and the authorities, Noord Amrikaans and Suid Aferican cattleraiders (so they say) all over like a tiara dullfuoco’ (FW 386.36-387.03). Here, the reference to the ‘confusionaries and authorities’ accrues a self-reflexive quality also seen in I.5 and elsewhere, whereby interpretive practices are alluded to. In this case, an institutional aspect is strongly suggested via allusions to ‘improper colleges’ (FW 387.07), ‘the Queen’s colleges’ (FW 388.26), ‘the grandest gloriaspanquost universal howldmoutherhibbert lectures’ (FW 388.28-9), ‘oceanfuls of collegians green and high classes and the poor scholars and all the old trinitarian senate and saints and sages [...] in the four trinity colleges for earnasyoulearning Eringrowback’ (FW 388.35-389.05), ‘the four grandest colleges’ (FW 389.06), ‘the grandest gynacollege histories’ (FW 389.09), and so on. The ‘Noord Amrikaans’ enter the text at an early stage (first typescript, 1923) as simply ‘American visitors’ alongside ‘confusionaries over from England’.⁹⁰ However, on the second set of proofs for the March 1924 issue of the *Transatlantic Review*, Joyce adds ‘authorities’ to the guest list and changes ‘visitors’ to ‘cattleraiders’. It is not until 1938 that the text is revised from ‘American cattleraiders’ to ‘Noord Amrikaans and South Aferican cattleraiders’. The later additions of ‘South African’ and ‘cattleraiders’ point to an expanded colonial theme, the ranch wars and the Boer War. The ‘cattle rangers’ during the Boer War were formed in order to clear the land of cattle.

Here we can clearly see Joyce’s thought processes at work: replacing England with sites of anti-colonial struggles (America and South Africa). Historically, American cattle-raiding was carried out by ‘Indians’ and cattle-raiding in Ireland, America and South Africa was a strategy of resistance to colonisation. In a passage concerned with both education and economics (‘earnasyoulearning’), Joyce, by revising ‘visitors’ to ‘cattleraiders’ heightens the sense of exploitation and resistance. The ‘Wild West’ allusion brings us back to I.5, where confusion and authority (also religious, reading ‘confusional’ as confessional) is combined in the bafflement and epistolary Papal authority of a

⁸⁸ Derrida, ‘*Ulysses* Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce’, in *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*, ed. by Peggy Kamuf (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p.579.

⁸⁹ To Ezra Pound, 15 April 1915, in *The Letters of T.S. Eliot: Volume 1: 1898-1922, Revised Edition* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), p.104.

⁹⁰ *JJA* 56, p.72.

‘bafflelost bull’, or Buffalo Bill, whose gruff voice can be heard behind the call to ‘drop this jiggerypokery and talk straight turkey’ (FW 113.26). However, as one of those confused authorities on Joyce in the 1920s, Dr Joseph Collins’ appearance in I.5 is thus a highly ironic starting point for a new ‘golden age’ of letters: ‘Yes, before all this has time to end the golden age must return with its vengeance. [...] No, assuredly, they are not justified, those gloompourers who grouse that letters have never been quite their old selves again since that weird weekday in bleak Janiveer (yet how palmy date in a waste’s oasis!) when to the shock of both, Biddy Doran looked ad literature [see Collins’ *The Doctor Looks at Literature*]’ (FW 112.18-27).

One further way in which Joyce’s work registers the pressures of the American market is through the role of Americans in the acquisition of the Joyce archive. Joseph Brooker has clearly documented the institutional context for the ‘stockpiling’ of Joyce’s drafts, letters, diaries, and other documents in American universities from the 1940s on.⁹¹ Again, however, I want to push the chronology back into the originary moment of composition, to borrow Jerome McGann’s designation.⁹² Joyce was feeling the financial clout of the American market as early as 1917, when he met patron of the arts and ‘brilliant Irish-American lawyer’ John Quinn.⁹³ Over a two-year period, Quinn bought corrected proofs of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* for £20, the fair copy of *Exiles* for £25, and agreed to buy the fair-copy *Ulysses* manuscript as fast as Joyce could write it. He reviewed *A Portrait* for *Vanity Fair* in 1917, describing it in Poundian terms as ‘bracing and hard and clean’.⁹⁴ Quinn also unsuccessfully defended Anderson and Heap in the *Little Review* case in 1921. In October 1923, the two met for the first time and Quinn announced his intentions to sell his *Ulysses* manuscript at auction. It was bought the following year by the American collector and dealer A.S.W. Rosenbach for \$1975. Joyce, apparently ‘chagrined’ at the low price, was later to become ‘indignant’ after hearing Quinn had used the funds to purchase two Meredith poems in manuscript for \$1400. Rosenbach refused when Joyce offered to buy back the manuscript.⁹⁵ Joyce commemorated both Quinn and Rosenbach in rhyme:

Rosy Brook he bought a book
Though he didn’t know how to spell it.
Such is the lure of literature
To the lad who can buy it and sell it.⁹⁶

Of Quinn’s purchase of *Exiles*, Joyce wrote:

⁹¹ Brooker, *Joyce’s Critics*, pp.94-95.

⁹² McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), passim.

⁹³ Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), p.39.

⁹⁴ *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, vol.1, ed. by Robert H. Deming (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp.103-06.

⁹⁵ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.559.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.559.

There's a donor of lavish largesse
Who once bought a play in MS
He found out what it meant
By the final instalment
But poor Scriptor was left in a mess. (*LII* 406)

The geographical scattering of Joyce's archive – a process that would rapidly accelerate post-1945 – can be traced back to this early period. While it is not exclusive to America (perhaps an Anglo-American market would be more precise), the evidence of the *Wake*'s repeated association of America with money suggests that such incidents as that involving Rosenbach and Quinn left material traces on Joyce's writing. Indeed, much of the anxiety over the authenticity of the Boston Letter in I.5 appears motivated by the concerns of 'worried business folk' (*FW* 108.10-1) and their 'monetary requests' (*FW* 108.39). Joyce didn't anticipate the post-war 'plague of locusts', but responded to those institutions and individuals contemporary to him that were shaping his reception. It is to probably the most prominent of those individuals that I now turn.

'brilliant discoveries and howling blunders': James Joyce and Ezra Pound

Joyce clearly enjoyed in his own way a kind of 'vengeance' against the likes of Collins through the 'Shaunification' of parts of the *Wake*, and, as David Hayman has pointed out, this also extended to Wyndham Lewis and Ezra Pound.⁹⁷ Pound contributed in many important ways to Joyce's works and was arguably Joyce's most important early critic. Joyce's relationship with Pound, especially during the period from 1913 until the publication of *Ulysses*, was vital to his career. Pound had energetically supported Joyce's application for grants from the Civil List, the Royal Literary Fund, and the Society of Authors. However, after 1922, or indeed probably before, the easy-going and mutually beneficial relationship turned into what Pound said of *Work in Progress*: a 'work in regress'.⁹⁸ The split in the relationship would feed directly into Pound's depiction in the *Wake*. Furthermore, Pound's correspondence with Joyce in particular exemplifies the extent to which American money and influence dictated the circumstances of the composition and publication of Joyce's works. Money and the market, as well as Joyce's legal problems, dominate the correspondence.

Pound's criticisms of *Work in Progress* contributed directly to the superfluity of titles for ALP's 'untitled mamafesta' (*FW* 104.04). Among the myriad titles for the untitled letter is the Poundian: 'A New Cure for an Old Clap' (*FW* 104.22). This alludes to a letter sent by Pound to Joyce on 15 November 1926, in which Pound writes that although he 'found diversion in the Tristan and

⁹⁷ Hayman, 'Dr. J. Collins looks at J.J.: the Invention of Shaun', p.95.

⁹⁸ See Spoo, 'Unpublished Letters of Ezra Pound to James, Nora, and Stanislaus Joyce', *JJQ* vol.32, no.3-4 (Spring-Summer 1995), p.575.

Insult paragraphs that you read years ago', at present he has 'no inkling whether the purpose of the author is to amuse or to instruct'. Pound's exasperated conclusion stated:

I will have another go at it, but up to present I make nothing of it whatever. Nothing so far as I make out, nothing short of divine vision or a new cure for the clapp can possibly be worth all the circumambient peripherization. Doubtless there are patient souls, who will wade though anything for the sake of the possible joke. (*LIII* 145-6)

Joyce, once again, creates a New/Old pairing in reference to the reception of his work. Moreover, Pound's 'New Cure' for Joyce's Old Clap' highlights the extent to which the foundational thematic concern in the *Wake* with questions of audience/reception and New/Old worlds is founded to a large degree upon miscommunication – a Wildean separation by common language. Miscommunication as misunderstanding or misreading stalks Joyce's notes from Collins' review of *Ulysses*, noting for instance: 'J Coll misquotes / the ----', after Collins had erroneously referred to *Dubliners* as 'The Dubliners'. Other such notes include references to Collins' more idiosyncratic readings of Bloom – 'attempted to conceal / coprophily by / acting as canvasser' – and Simon Dedalus as 'sweet-tempered (Si)'. In a 1926 letter to Weaver, Joyce recorded that Pound was equally prone to such gaffes and, most significantly, that Joyce, though he valued Pound's advice, rarely allowed it to dictate his writing:

It is possible Pound is right but I cannot go back. I never listened to his objections to *Ulysses* as it was being sent him once I had made up my mind but dodged them as tactfully as I could. He understood certain aspects of that book very quickly and that was more than enough then. He makes brilliant discoveries and howling blunders. (*LI* 249)

There is an element of playful mockery in Joyce's portrayal of Pound in the *Wake*. One particular facet of this mockery concerns vision, the 'divine vision' that would justify for Pound reading *Work in Progress* as well as Pound's advice in the correspondence concerning Joyce's eyesight. Of the former, the titles for ALP's 'mamafesta' include: 'Divine Views from Back to the Front' (*FW* 106.28). Back-to-front reading suggests Pound's interest in Chinese, which is further suggested by the narrator's observation regarding the Letter in I.5: 'One cannot help noticing that rather more than half of the lines run north-south' (*FW* 114.02-3). Amid all the 'circumambient peripherization' of I.5, in which Pound can probably also be identified 'as bluffingly blurtubruskblunt as an Esra, the cat' (*FW* 116.02), Joyce accumulates a number of allusions to forms of 'divine vision': 'prevision' (*FW* 107.25), 'providential' (*FW* 107.31), 'prearranged' (*FW* 107.33), 'seer' (*FW* 108.04); or reading divine signs: 'auspice' (*FW* 112.18); 'writing on the wall' (*FW* 118.20); 'highpriest's hieroglyph' and 'hallowed rubric prayer' (*FW* 122.07-8). Perhaps Joyce's relationship with 'Esra the cat' is summed up best in the narrator's claim: 'We cannot say aye to aye' (*FW* 114.01-2).

Nevertheless, this particular point in I.5 with ‘Esra the cat’ probably refers to the *Little Review* trial via Pound and an allusion to ‘singsing’ (FW 116.01), or Sing Sing jail in New York. Following the prosecution against Anderson and Heap, Joyce sent Pound this poem:

Yanks who hae wi’ Wallace read,
Yanks whom Joyce has often bled,
Welcome to the hard plank bed,
And bolshevistic flea.
Who for Bloom and Inisfail
Longs to pine in Sing Sing jail,
Picking oakum without bail,
Let him publish me.⁹⁹

Further allusions to Bolshevism (FW 116.06-8) and Sing Sing (FW 116.18) are found in the discussion of the Letter, and possibly Anderson as well: ‘Margaret is the social revolution’ (FW 116.08). Joyce may not have seen eye to eye with Pound, but he certainly made use of their relationship in the *Wake*.

Other *Wakean* references to Pound appear to confer on the American ‘demon pantechicon driver’ an uncertain medical qualification.¹⁰⁰ It is possible to identify in the correspondence Pound taking on a pseudo-medical role in helping Joyce with his eyesight. In March 1917, Pound threw himself into helping Joyce deal with an onset of glaucoma and synechia with as much enthusiasm as he had shown thus far for promoting *Ulysses* and Joyce’s other works. As Forrest Read points out, as Joyce’s eye trouble persisted it became mixed up with the re-launching of the *Little Review* and other affairs concerning Joyce’s work.¹⁰¹ This intertwining of work and health seems to have lent itself to an aspect of Pound as he is alluded to in the *Wake*. In I.4, an extended sequence concerning evidence from a medical witness (FW 086.32-090.33) – ‘Remarkable evidence was given, anon, by an eye, ear, nose and throat witness’ (FW 086.32-3) – includes among a number of questions a particularly Poundian query: ‘A maundarin tongue in a pounderin jowl?’ (FW 089.24-5). It is quite possible that Joyce is here attributing to Pound the quite recently accrued meaning of a ‘mandarin’ as an official or civil servant who commands considerable power or importance – an allusion to Pound’s indefatigable organizational efforts on his behalf. However, there is also an unmistakable element of mockery; ‘maundarin’, while referring to Pound’s translations of Mandarin Chinese, also suggests ‘maundering’: rambling talk, drivel, discontented grumbling.¹⁰²

Dr Pound, following on from Dr Collins, reappears in I.7 in direct connection with *Ulysses* and eyesight:

⁹⁹ *Pound/Joyce*, p.186.

¹⁰⁰ This is Wyndham Lewis’s term for Pound, cited in, *Joyce/Pound*, p.91.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.97.

¹⁰² Pound, in a letter to Joyce on 17 July 1918, begged forgiveness for a rambling letter written while sick: ‘enough of this dribble forgive the maunderings of a convalescent’, *Pound/Joyce*, p.144.

It would have diverted, if ever seen, the shuddersome spectacle of this semidedmented zany amid the inspissated grime of his glaucous den making believe to read his usylesly unreadable Blue Book of Eccles, *édition de ténèbres*, (even yet sighs the Most Different, Dr. Poindejenk, authorised bowdler and censor, it can't be repeated!) turning over three sheets at a wind, telling himself delightedly, no espellor mor so, that every splurge on the vellum he blundered over was an aisling vision more gorgeous than the one before t.i.t.s., [...] (FW 179.24-32)

The prior description of Pound as 'maundarin' could possibly be said to contain within it an allusion to his pseudo-medical qualifications – 'MaunDarin', MD, Doctor of Medicine – but 'Most Different' is a clearer indication of this; and like Joseph Collins, Pound is also a 'jenk', or yank. Pound's 'sigh' that *Ulysses* – the Blue Book of Eccles – can't be repeated is found in a piece Pound wrote for the *Dial* in June 1922 entitled 'Paris Letter': '*Ulysses* is, presumably, as unrepeatable as *Tristram Shandy*; I mean you cannot duplicate it; you can't take it as a "model", as you could *Bovary*; but it does complete something begun in *Bouvard*; and it does add definitely to the international store of literary technique'.¹⁰³ The Pound of 'brilliant discoveries and howling blunders' is again present, along with the suggestion of 'divine vision' in reading blots on the page (as at the end of 'Ithaca'): 'every splurge on the vellum he blundered over was an aisling vision' (an 'aisling' being an Irish dream vision). Pound's role as a 'bowdler and censor', if not quite fully 'authorised', of the 'Calypso' chapter of *Ulysses* is also signalled here. Pound, as foreign editor of the *Little Review*, cut several passages of 'rancid Shem stuff' (FW 182.17) before sending the chapter to Margaret Anderson.¹⁰⁴ His unauthorised deletions chiefly concerned material from 'down where the asparagus grow', as he put it in a letter to Joyce in June 1919 about Bloom's trip to the outhouse in 'Calypso'.¹⁰⁵ Thus, as Paul Vanderham has pointed out, Pound was Joyce's first censor.¹⁰⁶

Such complaints Joyce noted as early as 1919 in a letter to Frank Budgen citing Pound in particular: 'Pound writes disapprovingly of the *Sirens*, then modifying his disapproval and protesting against the close and against "obsession" and wanting to know whether Bloom (prolonged cheers from all parts of the house) could not be relegated to the background and Stephen Telemachus brought forward' (LI 126). Another letter postmarked on the following day tactfully reiterates Joyce's immunity to Pound's objections: 'Mr Pound wrote to me rather hastily in disapproval but I think that his disapproval is based on grounds which are not legitimate and is due chiefly to the varied interests of his admirable and energetic artistic life' (LI 128). Joyce, in a question seemingly poised on the

¹⁰³ Cited in *Pound/Joyce*, p.196.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix C: Pound's deletions from *Ulysses*, 'Calypso' episode, 1918, *Pound/Joyce*, pp.301-03. See also, Paul Vanderham, 'Ezra Pound's Censorship of *Ulysses*', *JJQ* vol.32, no.3-4 (Spring-Summer 1995), pp.583-95 and Frances Devlin-Glass, "'Going down where the asparagus grows": Insight and Resistance as Ezra Pound Confronts *Ulysses*', *Journal of Irish Studies* 19 (2004), pp.54-70.

¹⁰⁵ *Pound/Joyce*, p.157.

¹⁰⁶ Vanderham, 'Ezra Pound's Censorship of *Ulysses*', *passim*.

brink of becoming rhetorical, asked Robert McAlmon: ‘Do you think Eliot or Pound has any real importance?’¹⁰⁷ Pound, much later, recalled in 1955: ‘to the best of my knowledge he never alluded to any of his eng/ & am/ contemporaries as writers. Discrete silence re everything save *Mauberley* and one discrete sentence re/ that’. Despite Pound’s fulsome and repeated praise for Joyce’s work, such praise was almost never reciprocated. The case for Pound’s influence on Joyce, it would appear, diminishes to vanishing point.

There is, however, a case to be made for Pound’s influence in shaping Joyce’s perception of the literary-critical marketplace in the years they were in contact, particularly its American aspect. Read has suggested that Joyce, by 1922, ‘had begun to think of Pound not as a poet and a critic but as the impresario who had been putting him over’.¹⁰⁸ However, this occludes the extent to which market forces could significantly reduce the gaps between Modernist poets, critics and impresarios to the point of invisibility. For instance, Pound repeatedly refers to the power of the American market in financial and practical business terms. As early as 1913, he is reminding Joyce that American magazines ‘pay top rates’ while the ‘impecunious’ *The Egoist* and the *Cerebrilist* pay ‘a little’ and ‘practically can not pay at all’ respectively.¹⁰⁹ The following year Pound writes that the American magazine *The Smart Set*, under new editor H.L. Mencken ‘pays more or less decently’, while the *Egoist* (London) can’t pay at all.¹¹⁰ Lewis’s *Blast*, another letter notes, ‘can’t pay’ either.¹¹¹ This theme is repeated throughout the correspondence: America pays – ‘They pay, dammm ‘em. That’s their recommendation’.¹¹² While emphasising the financial rewards of publishing in America, or putting on a production of *Exiles* – ‘I will see that your play is read by the agent of one very *practical* American dramatic company, which does a big *business*. (For whatever good that will do)’ (my emphasis) – Pound rarely passed up an opportunity to mock the tastes of the American public: ‘The prudery of my country (i.e. all of it that isn’t lured by vulgarity). The sheer numbers to which a play must appeal before it is any use to a manager’.¹¹³ Joyce’s own reaction to *Exiles* proving unpopular on the New York stage has a Poundian inflection: ‘I don’t think *Exiles* was a great success. There is neither a motor car not a telephone in it’ (*LIII* 114-5).¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, Pound appears to have been, at the same time, enthusiastically pursuing a project to bring the Old World to the New; or as Lewis put it, Pound was ‘busy with moving of old world into new quarters’.¹¹⁵ Pound’s correspondence reveals this project quite clearly; a letter of 1917 to Joyce regarding the founder of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice notes: ‘I suppose

¹⁰⁷ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.528.

¹⁰⁸ *Pound/Joyce*, p.192.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.19.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.26.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.35, 47.

¹¹⁴ See John P. Harrington, *The Irish Play on the New York Stage 1874-1966* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), p.90.

¹¹⁵ Cited in *Pound/Joyce*, p.91.

we'll be damn well suppressed if we print the text as it stands. BUT it is damn wellworth it. I see no reason why the nations should sit in darkness merely because Anthony Comstock was horrified at the sight of his grandparents in copulation, and there after ran wode in a loin cloth'.¹¹⁶ Clearly, America is for Pound the most benighted of nations; Pound's 'Paris Letter' provides but one of many examples of his attacks on his own 'god damned country': 'And the book is banned in America, where every child of seven has ample opportunity to drink in the details of the Arbuckle case, or two hundred other equodorous affairs from the 270,000,000 copies of the 300,000 daily papers which enlighten us'.¹¹⁷

Pound's American enlightenment project, then, is clearly an important element in the Pound/Joyce relationship and one that would in turn feed into Joyce's concept of his American reception as an (often uneven) transatlantic exchange. Pound's position is perhaps stated most clearly in his essay on Henry James, first published in the *Little Review* in 1918 and reprinted in *Instigations* in 1920. Here Pound describes James as a great Enlightenment cosmopolitan humanist, praising his literary-scientific rationalism and adding: 'No other writer had so essayed three great nations or even thought of attempting it'.¹¹⁸ James's three great nations are America, England and France. Joining them, Pound argues, was James's great project: 'After a life-time spent in trying to make two continents understand each other, in trying, and only his thoughtful readers can have any conception of how he had tried, to make three nations intelligible one to another'.¹¹⁹ Given Joyce's portrayal of Pound having 'blundered over' certain passages of *Ulysses*, it is somewhat ironic that Pound should emphasise intelligibility, (mis)understanding and (mis)communication in his James article:

In his books he showed race against race, immutable; the essential Americanness, or Englishness or Frenchness - in *The American*, the difference between one nation and another; not flag-waving and treaties, not the machinery of government, but 'why' there is always misunderstanding, why men of different race are not the same. [...] Peace comes of communication. No man of our time has so laboured to create means of communication as did the late Henry James. The whole of great art is a struggle for communication. All things that oppose this are evil, whether they be silly scoffing or obstructive tariffs.¹²⁰

Pound stresses the importance of nationality for understanding James, claiming: 'No man who has not lived on both sides of the Atlantic can well appraise Henry James'.¹²¹ Having set out these favourable terms of engagement, he goes on to describe James's

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.129.

¹¹⁷ Spoo, 'Unpublished Letters of Ezra Pound to James, Nora, and Stanislaus Joyce', p.557; *Pound/Joyce*, p.198.

¹¹⁸ Pound, *Instigations of Ezra Pound, with an Essay on the Chinese Written Character by Ernest Fenollosa* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), p.110.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.107.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.110.

¹²¹ Ibid., p.107.

great labour, this labour of translation, of making America intelligible, of making it possible for individuals to meet across national borders. I think half the American idiom is recorded in Henry James's writing, [...] [But] No English reader will ever know how good are his New York and his New England; no one who does not see his grandmother's friends in the pages of the American books. The whole great assaying and weighing, the research for the significance of nationality, French, English, American'.¹²²

Instigations also includes a short piece on *Ulysses* which makes a similar point:

Bloom brings life into the book. All Bloom is vital. Talk of the other characters, cryptic, perhaps too particular, incomprehensible save to people who know Dublin, at least by hearsay, and who have university education plus mediævalism. But unavoidable or almost unavoidable, given the subject and the place of the subject.¹²³

In *Our Joyce*, Joseph Kelly argues persuasively for Pound's 'internationalisation' of Joyce's writing, a process whereby actual Dublin becomes by and large incidental to the real significance of *Dubliners*, for instance. Pound 'de-Irished Joyce's reputation', as Kelly puts it, 'and, in the process, stripped his early fiction of its political force'.¹²⁴ An extreme example of this is encapsulated in the title of Pound's 1915 article on Joyce for *The New Age*: 'The Non-existence of Ireland'. However, while not contradicting Kelly's argument, there is evidence, as above where Pound refers to 'unavoidable' yet 'incomprehensible' local detail, that highlights rather a contradiction within Pound's own incorporation of Joyce into his American enlightenment project.

In John Quinn's review of *A Portrait in Vanity Fair*, he states that the conversations of the novel's 'young men' would be 'most intelligible to Irish Catholics', adding: 'Irish Ireland is in some respects a mediaeval country, and the talks of those young students saturated with their religion in spite of their free-thinking, with the boy-Latin that they talk, is mediaeval and yet quite modern'.¹²⁵ To this, Pound ripostes in a letter to Quinn: 'Re what you say of the book's being most intelligible to Irish Catholics, did I write to you that a female married to a Belgian said the whole thing was just as true of Belgium as of Ireland (With, of course, necessary substitutions in the matter of Parnell, etc.)?'¹²⁶ Pound had also written to Joyce about this story in more colourful terms – 'An intolerable bitch called *****, some relation of the minister, says "it is true of life in Belgium"' – and goes on:

I am neither Irish nor Catholic, but I have had more mediaeval contact than most [...]. I don't put myself up as an example of how the book will strike most people. But I do think Joyce has done his job so well and so thoroughly that he conveys the *milieu* of the

¹²² Ibid., p.108.

¹²³ Ibid., p.211.

¹²⁴ Kelly, *Our Joyce*, p.63.

¹²⁵ Quinn, 'James Joyce: A New Irish Novelist', *Vanity Fair*, May 1917, viii, No.3, 48, 128, cited in *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Robert H. Deming (London: Routledge, 1970), p.105.

¹²⁶ *Pound/Joyce*, pp.108-09.

book, and that an Irish Catholic with local knowledge has very little advantage over the outsider with good grounding in literature when it comes to understanding *The Portrait*. [...] This may not be so. My uncle-in-law couldn't understand parts of the conversation, or at least found them difficult. And he is extremely well read.¹²⁷

Pound seems to be hedging his bets here, but the questions of localism and cultural fit (of the kind preoccupying the *Envoy* circle), and their importance for understanding Joyce, were clearly in circulation from an early stage. An unsigned review of *Dubliners* in the *Times Literary Supplement* noted: 'The reader's difficulty will be enhanced if he is ignorant of Dublin customs; if he does not know, for instance, that "a curate" is a man who brings strong waters'.¹²⁸ Frank Budgen also clearly thought localism important:

But however complex the material, whatever the philosophic basis, two elements leap to the eye of every reader: Dublin (together with its awkward but necessary attachment, Ireland) and Joyce himself. [...] This localism is, perhaps, a bigger difficulty for the reader of *Work in Progress* or *Ulysses* than the universality of the theme or the density of the verbal substance. The reader has his own local patriotisms and he knows little, unless he is a Dubliner, of the intimate legend of the town of the Ford of the Hurdles, so that his jealousies are apt to form a defensive alliance with his ignorance. We are all *Weltkinder* these days [...].

Both Budgen and Pound attempt to marry the ideals of localism and universality, *Dubliners* and *Weltkinder*. Pound's argument is that 'in the main, I doubt if the local allusions interfere with a general comprehension. Local details exist everywhere; one understands them *mutatis mutandis*, and any picture would be perhaps faulty without them'.¹²⁹ Thus the author of 'The Non-existence of Ireland' was quite happy to ablate or substitute what he saw as unnecessary local detail, while at the same time awkwardly acknowledging its necessity. Hence, his construction of Joyce as a deracinated, international modernist (a process analogous to the post-1970s construction of Joyce as a postmodern liberal) is fraught with a set of contradictions that are present from an early stage in the critical reception.

This process of translation and ablation/substitution is evidently tied to a project that Pound in a letter to Quinn in 1918 describes as 'propaganda': 'It still seems to me that America will never look *anything* [...] in the face until she gets used to perfectly bald statements. That's propaganda, if you like, but it seems to me something larger than the question of whether Joyce writes with a certain odeur-de-muskkrat'.¹³⁰ Joyce, as a letter in 1929 to Weaver aptly and humorously demonstrates, had first-hand experience of Pound's railing against his country of birth: '[during a dinner with Pound and

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp.108-09.

¹²⁸ *TLS*, 18 June 1914, in Deming, *The Critical Heritage*, p.60.

¹²⁹ 'Paris Letter', in *Pound/Joyce*, p.196.

¹³⁰ *Pound/Joyce*, p.132.

Hemingway] P then wanted me as “the leader of European prose” (!) to write “an open letter” denouncing, with Roth as pretext, everything American and proposing dire retribution on U.S. ambassadors, consuls, etc. H said this was moonshine as it would do me no end of harm with thousands of Americans who had supported me and support me still. Of course, while I argued pro and con with P I had not for a moment the faintest intention of taking his advice’ (*SL* 341). Shortly before this, in December 1928, Joyce, in another letter to Weaver, expressed his bewilderment that Pound had ever thought him suitable for his project: ‘The more I hear of the political, philosophical, ethical zeal and labours of the brilliant members of Pound’s big brass band the more I wonder why I was ever let into it “with my magic flute”’ (*LI* 234). By this time the Pound/Joyce relationship had largely broken down. In 1927, Pound had lauded Ralph Cheever Dunning, a ‘poet who smoked opium and forgot to eat’, while dismissing *Pomes Penyeach*.¹³¹ Joyce wrote to Weaver: ‘It was only after having read Mr Dunning’s drivel which Pound defends as if it were Verlaine that I thought the affair over from another angle’.¹³² However, although Joyce had begun to divorce himself from Pound’s enlightenment project for America by the time *Ulysses* was published, the subsequent publication history for *Work in Progress* in the 1920s reveals a potentially even greater work of transatlantic translation in operation. Publications such as the *Transatlantic Review*, which had published Joyce, became ‘a solid outpost for the new Yankee army’ of the inter-war years and became ‘less and less “international” and more and more “made in the USA”’.¹³³ Meanwhile, from 1927 on, Joyce became heavily involved in *transition*, the idea of which, according to Sam Slote, ‘was that it should serve as a transatlantic link for the avant-garde’.¹³⁴ Brooker adds that *transition* was ‘one of the most concerted attempts to create a textual space of international modernism – a space which functioned above all to channel European writing to the United States’.¹³⁵ Although Pound, by 1927, was not as heavily involved in the promotion of Joyce’s work as before, a continuity persists in the overlapping projects of introducing avant-garde European literature (including Joyce) to America with the at times implicit, at times explicit, function of cultural ‘enlightenment’. The critical literature on the Joyce/Pound relationship, though extensive, has occluded this cisatlantic/transatlantic aspect of their connection: the extent to which, for instance, Joyce’s reception was from a very early stage dominated by ‘transocean’ exchanges (*FW* 100.01).

Joyce’s publication history – through, for instance, Pound, the *Little Review*, *transition* – shows ties to the American market and American readers becoming progressively stronger. If Nash is

¹³¹ Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), p.143.

¹³² *Pound/Joyce*, p.230.

¹³³ Elena Lamberti, “Wandering Yankees”: The *Transatlantic Review* or How the Americans Came to Europe’ in *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing*, ed. by Jason Harding (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p.219.

¹³⁴ Slote, ‘Critical Response to Joyce in France’, in *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe, vol. 2, Italy, France, and Mediterranean Europe*, ed. by Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), p.369.

¹³⁵ Brooker, *Joyce’s Critics*, pp.54-55.

correct that Joyce was constantly incorporating his readers and reading practices into his work, then from 1917 on (when Pound shifted transatlantically to the *Little Review*, through to Jolas's *transition*) Joyce was *almost primarily* addressing himself to a transatlantic audience through these American-orientated reviews. The *Wake*'s myriad references to America can thus be read in light of this predominant transatlantic link. Joyce did not allow Pound's project to dictate his writing, but it forced him into addressing (and incorporating into the *Wake*) a pressing question of a particular kind of American internationalism in the reception of his work. As Brooker has pointed out, Victor Llonca in *Our Exagmination* was one of the first of many to argue for a specific national foundation beneath Joyce's 'internationalisation' of language in the *Wake*.¹³⁶ The 'internationalisation' performed on the English language in the *Wake* arises precisely out of Joyce's (nationalist) Irish relation to the English language. In his own revisions to the galleys of Gorman's biography, he added to Gorman's declaration that 'Joyce, if anything, was an Irish Nationalist at heart', the following statement: 'if a lifelong and so far successful battle against English ideas merits that title'.¹³⁷ As with Beckett, language's de-familiarisation is a response to Irish history.¹³⁸ The *Wake* posits linguistic hybridity as a specifically Irish response to cultural hegemony. Read in this context, Joyce's 'internationalisation' of language in the *Wake* does not so much contradict the strongly American character of Joyce's de-Irished 'internationalisation' by Pound and *transition*, as effectively oppose it. Up to a point, the *Wake* is a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of the very concept of 'internationalisation' and the idea that Joyce's writing could ever have been a part of 'Pound's big brass band', whose contradictions he saw clearly. But the most manifest instance in the *Wake* of Joyce resisting aspects of his American reception is evidently the prohibition and pirating of his work in the US, and it is to this I now turn.

'Unique Estates of Amessican': Joyce and American 'Cowpoyride' in the *Wake*

In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver on 18 March 1930, Joyce set out the current state of affairs regarding copyright over his works in the United States. This particular letter is worth quoting at length as not only does it exhibit a curious admixture of resolve, resignation and exasperation, it also demonstrates Joyce's strategic estimation of what Pound described as 'the shitteriety of the booblishers':¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.56.

¹³⁷ John Whittier-Ferguson, 'Embattled Indifference: Politics on the Galleys of Herbert Gorman's James Joyce', in *Joycean Cultures/Culturing Joyces*, ed. by Vincent J. Cheng, Kimberly J. Devlin, and Margot Norris (Newark: University of Delaware, 1998), pp.140-41.

¹³⁸ Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, pp.539-40.

¹³⁹ Letter to Joyce, 23 July 1931, in Spoo, 'Unpublished Letters of Ezra Pound to James, Nora, and Stanislaus Joyce', p.561.

I have spent a lot of money and diplomatic efforts in securing for myself copyright of *Work in Progress* in the United States. I have it, but they have me too, just as I had it and they had it in the Roth case. To maintain my copyright there, I have no option. I must publish first through an American firm. Adams, who is a lawyer, knows this and Conner had told me so already. I dislike this. I have confidence in Miss Beach and I have none in Adams or in any other man publisher, for that matter, for all of them whom I have had up to the present were either incompetent or dishonest or both. But Miss Beach naturally feels that the book that she has been waiting for and has helped me so much with, is not being energetically enough given to her by me. This is not a case for energy but for prudence and some form of compromise, American wealth, law and power being what they are. (SL 349)

The difficulty and complexity of securing copyright for *Work in Progress* is, as Joyce notes, mirrored by that of the Samuel Roth case. In both cases, the incompetence and ‘shitteriety’ of Joyce’s ‘publickers’ (FW 412.35) are here, by Joyce himself, contextualized as expressions of inter-war American legal and economic power. This chapter has been developing the argument that Joyce’s incorporation of his own reception into the *Wake* shows him addressing the material circumstances of his exponentially increasing engagement with the United States and that country’s production and consumption of his works, and that it shows how no country forced Joyce into a new consideration of its significance more insistently than America did between the wars. The above letter suggests that by 1930 America itself had become a significant contextual element in Joyce’s thinking about copyright and cognate concepts including intellectual property, which became sources of creative tension for him in combination with related thematic concepts such as quotation and intertextuality. The *Ulysses* trials and the Roth piracy, as they are represented in the *Wake*, reflect the connection Joyce makes here between the material circumstances of the reception of his work and the rise of American political and cultural power after the First World War. It is not simply bungling or dishonest publishers, but American ‘wealth, law and power’ that are shaping the reception of Joyce’s work and, consequently, shaping that work itself. America’s imprint on the *Wake*, this section will argue, can be seen in the narrative’s complex but unmistakable preoccupation with themes of legal conflict and prohibition, particularly where writing is concerned.

The events surrounding the Roth piracy and *Little Review* and *Ulysses* trials are by now very well documented, but certain salient points require emphasising here. Briefly, then, the *Little Review* started serialising *Ulysses* in March 1918; in January 1919, the ‘Lestrygonians’ issue was seized in the US. In the meantime, an unauthorised edition of *Chamber Music* had already been published by a Boston publishing company. In 1920, the April-May issue was seized by US authorities, but it was the ‘Nausicaa’ episode later that year that prompted John S. Sumner and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice to lodge a formal complaint. The *Little Review* was again ‘pinched by the PO-lice’, as Pound put it.¹⁴⁰ On 21 February 1921, the editors of the *Little Review*, Anderson and Heap,

¹⁴⁰ Pound/Joyce, p.184.

were fined \$50 each for publishing obscenity. The ruling put an effective end to any immediate hopes of publishing *Ulysses* in America. Samuel Roth had been in touch with Joyce as early as 1921, but it wasn't until 1925-26 that his *Two Worlds* magazine started unauthorised reprinting of sections of *Work in Progress*. Then in 1926, Roth launched *Two Worlds Monthly* – ‘Devoted to the Increase of the Gaiety of Nations’ – with corrupt printings of *Ulysses*. Between July 1926 and October 1927, Roth pirated 14 episodes of *Ulysses* in *Two Worlds Monthly* and it wasn't until 17 December 1928 that Joyce succeeded in obtaining an injunction – after the publication of the book had ceased. As we have seen, by 1930 Joyce was still struggling to secure copyright for *Work in Progress*, though he had managed to put short sections reprinted from *transition* under protection using, as Robert Spoo notes, ‘stopgap measures’ that Joyce’s lawyers had indeed bungled.¹⁴¹ The same 1930 letter to Weaver in which Joyce wrote of compromise in the face of ‘American wealth, law and power’ also adds a conspiratorial note of suspicion regarding the motives of his American lawyers: ‘Conner, my American lawyer in the suit against Roth, has sent me his bill for £600. I do not propose to pay this as it seems to me exorbitant for the ends gained. [...] I propose, however, to instruct Babou and Kahane to pay over the other £200 due on the first of May to Connor, as these people, in addition to bungling the case, for they could have pressed for the injunction right away, have been the manipulators of the difficulty of copyright in my present work’. In October 1931, Joyce wrote to Weaver to declare that he ‘declined to have anything more to do with lawyers’ (*LIII* 229), adding in another letter to Weaver in December of that year: ‘What a fine muddle I have got myself into and how pleasant it is to be called a swindler by an American lawyer! [...] Pinker has been bungling things in first rate fashion’ (*LIII* 236). Although Joyce had by this late stage declared his patience to be at an end with lawyers (especially American ones), *Work in Progress* already teemed with the terms of their trade as HCE’s alleged crime in the park underwent myriad legalistic examinations.

Judge Woolsey’s decision on 6 December 1933 to lift the ban on *Ulysses* did appear to be a victory over the ‘watch warriors of the vigilance committee’ (*FW* 034.04). But as Katherine Mullin has argued, Joyce himself was less an unproblematic victim of prudish ‘Victorian’ values from the start than an ‘agent provocateur’, anticipating his censorship and articulating a ‘response to that threat through the creative appropriation of prevailing debates about art, morality and sexuality’. For Mullin, ‘Joyce’s fiction daringly incited the cultural conflict which would make him notorious’.¹⁴² Joyce’s incorporation into *Work in Progress* of American ‘vice crusaders’ (*FW* 434.36) and ‘cowpoiride’ law (*FW* 105.35) replicates and elaborates this process. The first part of the *Wake* to be drafted, book I.2-4 in the finished work, deals with introducing HCE and his alleged crimes and subsequent trial.¹⁴³ The earliest drafts make clear that Joyce’s own writing is under indictment here as well: ‘A baser meaning

¹⁴¹ Spoo, *Without Copyrights*, p.105.

¹⁴² Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.3.

¹⁴³ Bill Cadbury, *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, p.66.

has been read into these letters, the literal sense of which decency can dare but touch'.¹⁴⁴ Joyce immediately follows accusation with defence and counter-accusation – a move that will be repeated numerous times throughout the finished work: 'It has been suggested that he suffered from a vile disease. To such a suggestion the only self-respecting answer is to affirm that there are certain statements which ought not to be, and one would like to be able to add, ought not to be allowed to be made'.¹⁴⁵ The narrative voice goes on to describe as 'dubious' the 'testimonies' of two witnesses and dismisses the rumours about HCE as 'ludicrous' and 'preposterous'. It is almost certainly the mark of the agent provocateur that the benchmark of depravity against which HCE is judged here by 'his detractors' is the 'degenerate' American 'Juke and Kellikek families', introduced at this early stage (late 1923).¹⁴⁶

Discussing Joyce's incorporation of his own reception in *Ulysses*, Finn Fordham has described a 'writing of rejection' – 'which rejects those attempting to reject it' – adopted by Joyce in response to the *Little Review* trial and suppression; as Joyce was writing and rewriting 'Circe', the circumstances of his censorship in America determined his writing method: 'Joyce's growing celebrity (or notoriety) and the circumstances of the writing itself affected his methods'.¹⁴⁷ Specifically, the different draft levels of 'Circe' show Joyce responding to the rejection of his writing by the authorities in America by, for instance, inserting a hostile courtroom scene into the chapter thereby 'objectifying a threatening and censorious audience of his work'.¹⁴⁸ Thus Joyce began a process that he would radically develop and expand in the *Wake*. While Fordham places this in an argument for the thematic development of a concept of multiple personality in Joyce's writing, my own emphasis here will be on how Joyce's confrontations with American law – informed by the *Little Review* trial, Roth's piracy, and the *Ulysses* ban – fed into the *Wake*'s themes of defence and indictment that run throughout the book. The motif of the trial permeates the finished work with the legal tribulations that Joyce experienced in getting his work published and protecting it from litigious purity campaigners, and later pirates, particularly in America. Before Roth had even started pirating *Ulysses*, Joyce had drafted several versions of mock-trials and defences of HCE, as well as versions of the interrogations and condemnations of his sons, Shem and Shaun. The core theme of HCE's alleged crime in the park and its subjection to trial and defence from the start involves those adversarial elements of Joyce's American reception linked to legal confrontation, elements which predate the Roth piracy but allowed for its relatively unproblematic integration into the text as a cognate phenomenon. Indeed, so much of the book is concerned with defending or indicting the alleged crime or crimes in the park that Joyce's response to his own exploitation and condemnation – the

¹⁴⁴ Hayman, *A First-Draft Version of Finnegans Wake*, p.63.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.63.

¹⁴⁶ Joyce's note in VI.B.10.108 (a) reads: 'Juke & Kellikek / family - bred / 250 criminals'.

¹⁴⁷ Fordham, "'Circe' and the Genesis of Multiple Personality", *JJQ* vol.45, no.3-4 (Spring-Summer 2008), pp.507, 511.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.513.

incorporation into the work of its hostile reception – could be said to be one of the primary themes of the *Wake* itself. Joyce’s American reception is in turn a primary factor in that reception. That Joyce was thinking in these terms is suggested by comments he made to Frank Budgen explaining parts of Book IV: ‘Much more is intended in the colloquy between Berkeley the arch druid and his pidgin speech and Patrick the arch priest and his Nippon English. It is also the defence and indictment of the book itself’.¹⁴⁹

Joyce’s incorporation of his antagonistic American reception into the *Wake* is thus deeply imbricated in the text’s layering of thematic conflict and oppositionality, especially where it is located in a specific legalistic setting, such as a courtroom. In I.4, for instance, Festy King ‘was subsequently haled up at the Old Bailey’ (FW 085.26), while Yawn is interrogated by ‘the travelling court’ of the Four – described here by Joyce, adapting a note from O. Henry’s *The Four Million*, as a ‘crack quatyouare of stenoggers’ (FW 476.13-4).¹⁵⁰ The earliest drafts concerning the alleged crimes (I.2-4) are heavily imbued with a quasi-legal atmosphere, most obviously achieved through the culling of notes from crime reports in newspapers. Joyce’s earliest notebook, VI.B.10, dates from around October 1922 and provides considerable material and inspiration drawn from court reports for the defence and indictment of HCE in I.2-4. More serendipitous and fragmentary than later notebooks, VI.B.10 nevertheless displays a certain consistency where America is concerned. Joyce’s American notes tend to feature marginal or persecuted figures: Frisky Shorty (VI.B.10.043(a)) is a tramp; ‘Chief White Elk’ (VI.B.10.075(k)) reportedly ‘hopes to lay before the King [George V] special claims for improved facilities for education among his tribesmen’; the aforementioned ‘Juke & Kellikek’ family of criminals (VI.B.10.108 (a)); and black Americans – ‘niggers toting goods / up & down gangplank’ (VI.B.10.047(e)), and (possibly) ‘coloured friends’ (VI.B.10.107(h)).

The lines of connection between America and a thematic motif of persecution and indictment continue in a note taken from the *Sunday Pictorial* (29 October 1922) concerning a case in the American law courts. The note reads ‘Aplin & Chaplin’ (VI.B.10.022(f)) and the report from which it is taken reads: ‘A very interesting decision in the American Law Courts in the injunction which has been granted Charlie Chaplin to restrain Charles Amador from showing films under the name of Charlie Aplin, and imitating in costume and conduct the more famous Charlie’. Although this note was not transferred, it clearly resonates with what is to come, both in terms of Roth’s piracy and Shaun’s accusatory characterisation of Shem as an ‘imitator’ (FW 423.10) and ‘intellectual debtor’ (FW 464.02). Moreover, as we have seen, a Boston publishing company had already published an unauthorised edition of *Chamber Music* before 1922. Elsewhere, scattered Americanisms reveal perhaps less about Joyce’s specific note-taking than Joyce’s journalistic sources; the fixations of a newspaper like the *Daily Mail* come through strongly in notes such as ‘Miss America’ (VI.B.10.115(e)) and ‘Jackie Coogan believes / in caveman attitude to w’ (VI.B.10.078(i)), although

¹⁴⁹ Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of ‘Ulysses’*, p.326.

¹⁵⁰ See VI.B.6.110(d).

this latter note about an American child actor comes from the *Daily Sketch*. In contrast to the wild abandon of young Jackie Coogan, ‘hip toters (drink NY)’ (VI.B.10.089(n)) is most likely a reference to Prohibition and forms a set of sorts with other Americanisms including ‘to plug (shoot)’ (VI.B.10.067(g)), ‘jaywalker’ (VI.B.10.070(j)), and ‘midnight palouser’ (VI.B.10.105(n)). Again, crime and punishment come to the fore where America is concerned.

The final element to discuss before moving on to the specific American elements is the poison pen letter case taken from *Daily Sketch* 7 Dec 1922. As Vincent Deane points out, the ‘role of the poison pen letter was never very prominent, but it prepared the ground for the much more fruitful theme of “The Revered Letter”, written in defence of HCE by his wife which was composed at the same time’. Joyce’s note – ‘scourge of Littlehampton’ (VI.B.10.063(e)) – refers back to an article describing the ‘three-year mystery of a writer of libellous and obscene messages (letters and postcards) which resulted in the wrongful conviction of a Mrs Gooding of Littlehampton’. This metamorphosis from a poison pen letter to a defence of HCE in the finished work would ultimately be characteristic of Joyce’s ambiguous fusion of defence and indictment throughout the *Wake*.¹⁵¹ It is a strategy that is contained in microcosm in a note from mid-1923 – ‘I defend (defend) / you to speak’ (VI.B.3.080 (b)) – in which Joyce plays a multilingual pun with the French *défendre*, simultaneously defending and forbidding speech. As Ingeborg Landuyt argues, the *Wake* contains Joyce’s answers to his critics and accusers, as well as the accusations against him: ‘The result of Joyce’s accumulations is a quite recognizable description and condemnation of his person and his methods as seen through the eyes of his critics that simultaneously should be read as his defence’.¹⁵²

One way in which the *Wake* reflects on its reception in America is via allusions to historical Prohibition and the ‘vice crusaders’ (FW 434.36) behind it, in particular John S. Sumner of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, who took legal action in September 1920 against the editors of the *Little Review* for serialising *Ulysses*. While temperance in Ireland is cited throughout Joyce’s works, in ‘The Boarding House’ (D 56), ‘The Dead’ (D 185), ‘Nausicaa’ (U 13.282) and ‘Cyclops’ (U 12.692) for example, it is the *Wake* that connects it to Prohibition in America.¹⁵³ Throughout the *Wake*, Joyce makes an obviously emphatic statement with regards to the enforcement of Prohibition in the United States between 1920 and 1933, and the importation of *Ulysses* into America being prohibited between 1921 and 1933. It does so noticeably in the provocative juxtaposition of alcohol and prohibition. The *Wake* refers to Prohibition at various points, as in the list of essay titles in II.2: ‘Since our Brother Johnathan Signed the Pledge or the Meditations of Two Young Spinsters’ (FW 307.05-6). Jonathan, like Uncle Sam, was a familiar personification of the United States, and is linked here to the

¹⁵¹ See for example, Kimberly J. Devlin. and Mingming Zhang, ‘ALP’s Polyvocal Testimony in III.3: A Collaborative Interpretation’, *JJQ* vol.49 no.1 (2011), pp.91-107.

¹⁵² Landuyt, ‘Cain – Ham – (Shem) – Esau – Jim the Penman: Chapter I.7’, in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, p.159.

¹⁵³ See also David Lloyd, ‘Counterparts: Dubliners, Masculinity and Temperance Nationalism’, in *Semicolonial Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howe (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.128-49.

temperance movement in Ireland through ‘the Pledge’. Joyce’s footnote makes clear the connection to Prohibition in the US with an allusion to a speakeasy: ‘Wherry like the whaled prophet in a spookeerie’ (FW 307.f.2). An apparent interjection by one of the Four in III.3 makes this connection again, developing a note taken from Irving’s *History of New York*; HCE’s boasts about everything he has done for ALP include: ‘I brewed for my alpine plurabelle, wigwarming wench, (speakeasy!)’ my granvilled brandold Dublin lindub, the free, the froh, the frothy freshener, puss, puss, pussyfoot, to split the spleen of her maw’ (FW 553.25-8). HCE here characteristically indicts himself through his own defence: a ‘pussyfoot’ is at once an advocate or supporter of prohibition; a person who acts evasively, non-committally, or in an excessively cautious or hesitant manner; and a non-alcoholic cocktail made with orange juice, lemon juice, grenadine, and egg white or yolk (*OED*). Upstanding yet stuttering HCE ‘pledges’ – ‘busspleaches’ (FW 553.11) – to have made both a non-alcoholic drink and a Guinness (McHugh gives ‘*lionn dubh*’ as Dublin stout or porter).¹⁵⁴

Equally upstanding Shaun is implicated in the same dynamic in III.2, where ‘Jaun Dyspeptist’ is ‘praying Holy Prohibition and [...] goes through the wood with Shep together, touting in the chesnut burrs for Goodboy Sommers and Mistral Blownowse hugs his kindlings when voiceyversy it’s my gala bene fit, robbing leaves out of my taletold book (FW 453.15-8). Here John McCormack’s ‘Goodbye Summer’ is conflated with ‘good boy’ John S. Sumner of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. Sumner’s hot air (‘Mistral’) over *Ulysses* is mocked in particular through the epithet ‘blue nose’ (‘Blownowse’): both a nickname for a Presbyterian; and, in extension, any excessively moralistic person; one who is priggish or puritanical, a prude (*OED*). Dyspeptic Jaun declares: ‘Once upon a drunk and a fairly good drunk it was and the rest of your blatherumskite!’ (FW 453.20-1). Further allusions to alcohol (FW 453.05; 453.26; 453.35) and prostitution (FW 453.19) constitute a conjoined mockery of Sumner’s prohibition of Joyce’s ‘taletold book’ and ‘Holy Prohibition’. Joyce’s response is most likely voiced here by Jaun, who calls for an end to the Lenten-like penitential blue-nose prudery of good boy Sumner: ‘So cut out the lonesome stuff! Drink it up, ladies, please, as smart as you can lower it! Out with lent! Clap hands postilium! Fastintide is by!’ (FW 453.34-6).

One further example from III.2: before Shaun’s departure he seeks ‘advice on the strict T.T. [teetotal] from Father Mike, P.P.’ (FW 432.06-7), and then goes on to list his own set of prohibitions for the ‘galaxy girls’ (FW 432.05). Shaun thus in effect becomes a member of a ‘vicereeking squad’ (FW 438.28), seeking out ‘moonshine’ (FW 439.08) and those ‘guilty of unleckylike intoxication’ (FW 438.26). ‘If I ever catch you at it’, Shaun warns, ‘it’s you that will cocottch it!’ (FW 439.03-4). Joyce clearly places the burning of issues of the *Little Review* within the context of the puritanical activities of Shaun’s ‘vigilant’ (FW 439.32) squad: ‘I’d burn the books that grieve you’ (FW 439.34).

¹⁵⁴ The allusion to Guinness seems clear, although ‘*lionn dubh*’ is more commonly translated as ‘melancholy’. See for instance Hyde’s translation of ‘*Dá dTéinnse Siar*’ (‘If I were to go West’) in *Love Songs of Connacht* (Dublin: Gill & Son, 1909), pp.4-5. In addition, ‘*leann dubh*’ translates as ‘stout’.

Shaun goes on to recommend for the girls titles of ‘pious fiction’ (FW 440.08), and to prohibit illicit reading through an allusion to the Catholic *Index Expurgatorius*: ‘exsponging your index’ (FW 440.07). Joyce anticipated, provoked, and ultimately incorporated into the *Wake* the hostile Irish-Catholic response to his work.¹⁵⁵ These passages from III.2 show Joyce doing the same following the burning of episodes of *Ulysses* in the US.

Allusions to drink in connection with Prohibition and the reception of *Ulysses* remarkably coincide with Judge Woolsey’s reasoning in his decision to lift the ban: ‘I am quite aware’, the judge concluded, ‘that owing to some of its scenes *Ulysses* is a rather strong draught to ask some sensitive though normal person to take. But my considered opinion, after long reflection, is that whilst in many places the effect of *Ulysses* on the reader undoubtedly is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac’.¹⁵⁶ Joyce’s own writing is frequently associated with a ‘strong draught’; indeed, Shem has ‘kuskykorked himself up tight in his inkbattle house’ to recover, as he is ‘badly the worse for boosegas’ (FW 176.30-1).¹⁵⁷ Shaun’s abuse of Shem in the same chapter (I.7) refers to an ‘ordinary emetic’ (FW 192.15), while Judge Woolsey’s judgement is anticipated in the cry: ‘O Jonathan, your estomach!’ (FW 192.21-2). These allusions predate the judgement, but Joyce anticipates, provokes, and figures his work as indigestible, or in connection with digestion and reception. Accordingly, in I.3, we hear of a ‘eupeptic viceflayer’ (FW 050.21).

There are many further allusions to ‘celestious intemperance’ (FW 178.35), including allusions to Father Matthew, whose temperance slogan appears in distorted form in the *Wake*: ‘Ireland sober is Ireland stiff’ (FW 214.18). In this context, it is worth mentioning that the temperance movement originated in America before spreading to Ireland in 1829, where it was traditionally more associated with Protestantism than Catholicism.¹⁵⁸ In III.2 again, Shaun announces a ‘working programme’ (FW 446.34) to clean up the slums of Dublin: ‘Slim ye, come slum with me and rally rats’ roundup’ (FW 446.27). His programme of ‘work and social service’ is to be carried out ‘post purification’ (FW 446.28) and contains ‘meliorism in massquantities’ (FW 447.02-3). Shaun declares: ‘We’ll circumcivicise all Dublin country’ (FW 446.35). His purity campaign in Dublin reflects contemporary Free State legislation. As John F. Quinn points out: ‘In 1924 and 1927, the government enacted licensing acts, which forced pubs to close earlier. Furthermore, in 1927 pubs were ordered to close on St. Patrick’s Day to ensure that the Catholic feast day would be celebrated in a reverent manner’.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ See Lernout, ‘Religion’, in *James Joyce in Context*, p.333.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Court Lifts Ban on “Ulysses” Here’, in *New York Times*, 7 December 1933, p.21.

¹⁵⁷ Again, allusions to the KKK (‘kuskykorked’) accrue around the abuse of Shem: see also the very Irish-sounding ‘Kelly, Kenny and Keogh’ (FW 193.24).

¹⁵⁸ See John F. Quinn, *Father Mathew’s Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), p.155; Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, p.57.

¹⁵⁹ Quinn, *Father Mathew’s Crusade*, p.179.

As Joyce's work progressed and the parts began to fuse of their own accord, almost each new chapter would feature in some form a legal mode of defence and indictment. In I.2, the account of the crimes; in I.3, witnesses and evidence, a police account in court; I.4 includes the Festy King trial; I.6 appears in the form of a quiz, interrogation or courtroom cross-examination – cognates of the same impulse to subject obsessively the supposed events of the book to repeated questioning; I.7 includes Shem's defence (*FW* 193.31-195.06) following Shaun's vitriolic indictment; II.1 incorporates further material from the Bywaters; II.3 re-enacts the trial and conviction of HCE (*FW* 363.17-370.22); III.1 features the interrogation of Shaun (*FW* 409.08-414.13) and Shaun's further abuse of Shem; III.3 returns to the interrogation of Shaun by the Four (*FW* 474.01-532.06); and book IV is in part the defence and indictment of the book itself. Joyce was fixated with the themes of defence and indictment where writing was concerned, particularly letter writing as a synecdochical form of authorship and reception, as we have seen with the Boston Letter.

At this point, the material is already primed to incorporate other instances of legal dispute over *Ulysses* and Samuel Roth's rough handling of 'cowpoyride' (*FW* 105.35) laws thus presented little difficulty to the *Wake*'s accretive method. Roth's piracy of *Ulysses* has generated a colossal amount of critical literature. However, this section differentiates itself from the bulk of that literature, which has tended to follow Ellmann's line. Ellmann claimed, as Fordham has pointed out, that Joyce greeted the news of his book's travails in the United States with 'sardonic amusement'.¹⁶⁰ Paul K. Saint-Amour argues that 'one-liners' in the *Wake* linking copyright, America and bodily excretion 'constitute, on the face of things, nothing more than Joyce's complaint about the *de facto* uncopyrightability of *Ulysses* in the U.S. as a result of the 1921 obscenity ruling and his subsequent refusal to expurgate the book for a copyrightable edition'.¹⁶¹ Catherine Turner's study of the marketing of *Ulysses* repeatedly accuses Joyce of being 'cranky' with American publishers and agents. As with Ellmann's suggestion that Joyce was selfish in forcing Giorgio's return from the US¹⁶², Turner's implication is one of unreasonable resistance to reasonable American cultural-commercial interests. While acknowledging that Roth provided a good reason to be 'suspicious' (repeatedly), it is again implied that Joyce should have overcome these suspicions.¹⁶³ From this point of view, Joyce's position *vis-à-vis* American law is adequately summarised by Pound in his *New Age* article, 'Copyright and Tariff' (1918): 'The present American copyright regulations tend to keep all English and Continental authors in a state of irritation with *something* American – they don't quite know what, but there is a reason for irritation'.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Spoo argues that 'Roth's exploitation of *Ulysses*' was matched by 'Joyce's exploitation of Roth' in order to 'promote his own celebrity as a deserving

¹⁶⁰ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.502. See Fordham, "'Circe" and the Genesis of Multiple Personality', p.514.

¹⁶¹ Paul K. Saint-Amour, *The Copyrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p.167.

¹⁶² See chapter three.

¹⁶³ Turner, *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars*, pp.173-79.

¹⁶⁴ Cited in Spoo, *Without Copyrights*, pp.119-20.

artist victimized by an isolationist copyright law and an unscrupulous brigand'.¹⁶⁵ This Joyce – cynical, irritable, yet detached and loftily amused – perhaps comes closer to (again) Pound's characterisation of him as a writer with unrealistic demands of the market: 'Re/your last letter, or the last I remember. I think you are a blind idealist believing in ubiquitous intelligence among men. How many intelligent people do you think there are in England and America? If you will write for the intelligent, how THE HELL do you expect your books to sell by the 100,000? ? ? ? ? ?'¹⁶⁶ If Joyce did indeed exploit Roth, this exploitation had a more significant textual counterpart to the marketing value of the self-promoting artist as victim. Just as the incorporation of his hostile reception in America into the *Wake* informs many of that work's scenes of adversarial confrontation, Joyce's own reception of the Roth piracy thus moves beyond the image of the begrudging artist (angered but aloof and dispensing arch one-liners) to the materially and politically engaged artist questioning the nature of American law as it impinges on Irish and European literary cultures.

Where Roth is most obviously present in the *Wake*, the exact nature of Joyce's riposte would appear to centre on the kind of radical juxtapositions highlighted earlier in 'Abraham Lynch'¹⁶⁷: linguistic miscegenation revealing a duplicitous formal basis for legal and/or moral authority. Shaun's attack on his 'celebrated brother' (*FW* 421.19) Shem in III.1 (*FW* 421.15-426.04), before, it would appear, he leaves for 'Amiracles' (*FW* 427.23), invokes both Roth and race in the abuse.¹⁶⁸ In a reference also to Twain, Shem, with 'his prince of the pauper's pride' (*FW* 422.15), is described as 'blundering all over the two worlds!' (*FW* 422.16).¹⁶⁹ This quite straightforward allusion to Roth's publication, *Two Worlds Monthly*, is compounded by the slightly more obscure 'Swop beef!' (*FW* 423.18). This alludes to the title of the international protest letter against Roth's pirating of *Ulysses* as it appears in *transition* 1 (where an early version of I.1 also appears): 'Stop, Thief!'. The letter was first published with 162 signatures from international figures on 2 February 1927 and both versions deplored the fact that *Ulysses* was 'not protected by copyright in the United States', or as Shaun puts it in his character assassination of Shem in I.7: 'he shall produce nichthemerically from his unheavenly body a no uncertain quantity of obscene matter not protected by coprright in the United Stars of Ourania or bedeed and bedood and bedang and bedung to him (*FW* 185.28-32). A negative adverbial America (nicht – emeric – lly) is buried here in an allusion to *Ulysses* (*nichthemeron*: period of twenty-four hours) along with literalised 'dirty bits'. The note Joyce transposes from notebook VI.B.3 to this passage reads: 'United States of Asia'.¹⁷⁰ For its inclusion in *transition* (1927), Joyce altered it to fit it in with the prevailing excremental sense of the passage.¹⁷¹ 'Ourania' combines

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.155.

¹⁶⁶ *Pound/Joyce*, p.123.

¹⁶⁷ See chapter two.

¹⁶⁸ With one exception: the tempting 'Rot him!' (*FW* 422.09) was entered before Roth began pirating Joyce's work.

¹⁶⁹ The Twain reference originates in VI.B.16.119(h): 'prince's pride & / pauper's purse'.

¹⁷⁰ VI.B.3.073(b) 'United States of Asia'.

¹⁷¹ 'Continuation of A Work in Progress', in *transition* 7 (1927), pp.34-56.

both the heavenly muse and the less heavenly biological by-product, urine ('ouron'), while 'copyright' adds its Greek complement, dung ('kopros'). The United States is linguistically entangled in the very 'obscene matter' – Shem's shit – with which the 'alchemist' has assumed his 'coon' identity.

The dirty insults continue in III.1 where 'itching' (FW 423.35) Shem is racialized as having 'falls feet and [a] tanbark complexion' (FW 423.28-9). The language of racial purity and eugenics follows: 'That's why he was forbidden tomato and was warmed off the ricecourse of marrimoney, under the Helpless Corpses Enactment. [...] *Negas, negasti* – negertop, negertoe, negertobe, negrunter' (FW 423.29-34). It is at this point that vice-squad Shaun in his Lenten lecture declares 'I'd burn the books that grieve you' (FW 439.33) – in a reminder that copies of the *Little Review* were burned by 'anew York gustoms' (FW 534.02). Again the language of racial purity and physical (and mental) hygiene: 'Be vacillant over those vigilant who would leave you to belave black on white. Close in for psychical hijiniks as well but fight shy of mugpunter' (FW 439.31-3). In the Jarl van Hooter and the Prankquean episode, the title of Joyce's protest letter is alluded to again: 'Stop deaf stop come back to my earin stop' (FW 021.23-4). Roth is a shadowy presence here behind a pirate of the skull-and-crossbones type: 'her grace o'malice' (FW 021.20-1), or Grace O'Malley. In II.3, the protest letter against Roth reappears on the transatlantic high seas – 'And aweigh he yankered on the Norgoan run' (FW 312.05) – when the 'Norweeger's capstan' (FW 311.09), in his 'translatentic norjankeltian' (FW 311.21-2), cries: 'Stolp, tief, stolp, come bag to Moy Eireann!' (FW 312.01). Elsewhere, it is tempting to read 'the rotter that rooked the rhymer' (FW 369.12) in a parody of the nursery rhyme 'The House That Jack Built' (FW 369.13-5) as Roth ('the rotter') cheating ('rooked') Joyce ('the rhymer'), although other readings are possible. Nevertheless, the rhyme sets it up for the reappearance of two by-now familiar groups of Americans, the KKK and the Jukes and Kallikaks: 'kick kick killykick for the house that juke built' (FW 375.04).

Joyce's placing of allusions to Roth amidst censorious Shaun's racial abuse of Shem – creating the kind of juxtaposition from the notebooks of legal exploitation and emancipation – puts the perceived mistreatment and exploitation of *Ulysses* as sanctioned by the US legal system side by side with other forms of criminalization and discrimination that would appear to undermine the moral authority of the former. In II.1, Glugg, the 'bad black boy of storybook who has been sent into disgrace' and wrestles with Chuff 'the fairhead', is said to 'wholehog himself for carberry banishment care of Pencylmania, Bretish Armerica, to melt Mrs. Gloria of the Bunkers' Trust (FW 228.18-20).¹⁷² The curious self-contained statement 'ban's for's book' (FW 228.16) immediately precedes the equally curious line 'about' (among other things) banishment, corporal punishment, Pennsylvania, British America, Gloria Vanderbilt and letter-writing ('care of'). Despite the obscurity of this line, it seems likely that the *Ulysses* ban lurks beneath the surface difficulty, with Glugg's racial aspect an important background context that is indirectly invoked through the addition of lyrics Joyce took from

¹⁷² The descriptions of Glugg and Chuff are from Hayman, *First Draft Version*, p.129.

Sigmund Spaeth's *Read 'Em and Weep*.¹⁷³ Significantly, the additions here include lyrics from songs in the minstrel tradition, including 'The Waterboy: A Negro Convict's Lament'.¹⁷⁴

The allusion to blackface minstrelsy ('black on white') brings us back once again to Shaun's abuse of Shem in I.7, where racial epithets pile up: 'Darkies' and 'coon' (*FW* 175.30); 'piccaninnies' (*FW* 175.33); 'Dina and Old Joe' (*FW* 175.35); 'the yellow girl' and 'Old Joe' (*FW* 175.36); 'Zip Cooney Candy' (*FW* 176.14); 'Turkey in the Straw' (*FW* 176.15); and so on. Amidst all this, a number of flags appear to be flown, including the 'roth, vice and blause' (*FW* 176.23). Conflating a number of historical conflicts (Waterloo, World War One, the Irish War of Independence), Roth is invoked not as an instance of petty piracy but as a marker of international conflict, such as Joyce had attempted to portray the piracy of *Ulysses* in his protest and correspondence. Letters to Stanislaus and Harriet Shaw Weaver detail how an 'overworked and overworried' Joyce perceived America's lawyers and pressmen to be presenting a united front against him (*LIII* 146). 'I am busy and worried', he wrote to Stanislaus. 'American lawyers refused to take up this case but at last I have got one who says he will try to stop the publisher by backstairs influence. The American press, to which my publisher cabled and wrote does not publish cable or letter and continues to print Roth's full-page advertisements, knowing them to be a swindle. He is pocketing at least 1,000,000 francs a month' (*LIII* 148). Again to Stanislaus:

Roth has killed the sales [in Paris] too, and has (or will) pocket the proceeds of 25 normal editions. Not a single daily or weekly in U.S. published our cabled denial. I am engaged in a very costly lawsuit, but will go on even if I lose it. I have organised an international protest to make this a test case for the reform of U.S. laws. [...] We cannot lose time. If Roth carries this through, the pirates in America will make it the beginning of even worse. (*LIII* 149)

In a later letter to his American lawyer Benjamin Conner, we find Joyce taking up an unfamiliar role – championing the cause of European writers at risk of having their work pirated: 'As regards the suit against Mr Roth, it would be foolish of me to oppose my opinion to that of your partners in New York, but if there is, in their opinion now, no case against him under copyright or property laws and no prospect of recovering any of the money he has probably safely disposed of, gained by misuse of my name and mutilation of my work, I suggest at least that they press for some judgement – nominal damages of one dollar, with an injunction against any further use of my name – which, when recorded, may establish a precedent in case law in favour of unprotected European writers, whose cause in this instance is mine also' (*LIII* 181). Neither the *Wake* nor the letters give much sense of Ellmann's 'sardonic amusement' being Joyce's overriding response to Roth's piracy of *Ulysses*.

¹⁷³ See chapter two.

¹⁷⁴ Rose, *James Joyce's The Index Manuscript*, p.110.

Not all forms of legalistic dispute or interrogation in the *Wake* have Joyce's American reception as its primary focus, although, as this section has argued, American 'wealth, law and power' certainly shaped how Joyce's work was being received and, consequently, shaped that work itself in important ways. Joyce's provocative response to his American reception was to incorporate into his 'nondesirable printed matter' (FW 456.30-1) those 'nondesirable' figures from contemporary America – the KKK, the 'Jooks and Kelly-Cooks' (FW 456.31), black Americans, and so on – whose very presence challenges the basis for authority on which the ban and pirating of *Ulysses* in the United States rested.

Conclusion

I began this thesis with the statement that rather than being indifferent to America, Joyce's work displays an increasing level of engagement with the US which culminates in its importance in the *Wake*. Each successive chapter in this thesis has argued that Joyce's engagement with American history, politics and culture has expanded exponentially through his works, and roughly in line with key points of historical transition. These include the post-war monumentalising of American literature in and out of the academy following an earlier period of flux and unstable reputations; the massive 'invasion' of American popular culture into Europe following the First World War and its sudden omnipresence in a changing world order; the steep rise and fall in numbers of Irish emigrants leaving for America and the equally abrupt decline in organised Irish-American support for Irish nationalism after the founding of the Free State; and finally the massive boom in American critical influence in the reception of Joyce in line with the unprecedented post-war growth of the American academy and lecture business in the 1920s and 1930s, with a combined financial power to acquire archives. I have described the *Wake* as a barometer, measuring the pressure of these historical shifts through a comparison with the earlier works. Indeed, the massive overall expansion of allusions to America in Joyce's final work is itself a measure of the push and pull of American influence on Joyce himself. Following the discussions of his reading of American literature, his extensive use of American popular culture in general and blackface minstrelsy in particular, the shift from a singularly political to a multiply cultural perspective on Irish-Americans, and the incorporation of his American reception in the *Wake*, a more synoptic approach will be taken here in elaborating on some concluding points on the nature of Joyce's response to these moments of historical transition.

In taking a synoptic approach, perhaps a more Joycean metaphor would be appropriate. I have hinted at a Joycean 'parallax' view of history regarding America. Chapter two argued that Stephen's observation of 'wigwams' (*U* 3.156) in Ringsend demonstrated this 'parallax' view of two histories of colonial subjugation. Joyce shared and exploited this view in his writing, but it was also a particularly Irish perspective. I briefly placed this in a context of a model of comparative Irish political thought, whereby leaders in the *Freeman's Journal* could point to manifestations of 'American imperialism' while also invoking America's saviour role in Irish politics: perhaps most memorably voiced in *Ulysses* by the citizen's cry of our 'greater Ireland beyond the seas' (*U* 12.1364-5). The identification of the Irish cause with that of colonised peoples and anti-imperial struggles elsewhere – the Philippines, South Africa, China, Cuba – extended to an identification with the victims of historical colonisation of the Americas and slavery. However, the racial abuse of Bloom by the citizen and others in *Ulysses* also exposed the limits of identification with those victims of historical colonisation and slavery, or indeed with contemporary victims of lynchings. It was precisely the strength of Irish-American bonds which corrupted the transatlantic relationship and negated Daniel O'Connell's refusal to accept American aid 'if it comes across the Atlantic stained in Negro blood'.¹ Thus the

¹ See chapter two.

‘parallax’ view of shared anti-imperial struggles is mirrored by Joyce’s own ‘parallax’ view of that mode of political thought. That is, Joyce invoked the comparative view, but he also complicated it and put it under sustained hermeneutic pressure.

Chapter one argued that Bret Harte’s *Gabriel Conroy* was deployed in order to invoke the anti-colonial subtext (as Shaw had done) only to shift perspective. This shift did two things (and Joyce would do it again with Whitman): it ironized the largely anti-democratic Revivalists’ embrace of democratic, decolonised American writers; and in doing so, it simultaneously raised the question of whether America’s fundamentally different culture and politics could be readily applied to Ireland. In Whitman’s case, an early interest in the poet of democracy had, by the time Joyce came to write *Ulysses*, shifted towards a recognition of the limits of that earlier identification, while an interest in ‘transatlantic Englishman’ Washington Irving showed an inverse pattern.² This pattern is typical of how America is represented in Joyce’s work. The early work showed traces of sympathy with a shared revolutionary history. The influence of the American short story on Joyce can thus be placed within his self-professed revolt against English literary models. This in turn can be placed within Irish literature’s gravitation towards America’s decolonised literary model in the late nineteenth century, as well as Irish political gravitation towards the US over the same period. Although tempered by remarks on ‘[l]a vulgarité américaine’ of Paint and Sausage Kings and ‘universal Americanism’, the modulation of Joyce’s attitude towards America over time follows a pattern of moving away from an initial sympathy firmly grounded in Irish politics and culture towards a more complex and layered representation of Irish and American history.

Joyce’s ‘parallax’ view of America not only shifted over time, but contained within itself split perspectives; it ‘enjoined’ at least two different views of America. In chapter two, I argued that many of Joyce’s allusions to America can be placed within an interpretive framework which allowed Irish and Native American, or Irish and African American, subjugation to be seen simultaneously. I also argued that in the case of America, we can identify a supplementary logic at work alongside this idea. According to that logic, America is not simply an analogous site for comparisons with the victims of violent subjugation, but also for comparisons with the violent subjugators: America is home to both ‘Patsy Caliban’ and the KKK. The idea of America which emerges in Joyce’s work ‘enjoins’ both subjugated and subjugator. It involves less a straightforward identification with the former than a complex ‘enjoining’ of the history of colonial and postcolonial violence in the US. America represents the burning of the British ‘Empyre’ (*FW* 289.10) in the flames of revolution, as well as the breach of that anti-colonial promise through expansion in the Americas and Asia-Pacific region, and ongoing racist violence in Southern states especially.

Joyce never quite relinquished the language of vulgar Americanism as it appeared in his early writing, but his approach in *Ulysses* and the *Wake* is better characterised as a fluid, more nuanced

² Arthur Clutton-Brock, ‘American Prose’, in *TLS*, 21 July 1910, p.257.

negotiation of American cultural and political influence. The lines of continuity are there, but Joyce's 'anatomy of American culture', to adapt the title of Cheryl Herr's work, clearly undergoes a radical expansion in the *Wake*.³ It is probably in 'Circe' that we can see most clearly Joyce shifting towards the *Wake*'s multiple 'parallax' perspectives and practices of 'enjoining' antagonistic pairs – an application both burlesque and sophisticated. Bruno's 'coincidence of contraries' is perhaps one useful way to think about this practice. We have seen how Joyce fuses black Shem, fair Shaun and references to the KKK: a practice foreshadowed in 'Circe' where 'The Cap' declares 'Jewgreek is greekjew. Extremes meet' (*U* 15.2097-8). In Joyce's America, too, opposing extremes meet: revolution and repression, emancipation and slavery, Irish-American Catholicism and Puritanism/Protestantism. Joyce's idea of America thus quite consistently 'enjoins' the extreme histories of the subjugated and their subjugators in that country, although it is not until the *Wake* that this perspective fully emerges. The running together of the VI.B.1 notes 'Abraham Lynch' and 'emancipation' forcefully suggests this 'parallax' view of America as revolutionary exemplar and 'land of breach of promise'. Although this dynamic was most extensively covered in chapter two, it can also be seen in chapters three and four. Irish-Americans, who arguably become more censorious in Joyce's eyes once they emigrate to the US, are both part of a long revolutionary history of exile and particularly keen to enforce authoritarian cultural standards once 'emancipated' in the New World. Similarly, Joyce acknowledged the support he received from appreciative America readers, while heavily incorporating into the *Wake* those instances of the abuse of his work by prohibitionist puritans like Sumner and self-promoting pirates like Roth. Thus, if we restate the question we began with as simply – What did America mean to James Joyce? – one answer would be that although it meant different things at different times to him, America is characterised in his writing above all through the interrelation of those 'extremes'.

With this in mind, what emerges most clearly in the final analysis of Joyce's relationship to America is precisely how it changes over time and is adapted to the needs and exigencies of a particular historical moment. Chapter three in particular focused on the significance of the shift in Joyce's writing concerning America occasioned by Ireland's own transition into the Free State and Northern Ireland. Before 1922, the centrality of America in Irish affairs had been primarily dictated by politics and (politicised) emigration. In the wake of partition, the politics of occupation, upon which the vast majority of Irish American support depended, increasingly gave way in Irish American relations with the Free State. The *Wake* reflects this situation. But what specific literary circumstance prompted the significant increase in the amount of American material entering his new work in the 1920s and 1930s? Both Derek Attridge and Sam Slote have argued convincingly against the idea that the *Wake* is a 'universal history' and/or a dream.⁴ At the risk of repeating this critical error, I want to

³ Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

⁴ Attridge, *Joyce Effects: On Language, Theory, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.133-55; Slote, *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics*, pp.129-31.

suggest nevertheless that the *Wake* approaches something like a universal history of Ireland (albeit one that is highly burlesque and a *reductio ad absurdum* of universalising theories⁵), while not being entirely limited by that description. *The Book of Kells* or *The Annals of the Four Masters*, for instance, offer potential models for Joyce's illumination of Irish history in his 'book of the dark' (FW 251.24). Indeed, Joyce sent Harriet Shaw Weaver a facsimile of pages of *The Book of Kells* in December 1922, and he reportedly told Power to study it for inspiration, adding: 'In all the places I have been to, Rome, Zurich, Trieste, I have taken it about with me, and have pored over its workmanship for hours. It is the most purely Irish thing we have, and some of the big initial letters which swing right across a page have the essential quality of a chapter of *Ulysses*. Indeed, you can compare much of my work to the intricate illuminations'.⁶ *The Annals*, too, 'annals of themselves timing the cycles of events grand and national' (FW 013.31), provided an important conceptual framework for thinking about his new work, as well as *Ulysses*: 'bluest book in baile's annals' (FW 013.21-2). As Atherton points out, several other Irish historians are present in the *Wake*, because '*Finnegans Wake* is, in one sense, a history of Ireland'.⁷ It is in this sense that America can most likely be accounted for in its allusive profusion in that work. As a history of Ireland, the *Wake* reflects the enormous transformation in relations between Ireland and America that chapter three in particular sketched out. When Tone spoke of the 'example of America' and O'Connell said the Americans 'conquered for Irish as well as American freedom', they exemplified how the idea of America in Ireland became inseparable from anti-colonial revolution.⁸ From the late eighteenth century on, Irish and American history became intertwined to the point that Yeats could write in 1904 that 'no two nations are bound more closely together than Ireland and America'.⁹ If we accept the notion that the *Wake* is, in one sense, a history of Ireland, then the centrality of an independent America in Irish history is reflected in the weight of American material in that work. Joyce's increased contact with an expat American colony in Paris, though it played a role, is not the primary reason behind the expansion of references to the US. Each chapter in this thesis has demonstrated the extent to which Joyce's sources were textual and not taken from fragments of overheard slang or conversations. The point is rather the sense that the *Wake* is appropriating and modernising the mediaeval annals of Irish history and accordingly reflects America's increasingly central role in that history. Emigration played a huge part in that increase. By 1900, there were more Irishmen and -women (including second-generation Irish-Americans) living in the United States alone than in Ireland.¹⁰ Thus, as chapter three argued, the *Wake* is in effect an historical barometer measuring the pressure of this transformational change in Ireland's history from a country with a history of invasions to one spreading out across the globe.

⁵ For Joyce's 'unravelling' of 'universals', see Fordham, *Lots of Fun*, passim.

⁶ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.545.

⁷ Atherton, *Books at the Wake*, p.90.

⁸ From Tone's diary, 27 April 1798, in *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-98*, vol.3, p.248; O'Connell, *Memoir on Ireland: Native and Saxon*, pp.7-8.

⁹ *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats*, vol.10, p.101.

¹⁰ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p.346.

Chapter four, the most *Wake*-focused chapter in this thesis, also reflects Joyce's 'parallax' view of America. Here, we saw how he addressed his American reception and the increasing importance of that country's production and consumption of his works, while giving a particular prominence to his antagonists in the US. Joyce acknowledged the support he received from appreciative American readers, while at the same time heavily incorporating into the *Wake* instances of the abuse of his work. He mapped his American reception onto historical Prohibition just as William Carlos Williams' was contending that that country's criticism was best suited to an appreciation of Joyce's work. From the earliest stages of the composition of the *Wake*, Joyce decided to have the structurally central motif of the Letter come from Boston, while phonetically merging the New England city with the Hiberno-English insult 'bastún' (*FW* 490.01). As with American literature, pop culture, and Irish America, the interrelation of 'extremes' characterises the incorporation of his American reception into the *Wake*. This chapter was strictly limited to what Joyce had to say about his American reception in the *Wake*, but it nevertheless gestures towards an application of its findings to later criticism of his work. Following both Nash and Lloyd, I argued that, in the sense that all of Joyce's writing performs the self-estrangement of Stephen Dedalus's image of the 'cracked lookingglass of the servant', the *Wake*'s engagement with America involved an awareness of Joyce's writing being 'refracted through international prisms'.¹¹ It is, moreover, a curious irony that the construction of an internationalist Joyce by principally American critics and scholars should have occluded the extent to which the culture of America became increasingly significant for Joyce. But others have picked up on how Joyce has been 'translated [...] into an American idiom'.¹² Derrida, in his essay on *Ulysses*, imagined a 'giant computer of Joycean studies' and observed: 'It would remain to be seen if the basic language of this computer would be English and its patent would be American, given the overwhelming and significant majority of Americans in the trust of the Joyce Foundation'.¹³ Elsewhere, in 'Two Words for Joyce', he discusses the need to write against English ('declaring war on English'), and in *The Other Heading*, for instance, the argument interrogates the 'dubbing' of all language into 'Anglo-American'.¹⁴ In *The French Joyce* Geert Lernout argued for 'a radical contextualization of Joyce criticism' in light of what he sees as an inherent dissensus behind a mask of consensus over approaches to Joyce (including the dominant Anglo-American approach). He suggests that the different Joyce institutions such as the Foundation, symposia and periodicals 'prefer to pretend that the object of all their efforts is the same. In reality nothing could be further from the truth: national and/or critical approaches of Joyce's work differ so much that it is not just useful but

¹¹ See chapter four. For the 'de-nationalisation' and 'internationalisation' of Joyce, see especially chapters one and three of Brooker, *Joyce's Critics*, pp.9-52; 97-137.

¹² Brooker, *Joyce's Critics*, p.181.

¹³ Derrida, 'Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce', p.583.

¹⁴ Derrida, 'Two Words for Joyce', in *Derrida and Joyce: Texts and Contexts*, ed. by Andrew J. Mitchell and Sam Slote (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), p.35; *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe*, trans. by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael B. Naas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p.23.

also necessary to consider them as separate paradigms in need of reciprocal translation'.¹⁵ Researching Joyce's own incorporation of his American reception into the *Wake* has revealed the extent to which Joyce himself was aware of the need for such multiple 'parallax' perspectives and mutual translation regarding national and/or critical approaches to his own work. At certain points in the 1920s in particular, he was *almost primarily* addressing himself to a transatlantic audience through American-orientated journals such as *transition*. He responds to this situation by registering a sense of epochal change, rival claims (Pound, Jolas, Williams, etc), the increasing role of finances, the stockpiling of archives, and other matters considered in Chapter four which point ahead to future developments but are firmly grounded in Joyce's contemporary moment. Ultimately, then, this chapter is connected to the rest of thesis through the same process of measuring the historical pressure being exerted over time on Joyce's work by America.

Beckett, while translating his trilogy from French to English in the fifties for an American publisher, is reported to have said that his writing was 'bound to be quite unamerican in rhythm and atmosphere'.¹⁶ Such a claim, if taken to be more widely applicable to Irish writing in general and Joyce in particular, would appear to support Hehir's argument cited in the introduction that a 'rigorous delineation of Joyce's America would show its limits to be narrower than supposed; it might sensitise Americans to Joyce's foreignness to them'.¹⁷ Yet, as this thesis has argued, the number of allusions to the US increased over time and massively proliferated in his final work. If Joyce's work was fundamentally 'unamerican', or essentially 'foreign' to America, it nevertheless addressed that foreignness and his own relation with the country as the need to do so became more and more pressing over time. No country forced Joyce into a consideration of its significance more insistently than America, with its 'new world presses' (*FW* 387.36), did between the wars. America's increasingly central role in Irish history and its increasingly central role in Joyce's reception history give it a unique significance in the *Wake* in particular. To adapt a remark by his most famous (and American) biographer and critic, Richard Ellmann: America was not his theme, but it found him out and forced him into attitudes towards it.¹⁸

¹⁵ See his own discussion of the Joyce industry in Lernout, 'The *Finnegans Wake* Notebooks and Radical Philology', in *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce*, pp.25-26.

¹⁶ Anthony Cronin, *Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist* (London: Flamingo, 1997), p.435.

¹⁷ Hehir, 'Reviews: Sigla, "Structure", Census', p.80.

¹⁸ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.4. The original reads: 'War and society were not his theme, but they found him out and forced him into attitudes towards them'.

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