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All the Beef to the Heels Were in: Advertising and Plenty in Joyce's Ulysses

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“All the beef to the heels were in”: Advertising and Plenty in Joyce’s *Ulysses*

by

MINDY JO RATCLIFF

(Under the Direction of Howard Keeley)

ABSTRACT

Privileging a historicist approach, this document explores the presence of consumer culture, particularly advertising, in James Joyce’s seminal modernist novel, *Ulysses* (1922). It interrogates Joyce’s awareness of how a broad upswing in Ireland’s post-Famine economy precipitated advertising-intensive consumerism in both rural and urban Ireland. Foci include the late-nineteenth-century transition in agriculture from arable farming to cattle-growing (grazier pastoralism), which, spurring economic growth, facilitated the emergence of a “strong farmer” rural bourgeoisie. The thesis considers how *Ulysses* inscribes and critiques that relatively affluent coterie’s expenditures on domestic cultural tourism, as well as hygiene-related products, whose presence on the Irish scene was complicated by a British discourse on imperial cleanliness. Building a substantive critical context, the thesis also presents a comparative analysis of advertising in *Ulysses* and a novel it directly influenced, Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925).

INDEX WORDS: Consumer Culture, Bourgeoisie, Advertisements, James Joyce, *Ulysses*, Ireland, Cattle farming, Tourism, Hygiene, Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, Modernism

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Chapter 1

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, Ireland's economic, social, and political environments altered dramatically. The Great Famine of 1845-1849 accelerated the demise of the peasantry, leaving the surviving farmers with more land. An understanding of this consequential shift towards the so-called strong farmers illuminates readings of the oeuvre of James Joyce (1882-1941), an author especially attuned to the rural and urban Irish bourgeoisie. Joyce depicted not just Irish citizens, but also the dynamic milieu in which they lived. Significant numbers of characters in his often semi-autobiographical writings are based on the women and men he knew in Ireland before he chose, in 1904, to exile himself on the European continent. Generally, Joyce's literary work does not idealize the Irish experience of his day; famously, the important short story collection *Dubliners* (1907) takes as its themes paralysis, gnomon, and exile. During the opening decades of the twentieth century, Joyce very deliberately presented his homeland in terms substantially different from the Yeatsian Revival's notion of a folklore-rich Gaelic peasant Ireland—a place apart from the industrialization and mass-production of the big economies of the Western world, especially Britain, the colonial master.

Interrogating *Ulysses* (1922)—his third major published work—primarily, this thesis seeks to understand Joyce's literary presentation of the middle class that emerged as a major force in Irish society during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As it proceeds, the thesis also pays attention to Joyce's *Dubliners* and his kunstlerroman *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1912). In addition, it compares Joyce's treatment of Victorian and Edwardian consumerism with relevant bourgeois-focused episodes in *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) by Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) and *Knocknagow; or the Homes of Tipperary* (1873) by Charles Kickham (1828-1882).

Invoking Stanislaus Joyce's *My Brother's Keeper* (1958) and Richard Ellmann's *James Joyce* (1959), the thesis explores Joyce's real-life interactions with bourgeois culture in both urban and rural Ireland, as well as his opinions of those who espoused the various aspects of the Revival, from native sports and the Gaelic language to such literary enterprises as the Abbey Theater.

This thesis uses historicist and cultural studies approaches to literature, examining pictorial advertisements, logos, and illustrations contemporary with the Gaelic Revival. In including advertisements, this document allows itself to open up the already covered realm of Joycean studies which concentrates heavily upon popular culture. I also apply those ideas to the historical research of this depicted bourgeoisie during the setting of Joyce's work. Done through the lens of Joyce's work, the purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of not only Joyce's work, but also the consumer culture and middle class strata of Irish society that Joyce chose as his subject. It is a cultural examination of the Irish population through the eyes of an Irish expatriate. In doing this, it will reveal a first-person account of this important era in Irish history.

Using historicist and cultural-studies lenses, the thesis examines pictorial advertisements, logos, and illustrations contemporary with the Revival. While such artifacts have been examined by Jennifer Wicke, Garry Leonard and other scholars interested in Joyce and consumer culture, most existing work takes a theoretic approach, considering such matters as Marxian commodity fetishism. My ambition, by contrast, is to relate Joyce's inscriptions of consumerism and advertising to three historical phenomena that mark a consequential change in Ireland's economy and society after the Great Famine (1845-1849): the turn to grazier farming; the rise of domestic tourism; and the development of the personal-hygiene marketplace.

To underscore that the literary-modernist interrogation of advertising extends beyond James Joyce, the first chapter compares *Ulysses* and a text three years its junior: Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, set in London. Specifically, it details how Woolf's presentation of advertisements attempts to answer—and perhaps even surpass—what *Ulysses* does. Among other things, this reading reveals differences between Irish and English views of mass consumer culture.

The second chapter explores the post-Famine growth of the Irish middle class, especially in the cattle-producing regions of the countryside. Rendered relatively affluent by a shift from “corn to horn,” the rural bourgeoisie—as correspondence from Leopold Bloom's Mullingar-based daughter shows—advanced the Irish relationship with commodity goods. *Ulysses* may be set in central Dublin, but herds of cattle are driven through that metropolis; furthermore, cattle diseases are a central talking point in its newspapers, as well as its pubs and other public venues.

The third chapter examines one major way in which the post-Famine middle class chose to spend its expendable income: travel within Ireland. Coinciding with the Revival's emphasis on Gaelic history and culture, the domestic tourism industry provided posters, guidebooks, trains, and hotels to facilitate exploration of the Western littoral: those “authentic” parts of Ireland farthest away from England. Being able to consume their own country through cultural and heritage tourism, the bourgeois Irish could eschew the colonizer.

The final chapter focuses on hygiene-related phobias and the advertising that both helped create them and sought to provide a solution to them. In their interactions with one other, Joyce's characters demonstrate awareness of cleanliness, probably a response to English stereotypes of the Irish as dirty and animal-like. The chapters hope to present Ireland as Joyce saw it. The study of bourgeois consumerism and advertising vis-à-vis Irish history adds nuance to our appreciation

of *Ulysses*. My project may perhaps be read as an attempt to “get” or understand advertising in *Ulysses*. In the “Aeolus” episode, one reads, “He’ll get that advertisement, the professor said” (*U* 107).

Chapter 2

“‘[A] preferred aesthetic’”: Modernism and Advertisement via Joyce and Woolf

In *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading* (1988), Jennifer Wicke claims that advertising arose alongside “the establishment of the novel” after the early eighteenth century; furthermore, she opines, because the literary canon has an “ever-shifting boundary,” advertising can even be regarded as a significant literary form (1, 5).¹ For his part, Mikhail Bakhtin recognizes that the novel has a “special relationship with extraliterary genres” (33), of which advertising is one. Certainly, it is important to study how both actual and fictional advertisements manifest themselves in novels published during and since the early-twentieth-century revolution in advertising, when businesses became much more dependent on advertisement. With the industrial revolution, companies were able to produce more goods, and thus able to incite desire for purchased goods through branding and marketing. Advertising is especially present in modernist literature that comments on social change: tales like James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922) and Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), which form the center of this chapter.

Although it is typically thought that modernism, a movement which “revealed a breaking away from established rules...[and] fresh ways of looking at man’s position” (Cuddon 516), behaved “as if...in permanent exile” from capitalism, capitalism appropriated modernism as its “preferred aesthetic” (Cooper 189). This aesthetic is inherently modern, and mass, consumer products leaned toward a modern, innovative quality, like modernist literature. As Cooper states,

¹ In another text, “Modernity Must Advertise: Aura, Desire, and Decolonization in Joyce,” Wicke elaborates on the relationship between advertising and modernist literature, holding that that “[the former] was the most powerful discursive rival of [the latter] and that this rivalry (or dialectic) was mutually engendering—that modernist literature, especially via Joyce, incorporated advertising’s liminality and material hieroglyphs as its own procedures, while advertising presciently vaulted through modernist techniques to establish itself beyond narrative” (*James Joyce Quarterly* 30.4: 604).

sometimes it is assumed by unfamiliar readers that modernism rejects the marketplace, but it is actually quite the contrary – modernism operates within the marketplace by depicting consumer culture and underscoring its presence with advertisements. Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922), a canonical work of high modernism, frequently invokes advertisements that are representative of Irish society in 1904, the year in which it is set. Although Joyce engaged in an exile of his own—Trieste, Paris, and Zurich—he chose to focus the eighteen episodes of the text on his native land, considering in particular its emerging urban and (to a lesser degree) rural bourgeoisie. *Ulysses*, according to R. Brandon Kershner, explores the “dialogic” relationship between advertisements and the Irish consumers they courted (11). Wicke calls advertisement “a determining economic site” (1), and Joyce’s presentation of advertising reflects Ireland’s consequential shift towards middle-class agriculture-based prosperity, which generated more expendable income for the average citizen, after the Great Famine. This determining economic is the place where viewers of advertisements can see what was being purchased and what was considered popular during a given place in time. Often advertisements reflect the trends that consumers tended to buy into, and this offers a place to see how they chose to spend their money.

In an effort to consume its heritage, which had been highlighted by the antiquarian movement of the prior two centuries, the early-twentieth-century Irish bourgeoisie, a predominantly Catholic and conservative coterie, began to purchase Irishness in the form of Irish-manufactured goods and artifacts of Gaelic and Celtic design, many of which were commercially advertised. The great cultural movement known as the Irish Revival, which ran from around the 1880s through the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922, can, in a way, be seen as an advertising campaign that promoted native “products”—hurling, the Gaelic language, and more—distinct from English hegemony in Ireland. Cultural tourism expanded, bringing a

new, more affluent generation to sites like the prehistoric Hill of Tara and the Early Christian Rock of Cashel. These trends notwithstanding, one cannot deny that the techniques and technologies of advertising often came to Ireland from England, some of whose people saw the Irish as dirty, a fact that resonates when one considers the invocation of Pears soap, a London-based brand, in the “Lotus Eaters” episode: “Take off the rough dirt. Good morning, have you used Pears’ soap?” (*U* 70). These thoughts occupy the central *Ulysses* character, advertising salesman Leopold Bloom, when he encounters an acquaintance Bantam Lyons upon a Dublin street. In fact, references to advertising and the language associated with advertising are so ubiquitous in *Ulysses*, one might conclude that Joyce regards advertising as the “preferred aesthetic” of the modern Irish middle class.

An important social dimension of advertising is that it separates customers from consumers. Customers purchase goods to satisfy needs, while consumers do so to satisfy wants. Advertising creates wants. Joyce’s approaches to depicting advertisements helped shape the Modernist literary idiom, kindling desire in other authors. Virginia Woolf seems keen to replicate the Joycean way with advertising in the pages of *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925). Advertising became unprecedentedly prolific in the 1920s, experimenting with innovations to shift away from simple newspaper classifieds. As efficient factories produced more goods than there were buyers, advertising intensified in an effort to stimulate demand, often by building glamour or mystique around commercial products. In fact, *advertere*, the Latin root of the English verb *advertise*, means “to pay attention to”—a combination of *ad* (“toward”) and *vertere* (“to turn”) (Berger 1). Despite their already having an adequate supply of soap at home, consumers would purchase Pears’ Soap because of advertisements seen in *The Irish Times*.

In addition to advances in the manufacturing sector, other technological changes also contributed to the growth of the consumer culture that Joyce's and Woolf's writings explore. Garry Leonard explains that "electricity became readily available," permitting "[c]heap printing" that "brought about modern packaging and modern advertising" (22). Leonard points out that electricity not only permitted shop owners to stay open longer, but it also offered a means to present products fantastically—for example, the bathing of objects in light to enhance their appeal. Packaging enhanced competition, advancing the creation of brand names. Joyce and Woolf address the sometimes fantastical, ephemeral nature of advertising. Both *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway* are widely studied, and many scholars have already covered their comparable traits vis-à-vis consumer culture. Jennifer Wicke maintains that Woolf uses consumer culture to fully embrace Modernism, and that contention is applicable to *Ulysses*, too. For her part, Harvena Richter (in "The *Ulysses* Connection: Clarissa Dalloway's Bloomsday") dissects Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* manuscript and concludes that the final novel deliberately mirrors *Ulysses*.

Woolf's essay "Modern Fiction" declares, "[D]ifficult or unpleasant as we may judge it, [*Ulysses*] is undeniably important" (*Common Reader* 155). Richter reveals that Woolf's manuscripts first had the name Molly in place of Sally (Seton) and Stephen in place of Septimus (Smith). Additionally, Richter says that Woolf borrowed Joyce's technique of presenting two consciousnesses after re-reading *Ulysses* in April 1922. According to Richter, Woolf was "work[ing] on a short story 'Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street,' with no intimation of the novel to come" until *Ulysses* excited her interest in uniting a pair of contrasting characters (308). In a sense, Joyce's Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus become, respectively, Woolf's Clarissa Dalloway and Septimus Smith. Of course, while the Bloom-Stephen relationship involves direct mutual interaction, the Clarissa-Septimus one never does. Woolf's characters remain separate

entities, but Bloom attempts to reclaim a lost son through Stephen, especially in the “Ithaca” episode. Mark Osteen observes that Bloom “acts as the economic and moral conscience of Dublin,” with Stephen “need[ing] both sorts of grace” (127). Stephen may rebuff Bloom and his bourgeois domesticity, but that is more than what happens between the upper-class Clarissa Dalloway and Septimus: she merely hears about his suicide. The would-be bohemian Stephen steps inside Bloom’s world of material objects, but the traumatized Great War veteran Septimus remains beyond Clarissa’s. The two novels’ respective treatments of advertising mirror these contrasting scenarios.

“Virginia Woolf’s ‘cotton wool of daily life,’” an essay by Liesl Olson, describes *Ulysses* as a book that follows objects (53). Headlines in the “Aeolus” episode trace the movement of such commercially advertised objects as a bar of soap. While *Ulysses* focuses on the external environment and how characters interact with various consumer products within it, *Mrs. Dalloway* privileges psychological environments, moving from the mind of one character to that of another. Bonnie Kime Scott observes that “Joyce’s characters eventually share actual experiences toward the end of the novel, [but] Woolf’s have a final meeting only in Clarissa Dalloway’s mind” (liii). In *Mrs. Dalloway*, the message of a given advertisement depends upon individual interpretation. One sees this in how different characters respond to the sky-writing advertisement.

Michael Tratner explains that Woolf “needed to examine vast nets of unconscious influence that crisscross society if she was to make sense of her world” (29). Woolf has Septimus think that the sky-writing is a secret message to him; in effect, advertising exacerbates his anxieties and insanity. Meanwhile, she has other characters attempt to decipher the message gradually spelled out by an airplane. Tratner sees *Ulysses* in more social terms, specifically, as

Joyce's attempt "to change Ireland by acting on the collective consciousnesses...that underlie institutions throughout the social order" (33). The expatriate Joyce embraced Continental European life, and wanted to expand Ireland's worldview. Advertisements are signs of international culture, so it makes sense to install as lead protagonist a canvasser of advertisements of Hungarian-Jewish extraction. Leopold Bloom is at once an "other" and an Irishman. As John McCourt points out in *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904-1920*, one of Bloom's "redeeming" characteristics is his being "mixed middling"—"not... some kind of pure Irishman"—a condition that allows Joyce to dispel negative myths about the "Oriental Paddy" and offer Ireland a worldlier version of itself (94).

Mrs. Dalloway centers on the metropolitan English upper class, contrasting it with mental and other struggles experienced by ordinary soldiers recently returned from the Great War. While Septimus deals with shell shock, Clarissa remains largely self-centered, distant from reality by living in her memories. A married, upper-class woman shopping and decorating prior to hosting a society party, she spends her day rehearsing memories of lost loves. Clarissa's very first action centers on consumption: going to the market to purchase fresh flowers. In this instance, shopping is no necessity or chore. Instead, it is a leisured, luxury pursuit and a choice on the part of the wealthy: "Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself" (*MD* 3). This famous opening line (and paragraph) may be seen as coming from the stream of consciousness of Clarissa's servant Lucy; after all, Clarissa is unlikely to call herself Mrs. Dalloway. The narrative then moves to Clarissa's thoughts: "For Lucy had her work cut out for her" (*MD* 3). This separation of classes sets the tone for the rest of the novel, making a clear distinction between Clarissa and the other characters. Clarissa and Septimus are ultimately separate, and there can be no redemption for the troubled Septimus, such as Bloom at least offers Stephen.

Woolf mimics Joyce's use of a non-rural setting. *Mrs. Dalloway* is set in central London, where Clarissa encounters advertisements, though not to the degree Leopold Bloom does. In depicting advertisements, both Woolf and Joyce demonstrate capitalism's effects upon the modern world. Arguably, Joyce uses Stephen and Woolf uses Septimus to illustrate the socio-economic separation that occurs when capitalism alienates individuals. As Clarissa is purchasing, Septimus is struggling with merely existing. His confusion at the sight of the writing in the sky suggests that this alienation occurs as he tries to function normally, but cannot do so because of his mental illness. While a World War I soldier is falling deeper into mental duress, Clarissa Dalloway is preoccupied with party preparations such as buying flowers. This separation distinguishes Septimus from Clarissa much more drastically than Joyce does with Bloom and Stephen.

However, Jennifer Wicke sees Woolf's use of the marketplace as, first and foremost, an embrace of modernism. Wicke acknowledges that Woolf's fiction "as modernist art, might on its surface appear to be anti-market, dead set against the forces of market capitalism that were changing the nature of the artistic production as so many other fields" (16). But Wicke goes on to argue that, in fact, "Woolf's writing offers marketing as modernism, the market as susceptible only to the invisible hand of art or creation to 'order' it" (16). Wicke's statement here reinforces the idea that modernism and advertisements are quite similar; they both require a certain degree of orchestration as they function socially and economically within a modernist context. The common marketplace is carefully constructed in the modernist text so that it serves a new, inventive purpose: something entirely new, thus making the seemingly not artistic, artistic. The Plumtree's Potted Meat advertisement in *Ulysses* functions almost as a character, commenting on Dignam's death and Molly's adultery. It haunts Leopold Bloom throughout the day, rather than

merely appearing as a singular advertisement. “[M]arketing as modernism” simply means that the marketing functions in a new way under the construction of the modernist author.

John Xiros Cooper reiterates Wicke’s point that modernism and the marketplace are united (189), a phenomenon certainly evident in Joyce’s *Ulysses*. The busyness of the marketplace is apparent at the beginning of *Mrs. Dalloway*, during Clarissa’s flower-buying expedition. The title character reflects on her “love” for the “life” manifest “[i]n people’s eyes, in the swing, tump, and trudge; in the bellow and the uproar; the carriages, motor cars, omnibuses, sandwich men shuffling and swinging” (*MD* 4). This enthusiasm leads to the sky-writing advertisement, which requires detailed analysis. Many people in the marketplace observe and attempt to understand it: “The sound of the airplane bored ominously into the ears of the crowd... Dropping dead down the airplane soared straight up, curved in a loop, raced, sank, rose, and whatever it did, wherever it went, out fluttered behind it a thick ruffled bar of white smoke which curled and wreathed upon the sky in letters” (*MD* 20). Enchanted and intrigued by this ephemeral advertisement, Mrs. Coates, Mrs. Bletchley, and Mr. Bowley make guesses as to the brand name or nature of the product being announced: “Glaxo,” “Kreemo,” “toffee” (*MD* 20-21). However, before anyone can be totally certain, “the smoke faded and assembled itself round the broad white shapes of the clouds” (*MD* 21). Clarissa is left wondering about the message. Interestingly, Clarissa seems less aware of the sky-writing than those around her: ““What are they looking at?” said Clarissa Dalloway to the maid who opened her door,” but Septimus Smith becomes intensely engaged with it, seeing the letters as a gift of beauty:

So, thought Septimus, looking up, they are signaling to me. Not indeed in actual words; that is, he could not read the language yet; but it was plain enough, this beauty, this exquisite beauty, and tears filled his eyes as he looked at the smoke

words languishing and melting in the sky and bestowing upon him in their inexhaustible charity and laughing goodness one shape after another of unimaginable beauty and signaling their intention to provide him, for nothing, for ever, for looking merely, with beauty, more beauty! Tears ran down his cheeks.

(*MD* 21)

Septimus's meditation may be Woolf's most sustained commentary on advertising and, by extension, consumer culture. At one level, the veteran's reaction demonstrates the nature of his mental illness: like the "smoke words," his sanity fades—things make less sense to him—with each passing second. As far as Septimus is concerned, the airplane-made letters are no mere advertisement; instead, they are a signal or sign in a "language" that, while currently unknown to him, he hopes eventually to decipher. Here, Woolf uses advertising to deepen her reader's understanding of the power of mass consumer culture; it can even reach individuals mentally and socially displaced by war. Liesl Olson sees Septimus as attempting, but ultimately failing, to connect to the world the likes of Clarissa Dalloway represent; however, the class gulf between them prevents him from discovering that Clarissa is less than stable herself (53). The Great War has created a sense of vulnerability in her, and, in addition, she suffers from some sort of physical ailment, which the narrative never clarifies. Advertising comes to represent that for which Septimus fought, but Clarissa, as a representative of the home front, falls short of the promise advertisements make.

Mrs. Dalloway adopted the modern, advertising-intensive marketplace from *Ulysses*, whose protagonist, Leopold Bloom, very actively participates in the Dublin marketplace of 16 June 1904, both as an advertising canvasser and a consumer. Wanders through the "Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis" (*U* 96), he purchases meat, soap, a newspaper, a book, and various

meals and drinks. Hugh Kenner's *Ulysses* points out that Joyce revealed to his readers only those things that someone in Dublin on the original Bloomsday would notice: "[T]he reader should not be told what no one present would think worth an act of attention" (31). This means that Bloom's contemporaries would be highly attuned to his profession and purchases. To reflect Ireland as a real, up-to-date marketplace—a site unlike the often-idealized rural, Gaelic West of Ireland—Joyce renders Bloom keenly interested in finding or, better yet, creating the perfect advertisement. One example of an advertisement that appears and reappears during the course of Bloom's day is five sandwichmen, each of whom wears a hat with a capital letter on it.

Joyce's use of the sandwichmen certainly provides Bloom with food for thought, and I shall discuss their relationship to a particular aspect of the Irish economy, beef production, in Chapter 2. In the "Wandering Rocks" episode, many characters see the sandwichmen as—almost always in imperfect order—they walk the streets to advertise Wisdom Hely's Stationary Store. Joyce's presentation of multiple perspectives may have provided Woolf with a model for her sky-writing passage. Bloom first encounters the sandwichmen in the "Lestrygonians" episode: "He read the scarlet letters on their five tall white hats: H.E.L.Y.'S. Wisdom Hely's. Y. lagging behind drew a chunk of bread from under his foreboard, crammed it into his mouth and munched as he walked" (*U* 154). This tableau causes Bloom to think of his former employment with Wisdom Hely and how he would replace the sandwichmen with a "transparent showcart" (*U* 154). He thinks, "Doesn't bring in any business" (154).

At one point during "Wandering Rocks," the sandwichmen become cramped together: "At Ponsonby's corner a jaded white flagon H. halted and four tallhatted white flagons halted behind him, E.L.Y.'S., while outriders pranced past and carriages" (*U* 253). Here, the letters are divided into two groups. Even when not separated, they strike different individuals differently. A

secretary, Miss Dunne, sees them “eel[ing] themselves turning H.E.L.Y.’S. and plod[ing] back as they had come.” (*U* 229), while Blazes Boylan observes “H.E.L.Y.’S. [file] before him...plodding towards their goal” (*U* 227). Just like the sky-writing, the sandwichmen are fluid and everywhere. Everyone sees them, even if not everyone sees their message. Sometimes the H. receives emphasis; sometimes the Y. Rather than being perceived as a cohesive advertisement, the sandwichmen become relatively individuated; that is, while they are not as ephemeral as smoke, they do fluctuate. Thus, both they and the sky-writing are failed advertisements.

Woolf’s fluid, multi-message sky-writing can be compared to another “advertisement” in *Ulysses*. Generally, graffiti is a very protean form of advertising, and Joyce presents it as part of the cityscape in “Dear Dirty Dublin” (*U* 96). Specifically, around 1:00 PM, Bloom sees near the ever-flowing River Liffey a sign altered by graffiti: “Post No Bills”—an attempt to prevent the defacement of the city by uncontrolled poster advertising—has become “Post 110 Pills.” Bloom reads the message as a reference to medication for the burning sensation associated with venereal disease: “POST NO BILLS. POST 110 PILLS. Some chap with a dose burning him” (*U* 153). In other words, graffiti transforms an anti-advertisement into an advertisement for a diseased Dublin.

Over and over, we can identify important parallels between Woolf’s presentation of advertising and Joyce’s before her. Their respective emphases differ in that *Mrs. Dalloway* concentrates on its characters’ minds in relation to advertising, while *Ulysses* examines characters preoccupied with the concrete objects that advertising presents. If Woolf’s is a world of mental perception, Joyce’s is one of physical consumption. While particular characters in *Ulysses* center around the marketing industry – Bloom’s occupation in particular – Woolf’s characters seem to fall apart in the presence of capitalism. This is buttressed by Wicke’s

statement about the “market as susceptible only to the invisible hand of art or creation to ‘order’ it” (16) While Joyce’s invisible hand crafts one kind of social organization based upon capitalist marketing, Woolf creates another, more destructive one. This is not to say that Woolf was anti-market just as Wicke states, but rather that she chose to orient her characters (particularly Septimus) differently to that market than Joyce. As the next two chapters will demonstrate, Joyce came of age in an Ireland where the consumption of goods intensified dramatically. After the Great Famine of the 1840s, the Irish middle class grew, and to a significant degree its members had to learn how to be modern consumers.

Chapter 3

“Roastbeef for old England”: The Horn Economy in *Ulysses*

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ireland was almost always under threat of famine. Famine struck most famously between 1845 and 1849—the event known as the Great Famine or Great Hunger—killing around one-eighth of the country’s eight million or so inhabitants and causing over another million to emigrate. Michael Mulcrone asserts, “The Great Famine... was a seminal event in the course of modern Irish history” (219). This massive, traumatic famine occurred because of “an ecological disaster” (Ó Gráda 2): rapid spread of the fungus called potato blight (*phytophthora infestans*). Cormac Ó Gráda relates the 1861 opinion of the Irish nationalist John Mitchel, founder of the *United Irishman* newspaper (1848), that “[t]he Almighty...sent potato blight, but the English created the [Great] Famine” (3). Mitchel, son of an Ulster Presbyterian minister, helped promote the idea that Britain’s adherence to laissez-faire trade—an economic system largely free of government intervention—prevented it from staging a massive humanitarian intervention on behalf of the Irish.

When studying James Joyce, it is important to bear in mind that Bloom was born in 1866, just seventeen years after the last year of the Great Famine. In fact, the threat of poor harvests and even famine did not entirely go away during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Bloom became a teenager in 1879, a particularly worrying year. Nevertheless, after—and because of—the Great Famine, Ireland’s agricultural, economic, and social landscape changed dramatically. The Famine proved a seminal blow to the long-term continuance of the island’s vast peasant class. Starvation, a variety of diseases, and emigration affected that coterie disproportionately. Especially after 1852, when widespread recovery began, many better-off farmers (known as strong farmers, or, simply, farmers) found themselves in a position to absorb

former peasant plots. D. George Boyce explains that “the number of [agricultural] laborers and cottiers fell by 40 per cent” in the six years from 1845 and “by the same proportion...during the following 60 years”; he concludes, “By 1900 famers outnumbered laborers” (170).

As the peasant class diminished, a new group of citizens came to dominate Irish life. Paul Bew’s *Land and the National Question in Ireland 1858-82* labels it the “rural bourgeoisie” (223). Scholars acknowledge a middle-class, largely Catholic coalition in the countryside made up of strong farmers and market-town merchants, the “shopocracy” (Lyons 117). Increased wealth among farmers precipitated the relatively rapid growth of a mercantile culture significantly predicated on store goods. The fourth chapter of Edith Somerville and Martin Ross’s novel *The Real Charlotte* (published in 1894 and set in “189-“) gives a sense of this new reality in a fictional rural Irish community: “A damp winter and a chilly spring had passed in their usual mildly disagreeable manner over [the] small Irish country town....The shop windows had exhibited their usual zodiacal succession, and had progressed through red comforters and woolen gloves to straw hats, tennis shoes, and colored Summer Numbers” (22). A primary and sometimes controversial engine for economic change and new prosperity was the development of grazier or ranch farming, often on properties that had expanded by consolidating peasant land.

Grazier farming is medium- to large-scale cattle-growing and -dealing, and it proved lucrative, not least due to the availability of large urban English markets. The “Hades” episode of *Ulysses* highlights the meat economy. When making its way across Dublin to the funeral of Paddy Dignam, a carriage containing Leopold Bloom and three others stops to let pass a “divided drove of branded cattle” and “raddled sheep” (*U* 80). The animals’ destination is the docks, for slaughter and exportation—“to Liverpool probably,” Bloom thinks (*U* 80-81). The urban Bloom appreciates the cattle business; indeed, “Calypso,” the novel’s first Bloom-centered episode,

reveals Bloom's memories of "mornings in the [Dublin] cattlemarket, the beasts lowing in their pens...the breeders in hobnail boots" (U 48). "Ithaca," the penultimate episode, fills in the details: in 1893 and 1894, Bloom was "a clerk in the employment of Joseph Cuffe of 5 Smithfield for the superintendence of sales in the adjacent Dublin Cattle market on the North Circular road" (U 556).

In the funeral-bound carriage, the Jewish Bloom (who eats organ meat) reflects, "Thursday, of course. Tomorrow is killing day....Roastbeef for old England. They buy up all the juicy ones" (U 80). This observation may suggest an argument quoted by Redcliffe Salaman MD, the London-born Jewish activist whose scientific research into potato blight led to his appointment, in 1926, as the founding director of Cambridge University's Potato Virus Research Unit. In *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (1949), Salaman highlights the German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach's 1862 contention that English dominance over Ireland resulted from the superiority of the latter nation's diet (i.e. a nation is what it eats): While the Irish subsist on potatoes and oatmeal, the English consume "roast beef," which generates "rich, powerful, deed-producing blood" (Salaman 338). Zack R. Bowen discusses the possible meaning of the line "Roastbeef for old England" in *Musical Allusions in the Works of James Joyce: Early Poetry through Ulysses*. He says that it could have a double meaning if Bloom was aware of the English song of that exact title. He says, "Written in the early part of the eighteenth century, complain about the spinelessness of what was then contemporary England" (108). The song begins, "When mighty roastbeef was the Englishman's food/ It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood" (108). Bowen admits that Bloom, as suggested here, was using the quote ironically. Bowen says, "It was a popular bone of contention that Ireland was drained of its cattle and natural resources," and "[T]he use of Irish beef to ennoble the hearts...of Englishmen... constitutes an obvious irony

to any Irishman” (108). Clearly, Bloom’s simple phrase speaks volumes of the manner in which the cattle industry functioned in Ireland.

Watching the beasts “slouching by on padded hoofs,” Bloom suggests that “the corporation...run a [cattle-carrying] tramline from the parkgate to the quays” to further modernize the industry (*U* 80). The accord with which his fellow travelers, Dublin residents all, greet this idea underscores the economic centrality to Ireland of highly integrated cattle-production. Among the group is Simon Dedalus: a character based on James Joyce’s father, John. Joyce’s earlier, semi-autobiographical novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) concerns Simon Dedalus’s son Stephen; and, indeed, *Ulysses* opens with Stephen, who fears being ridiculed as a “bullockbefriending bard” (*U* 29). This would result from his carrying a piece about foot-and-mouth disease to a Dublin city-center newspaper office on behalf of his employer, Mr. Deasy, the Ulster-born principal of a suburban boys’ school.

Every region of Ireland was altered by the significant post-Famine shift from arable to pastoral farming, sometimes called the “corn to horn” transition. Especially affected, however, were strong farmers in the limestone-rich pasturelands of the eastern province of Leinster and the southern province of Munster: areas like the Golden Vale, which runs through portions of Cos. Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary. As cattle-based agriculture yielded higher disposable incomes in such places, farming families developed a taste for consumer goods and services. *Ulysses* explores this phenomenon through focusing on the retail sector in Mullingar, the county seat of Westmeath (in Leinster) and the center of a major cattle-growing and –dealing zone. Bloom’s fifteen –year-old, Dublin-born daughter Milly moves to Mullingar to work in a photography studio and encounters many of the new bourgeois farming families.

Richard Ellmann's respected biography *James Joyce* (1959) details how, during a visit to Mullingar with his father, Joyce at age eighteen saw "Phil Shaw's photographic shop" (81). Ellmann avers that the establishment "stayed with him, and he put Milly Bloom to work there in *Ulysses*" (81). The elder Joyce had been "employed to straighten out the voting lists in Mullingar" in the light of the partial enfranchisement of middle-class Catholics by electoral-reform legislation (81). According to Ellmann, James Joyce "seems to have relished buzzing the local residents with remarks like, 'My mind is more interesting to me than the entire country,' and with reproofs for the un-Christian (as he seemingly considered it) belligerence towards England" (81). The young man may have seen nationalist belligerence as hypocritical; certainly, local graziers did not mind selling their cattle to feed English cities.

Joyce would also have built awareness of the meat economy through his father's inheritance: farmland in Co. Cork worth around £315 annually. Early in Ellmann's biography, he explains that in 1875 or thereabouts John Joyce moved to Dublin from Cork after several "madcap" adventures that included attempts to join the French Army and the paramilitary Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) or Fenians (13-14). After his 1879 marriage, "John Joyce applied himself with equal diligence to the begetting of children and the contracting of mortgages on his inherited properties....The total, not including three misbirths, was four boys and six girls. [A]fter eleven mortgages, there was no more property" (20). Even as Joyce Senior was becoming a man of no property, most members of the increasingly affluent and confident rural bourgeoisie were pushing hard for the right to purchase the land they farmed, a major initiative being the 1879 founding of the Irish National Land League. Such campaigning bore fruit in a series of land-reform laws. By far the most important of these was the Wyndham Land Act,

which transferred around eleven million acres from landlords to tenants. It came into force on 1 November 1903, seven months and sixteen days before the action in *Ulysses* begins.

Like Ellmann, James Joyce's brother Stanislaus Joyce—in *My Brother's Keeper* (1958)—addresses John Joyce's "[getting] mixed up with a Fenian group in Rebel Cork, so that his harassed mother decided to leave Cork for good" (25). As a would-be Fenian, Joyce Senior would have been aware of Charles Joseph Kickham, the *Irish People* journalist and bestselling novelist, who became President of the Supreme Council of the IRB. Of Kickham's four long novels about Irish rural life in his day, the most popular was *Knocknagow; or, The Homes of Tipperary* (1873). It depicts complex struggles between landlords and tenants in and around a fictional hamlet called Knocknagow, near the mill town of Clonmel in South Tipperary (Munster). During the post-Famine recovery, the Kickhams made money as drapers and small landowners in Mullinahone, about 20 miles north of Clonmel. Their success allowed the novelist's great nephew, Rody Kickham, to attend Clongowes Wood College, the exclusive Jesuit school west of Dublin, where he was James Joyce's contemporary until John Joyce's financial woes obliged his son to leave that school. *Portrait*, which calls Simon Dedalus "a small landlord, a small investor" (P 284), praises Rody Kickham as "a decent fellow" (P 6) among Clongowes students. He is a boy whose parents can both pay the Jesuits' fees and provide him with "a hamper in the refectory" (P 6).

Just prior to the Rody Kickham episode, we meet Stephen Dedalus's Aunt Dante Riordan, who owns a brush with "a maroon velvet back... for Michael Davitt" and one with "a green velvet back... for [Charles Stewart] Parnell" (P 2): respectively, a Catholic peasant and an Anglican landlord. These charismatic activists founded the Land League, although Parnell's involvement with that cause was largely strategic, namely, to advance Home Rule or

constitutional autonomy for Ireland. Fundamentally based among the rural bourgeoisie, the Land League's primary goal was to transfer land from the landlords to the tenant families who farmed it, as their forbearers had, perhaps over many generations. The Land League used advertising to promote its objectives and gather crowds for its public gatherings, which styled themselves on Daniel O'Connell's pre-Famine monster meetings for Repeal of the Union. It is probable that some of Joyce's earliest exposure to mass advertising was propaganda produced by successor organizations to the Land League, such as the National League, founded in 1882, the year of Joyce's birth.

To a crucial degree, land agitation such as that of the late 1870s and the 1880s was propelled by middle-class frustration with the "feudal" landlord-tenant model. Kickham's *Knocknagow* places particular emphasis on the rising rural bourgeoisie. The text focuses primarily on the tenant Kearney family's successful survival of an attempt by the landlord's unscrupulous agent to evict it from the house and lands it rents. The Kearneys are explicitly identified as "Irish Catholics of the middle class" (Kickham 35). Given her self-important airs, Kickham's Mrs. Kearney may strike the reader as a possible prototype for the character Mrs. Kearney in Joyce's *Dubliners* story "A Mother." Paralleling the Kearneys' victory, the novel's dominant subplot concerns an individual called Mat Donovan, whom an English observer calls "a magnificent specimen of the Irish peasant" (26). He leaves behind his peasant identity—"Mat the Thrasher," a nickname suggestive of the corn economy—and "mak[es] money...fast as a cattle dealer" (584), even adding rooms to his homestead and buildings to his farmyard. *Knocknagow*'s popularity—nearly every Irish home possessed a copy—rather renders it a form of advertisement for the material and cultural possibilities of the corn-to-horn transition. The seventh chapter of *Knocknagow* highlights the sheer number of shopkeepers in the town. The

narration reads, “There were two or three small farm-houses, the owners of which held from ten to twenty acres each. Two pipes "across" a pound of soap, with a button of blue stuck to it, and a very yellow halfpenny candle in the windows — if we may dignify them with the name— of four or five poor cabins, showed that there was brisk competition in the shop-keeping line in Knocknagow” (41). Having a high number of shops indicates a high number of buyers, and this demonstrates that even before *Ulysses*, rural Ireland was experiencing a boom in consumerism.

Increasingly, cattle-growing rose to dominate the farming industry, but the potato would and could not be forgotten. In the “Calypso” episode of *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom, grandson of a Hungarian Jew, leaves his three-story Eccles Street house to purchase a non-Kosher pork kidney at Dlugacz’s, a Polish-Jewish butcher shop. Reaching into his pocket, Bloom discovers his talisman, a potato, which was given to him by his late mother. He thinks, “Potato I have” (*U* 46). It is remarkable that “Potato” with a capital “P” should appear just as Bloom seeks meat, 59 years after the start of the Great Famine. After his breakfast of kidney, Bloom, defecating, thinks of Gretta Conroy, a central character in “The Dead,” the concluding story in *Dubliners*. The potato, a post-funeral dish in Jewish tradition, also appears in “The Dead,” which is haunted by Gretta’s dead lover, a “delicate boy” (*D* 231) called Michael Furey. Specifically, as Gretta’s husband Gabriel carves a goose, centerpiece of a heavily-laden Christmastide table, a servant called Lily (the flower of the Virgin Mary) “[goes] from guest to guest with a dish of hot floury potatoes wrapped in a white napkin” (*D* 197). Here, the potato takes on almost eucharistic significance. Gabriel’s Aunt Kate, one of the party’s aging hosts, remains restrained in the face of the gastronomic plenty she helps provide, insisting that “plain roast goose without apple sauce had always been good enough for her and she hoped she might never eat worse” (*D* 197). Undoubtedly, Aunt Kate would have witnessed the Great Famine’s blackened potatoes.

Largely created and supported by cattle-growing, Ireland's unprecedented post-Famine consumerism led to significant changes in advertising. As the Irish grew into prosperity, advertising's purpose became to excite desire for manufactured products and retail goods. Need was no longer an issue; advertisers had to generate want and cause customers to evolve into consumers. Historian Henry Sampson details one medieval advertisement form where "a man or youth standing at the door [of the shop], and vociferating with the full power of his lungs, "What d'ye lack, sir? What d'ye lack?" (48). No longer asking what is lacking, salesman and advertisement addressed want. In *Ulysses*, the middle-class Irishman Leopold Bloom—a professional advertising canvasser—spends money on various items throughout his day, such as soap. Seeing the "coolwrapped soap" (*U* 70), Bloom impulsively decides to buy the soap while he is at the Chemist's counter in "Lotus-Eaters." Bloom is distinctly bourgeois: the "Ithaca" episode reveals his ownership of an endowment insurance policy, a bank passbook, and a certificate of possession of government stock in Canada (*U* 594). Fundamentally dependent upon modern mercantile society, Bloom must sell advertisements for businesses, such as Alexander Keyes's "high class licensed premises" (*U* 100). Bloom is almost obsessed with finding or creating the perfect advertisement, unremittingly critiquing advertisements and slogans he encounters. Speaking to Mr. Nannetti in the office of *The Freeman's Journal*, he discusses his idea for the Keyes advertisement. He says, "He wants two keys at the top... Like that, Mr. Bloom said, crossing his forefingers at the top" (*U* 99). He goes on to say, "Like that, see. Two crossed keys here. A circle. Then here the name" (*U* 99). Mr. Nannetti insists on three months' renewal, and at the thought of convincing Alexander Keyes to pay three months' worth, Bloom thinks, "Three months' renewal... Rub in August: good idea: horseshow month. Ballsbridge. Tourists over for the show" (*U* 101). Arguably, Bloom's success in convincing Keyes to agree to

Nannetti's terms depends on the tourists' interest in a horseshow. Thus, Bloom depends upon the consumer wealth in Ireland in order for his business to flourish. Later, though, we learn in "Ithaca" that Bloom failed "to obtain the renewal of an advertisement" (*U* 600).

While Bloom may be seen as omnivorous as regards advertising, it is important to identify and interrogate how cattle- and beef-related advertising play crucial roles in *Ulysses*. Often, Bloom encounters men who are less fortunate than he, and he views them as consumable products. With Milly Bloom's identification of the rural bourgeoisie as being like their cattle, so too were urban, Dublin men similarly connected to the meat business. An advertisement for Plumtree's Potted Meat appears next to Paddy Dignam's obituary, thus like the potted meat in the can, Dignam is potted within the ground – a mere consumable product for the earth. Since the Irish man seems edible, Bloom's position as prey to a group of men within an English-sounding restaurant connects the Irish man to being prey, or subordinate, to the English.

"Wow! Beef to the heel"

The phrase "Wow! Beef to the heel" occurs within Bloom's stream of consciousness after he has masturbated and while, with fireworks exploding in the distance, he is still thinking about women, including his Mullingar-based daughter Milly. It is between 8:00 and 9:00 PM on 16 June, and the location is Sandymount Strand on Dublin Bay. The "Wow" highlights the four words that follow it in a way reminiscent of some advertising campaigns. "Beef to the heel" recycles a portion of a short letter from Milly, Bloom's daughter and only living child, received and read approximately twelve hours earlier, at breakfast time. Having left Dublin for

employment at a photography studio in a center of the beef industry, Milly writes to thank her “Papli” for the gift he sent for her fifteenth birthday the previous day. Milly describes patrons of the photography business as “[a]ll the beef to the heels” (*U* 66)—a notion that, in some ways, accords with Bloom’s attention to a young woman’s “moving hams” (54) on his way home from Dlugacz’s.

Weldon Thornton points out Fritz Senn’s identification of P.W. Joyce’s *English as We Speak It in Ireland* as a text that explicates “beef to the heels” (Thornton 75). On p. 136 of the original edition (London: Longmans, Greene, and Company, 1910), P.W. Joyce writes, “When a woman has very thick legs, thick almost down to the feet, she is ‘like a Mullingar heifer, beef to the heels.’ The plains of Westmeath round Mullingar are noted for fattening cattle.” One decade into the twentieth century, starvation from failed potato crops seems almost unremembered; and *Ulysses*, written between 1914 and 1921, reinforces how much things have changed by showing middle-class farmers paying for photographs—a type of luxury good—that record stout bodies for posterity.

Milly’s mini-epistle is reminiscent of letters-to-the-editor in newspapers. Significantly, Milly is not the only *Ulysses* character who communicates through letters. When considering how she “advertises” the beef-made wealth of Mullingar, one should also bear in mind Mr. Deasy’s type-written letter, entrusted to Stephen Dedalus for delivery to the *Telegraph* and *Irish Homestead* newspapers. Deasy also sends a copy to William Field MP, President of the Irish Cattle Traders and Stock Owners Association, hoping he will read it before a meeting of the Association “at the City Arms Hotel” (*U* 29). An Ulster Orangeman, Deasy recognizes that if foot-and-mouth disease occurs in Ireland, an English embargo on Irish beef exports will ensue. (Affecting cloven-footed animals, the condition—a virus also known as aphthous fever—can

spread quickly, ruining entire herds.) While Milly celebrates the commercial bounty wrought by the transition to horn, Deasy warns that that bounty could easily be wiped out. Specifically, Deasy advocates or advertises use of veterinary surgeons and cutting-edge animal science, invoking “Koch’s preparation [actually, a treatment for anthrax]. Serum and virus” (U 27). Stephen peruses Deasy’s words, including his deployment of a well-know phrase (a common gambit for advertisers): “In every sense of the word take the bull by the horns” (U 27). For years, scholars believed that Joyce wrote “Politics and Cattle Disease,” an unsigned 10 September 1912 *Freeman's Journal* editorial about foot-and-mouth disease; however, Terence Matthews’s article, “An Emendation to the Joycean Canon” (*James Joyce Quarterly* 44.1 [Spring 2007]: 421-24) claims that that is not so, the most likely author being the *Journal*’s editor William Brayden.

Deasy’s occupation as a headmaster might not directly depend upon the cattle trade, but without “horn” affluence spreading from rural communities, metropolitan areas like Dublin would suffer. Deasy points out, “I remember the Famine in ‘46” (U 26), a statement full of hunger-related anxiety. Deasy’s choice of a letter for print and spoken reproduction in public forums underscores the form’s potential as a potent type of advertising. This has precedence in Irish history, of course, namely, the Anglo-Irish, Protestant Jonathan Swift’s satirical essay *A Modest Proposal* (1729). The speaker in the piece proposes that poor Irish peasant children be processed into food for the aristocracy and landlords. They could be boiled or stewed, as any other meat, and their skin could be used like animal hide to make “admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen” (Swift 388). While this may be tongue-in-cheek, there is a greater reformist point. Coming near the truth, Swift’s speaker—the Factor—details Ireland’s woes. Among other things, he asserts that “the bulk of [Irish] farmers, cottagers, and laborers, with their wives and children...are beggars in effect” (Swift 391). *A Modest Proposal* advertises

a national crisis; Deasy's letter advertises with the intention of preventing one. Interestingly, both Swift's speaker and Deasy claim that their respective propaganda efforts are for the good of Ireland, not self-aggrandizement; however, each man is in fact seeking a sort of savior-like status. In *A Modest Proposal*, the Factor says, "I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavoring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the publick good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich. I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny" (391). Modesty is a common advertising practice. Henry Sampson refers to advertisements which function best due to "modest sincerity" (200). The Factor's proposal here is no exception.

Like Swift's *A Modest Proposal* which was a letter sent to draw attention to starving Irish, many letters function like advertisements, expressing opinions, views, and concerns. For example, this practice is demonstrated in Mr. Deasy's letter expressing concern about the cattle industry. If Stephen succeeds in getting the letter published within the newspaper, it will be as available as the Plumtree's Potted Meat advertisement. While the Plumtree's advertisement expresses the opinion of a company's perspective about the importance of its potted meat product, Mr. Deasy's letter will express his opinion about the significance of a cattle embargo on the Irish economy. The connection between advertisements and letters is undeniable, and Swift's and Deasy's letters clearly serve to incite fear and action. Moreover, Milly's and Deasy's letters reflect the embourgeoisement of modern Irish society, a phenomenon significantly predicated on a rapidly developing cattle industry. While not specifically labeled as advertisements, the letters are fundamentally invested in the success and continuance of middle-

class commercial culture—arguably, the most essential purpose of advertising. Turning to actual advertisements in *Ulysses*, the Irishman is often depicted as consumable meat.

“Lestrygonians,” the novel’s seventh episode, occurs around one o’clock in the afternoon of 16 June 1904. Leopold Bloom encounters five sandwichmen who work for his sometime employer, Wisdom Hely’s, a retail stationer: “A procession of whitesmocked sandwichmen marched slowly towards him along the gutter, scarlet sashes across their boards” (*U* 154). These individuals may be read as flesh-and-blood human sandwiches, or meat sandwiches. Bloom recalls how he proposed an advertisement to replace the sandwichboards: “I suggested to [Mr. Hely] about a transparent showcart with two smart girls sitting inside writing letters, copybooks, envelopes, blottingpaper. I bet that would have caught on. Smart girls writing something catch the eye at once. Everyone dying to know what she’s writing. Get twenty of them round you if you stare at nothing” (*U* 154). Like Deasy, Milly, and Swift, Bloom understands the power of writing within the realm of advertising. Whether writing be a process to observe or a product to read, he sees it as capable of sparking public interest. However, Bloom’s scheme stands apart the other ideas or conceits in that its focus is not meat. Deasy discusses cattle; Milly presents humans as “beef to the heels” (*U* 66); and Swift imagines human cannibalism. They use writing as a means to the end of advancing the meat economy, whereas Bloom sees writing as an end in itself. This demonstrates Bloom’s awareness of the practice of writing as advertising, and it further illustrates that he borrows his ideas for advertisements from his environment. Just hours after reading a letter twice from his daughter, he now re-imagines an advertisement where a woman is physically writing. This encapsulates the argument of writing as advertising.

Bloom’s perfect advertisement for Hely’s may be seen as problematizing the horn economy central to Milly’s and Deasy’s sense of modern Ireland. Undoubtedly, the professional

canvasser recognizes the importance of the beef business; he thinks, as we have seen, about using trams to render the cross-city transportation of cattle more efficient. However, his vision of “two smart girls” engaged in a relatively cerebral and creative act contrasts not just with the “[slow]” sandwichmen almost overwhelmed by their boards, but also with beef-to-the-heels individuals bent on little more than admiring themselves in photographs. Advancing an Ireland that is primarily about beef-centered consumerism may suit the naïve Milly and the hardnosed Deasy, but it seems Bloom craves a broader dispensation. It is interesting to note that Bloom observes the sandwichmen “along the gutter,” a less-than-desirable place. His wish to remove them from Dublin advertising scene may indicate anxiety on his part about meat’s becoming the be-all and end-all of Irish life. Possibly, Bloom worries that economic over-reliance on the beef trade with England will compromise Ireland’s national identity. By ordering a cheese sandwich for lunch at Davy Byrne’s pub, Bloom avoids actual beef without completely rejecting the cattle industry. Of cheese, he thinks (in the “Hades” episode), “A corpse is meat gone bad. Well and what's cheese? Corpse of milk” (*U* 94). While Bloom is turned vegetarian in this instance, he clearly still relies on the cattle industry for his real subsistence. When he sees the well-known vegetarian George Russell (AE) “[c]oming from the vegetarian [restaurant]”: Only weggebobbles and fruit. Don't eat a beefsteak. If you do the eyes of that cow will pursue you through all eternity. They say it's healthier. Windandwatery though. Tried it. Keep you on the run all day....Nutarians. Fruitarians. To give you the idea you are eating rumpsteak. Absurd. Salty too” (*U* 136). While he may seem uncomfortable with the idea of himself being eaten, he is evidently not interested in adopting a full-time vegetarian diet.

In general, Bloom seems ambivalent about meat as a driving force in Irish advertising. The “scarlet sashes across [the sandwichmen’s] boards” put him in mind of words intoned by the

priest at the Roman Catholic mass he attended earlier in the day: “[W]e have sinned: we have suffered” (*U* 154). Red, of course, is the liturgical color for feasts of Christ’s passion, and it also represents martyrs. Might the sandwichmen be seen as martyrs to a limited, meat-centered notion of advertising? Significantly perhaps, Joyce’s schema for *Ulysses* codes as red “Aeolus,” the episode in the novel most invested in newspapers and the advertisements that fund them.² Arguably, Bloom’s resistance to the idea that Irishmen can be reduced to sandwiched meat accords with his disparagement of an advertisement for Plumtree’s Potted Meat (a fictional item), which he sees placed next to the obituaries in the *Freeman’s Journal*. Rehearsing the ad’s slogan, Bloom thinks, “Potted meats. What is home without Plumtree’s potted meat? Incomplete. What a stupid ad! Under the obituary notices they stuck it. All up a plumtree....Lord knows what concoction [of cattle parts goes into the product]. Cauls mouldy tripes windpipes faked and minced up. Puzzle find the meat” (*U* 140-141). Ironically, Bloom thinks of advertisements and his idea advertisement – the girl in the show cart writing. He defines advertisement as “magnetising efficacy to arrest involuntary attention, to interest, to convince, to decide” (*U* 559). Plumtree’s arrests his attention after its consumption in his own bed forces him to sweep the crumbs before he can go to sleep. He sweeps away “some flakes of potted meat” (*U* 601). It appears that this “stupid” advertisement for a product he sees as less than desirable seemed fitting as a snack for lovers Molly and Blazes. Just as Bloom is tortured by the thought of his wife’s adulterous affair, he is also tortured by the thought of the advertisement as it appears and reappears in his mind and view throughout the day. While he may not like the advertisement, it does meet his definition of “[arresting his] involuntary attention” (*U* 559).

Bloom snubs the sandwichmen and the Plumtree’s ad, but the fact remains that he will “[eat] with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls,” from “thick giblet soup, nutty gizzards, a

² For the entire schema, see Stuart Gilbert’s *James Joyce’s Ulysses* (1930).

stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crustcrumbs, [and] fried hencod's roes" to his favorite: "grilled mutton kidneys" (*U* 55). This list of organ meats suggests intermediate ground between "[r]oastbeef for old England" and the likes of "windpipes," which lack the quality of meat. In other words, Bloom enjoys meat that is not over-commercialized, over-advertised. Bloom's moderate diet may, in fact, have a religious and nationalistic—as opposed to a commercial and imperial—aspect to it. John McCourt's *The Years of Bloom* (2000) suggests that it likely derives from interactions Joyce had with Jews when living in Trieste, Italy: "[Bloom's] breakfast of inner organs was a standard feature of the [Jewish] diet of *Mittleuropa* and especially Trieste" (McCourt 46). A preference for organs marked the Triestine Jews as a group apart from the Austro-Hungarian empire; and it may also allow the mass-going Irish Jew Bloom to distinguish himself both from the core of the British Empire (associated with roast beef) and the kind of "mouldy" leftovers that England might afford Ireland.

Arguably, Bloom witnesses the British imperial diet in Dublin when, hungry for lunch and with "heart astir" (*U* 138), he enters the Burton restaurant on Duke Street. Far from the "smart girls" Bloom envisions for the Hely's ad, the Burton contains men who consume meat dishes—including "[r]oast beef and cabbage" and other on-the-bone or higher cuts—animalistically. Here, the prose becomes a kind of anti-advertisement: "Stink gripped [Bloom's] trembling breath: pungent meatjuice, slush of greens. See the animals feed. Men, men, men" (*U* 138). He even thinks, "Smells of men" (*U* 139). Man is an animal; animal is meat; man is meat and, thus, can be eaten. Bloom feels disgusted and intimidated by his fellow Dubliners who gluttonously ape the English alpha-male. Thinking "Eat or be eaten. Kill! Kill!" (*U* 139), he quits the English-sounding Burton in favor of the aforementioned cheese sandwich at Davy Byrne's, just up the street. Joyce was familiar with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which explains that

Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England, gives its name to “a type of ale.” It also indicates that “to go for a burton” refers to an airman’s being “killed” or a person’s being “missing, ruined, destroyed.” Bloom may fear that meat-eating after the fashion of England will cause the loss of destruction of authentic Irishness. While “to go for a Burton” was primarily used in World War II, it interestingly carries the same connotation that Joyce’s restaurant has. The phrase “Burton” prior 1922 was primarily for ales and areas of England, but its later reference seems to anachronistically reiterate Bloom’s fear.

Tracing Bloom’s mini-odyssey across Dublin, we see meat as commodity at the Burton; live advertising for Hely’s in a mode suggestive of meat-consumption; and letters that, in various ways, advertise Ireland’s post-Famine cattle economy. Both cosmopolitan and Irish—both a citizen and a canvasser—Bloom may fear the narrowing of the country’s economy and society should the export-oriented beef industry gain too much dominance, whether in Mullingar of Dublin.

Chapter 4

Advertising the Revival: Joyce and Bourgeois Irish Tourism

Due to centuries of invasion and colonization, Irish identity is plural and complicated. The Irish Revival—a major, multifaceted attempt to reclaim and reconstruct Gaelic Irishness—emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, beginning with the founding of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in 1884. By creating thousands of local clubs, that organization successfully revitalized traditional sports, especially hurling and Gaelic football, and it banned the playing of rugby, cricket, and other typically British games on its pitches. From sports, the Revival spread to such areas as theater, literature, stained-glass-making, and embroidery. As reflected in “the large brooch [with] an Irish device” (*D* 187) belonging to the university-educated teacher Molly Ivors in James Joyce’s “The Dead” (1914), cultural nationalism became popular among—one might say, was advertised by—middle-class Roman Catholics in late-Victorian and Edwardian Ireland. Increasingly, they entered and expanded the space developed from at least the late eighteenth century by antiquarianism. That pursuit was also of interest to the Protestant Anglo-Irish elite (the so-called Ascendancy), the Irish dimension of whose hyphenated, uncertain identity could be shored up through scholarly investigation of native buildings, mythology, and music—as well as the Gaelic language. Notable among Anglo-Irish antiquarians was Oscar Wilde’s father, the Dublin-based surgeon Sir William Wilde (1815-1876).

In his 1867 guide *Lough Corrib: Its Shores and Islands*, the elder Wilde offers an invitation to the region between Cos. Mayo and Galway: “Let us...be off to the Far-West...to the ancient homes of the aborigines—the land of the Fir Bolg, the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the Milesians—the last resting-place of the Celt....Here we can view the battlefields and civic vestiges of our Pagan ancestors, crowded with caves and cairns, raths, tumuli, monoliths, and

stone circles, memorials of one of the earliest human occupancies in North-Western Europe” (2-3). Interestingly, Wilde acknowledges that the Celtic past may not be everyone’s (or at least every English person’s) cup of tea: “Tourists pressed for time, or not much interested in archaeological investigations, but anxious to obtain a general view of the extreme western limit of the British Isles in the shortest possible space of time, can leave London by the night mail, and at a very trifling expense, and with little wear and tear, reach Galway at 1:45 PM, next day,” from whence “some of the wildest portion of Connemara” is but a short journey (16). Wilde’s advice about traveling through Ireland may be seen as a species of touristic propaganda, a genre prevalent during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Once travel became more affordable, it became a preoccupation of the middle class, especially the rural bourgeoisie, which, as the last chapter demonstrated, grew to prominence after the Famine. In part, interest in travel was driven by desire to renew Irish identity, the Revival’s core goal.

From the Gaelic League (1893)—which sought to resuscitate the Irish language—to and beyond the Abbey Theater (1904), the journey that was the Irish Revival had a significant linguistic and literary component. Such endeavors as William Butler Yeats’s five Cuchulainn plays demonstrate the importance that Revivalists placed on ancient Irish mythology. Yeats had access to that mythology thanks in large part to the folklore-gathering and -translation work by Lady Augusta Gregory and Douglas Hyde, a co-founder of the Gaelic League. Yeats’s efforts did not go far enough for Frank Fay, the actor who, on the Abbey’s opening night, played Cuchulainn in Yeats’s *On Baile’s Strand*. In pieces about the emerging national theater in the *United Irishman* newspaper, Fay regularly sought a turn to a fully Gaelic-language Abbey. Yeats scholar R.F. Foster dubs Fay a “Gaelic enthusiast” (Foster 252). Clearly, there was a strong interest in Gaelic language in the Irish Literary Revival. An extreme Irish-language campaigner,

a hard-core member of the Gaelic League, is the narrator's father in Hugo Hamilton's novelized memoir *The Speckled People* (2003), which highlights Ireland after the Emergency—that is, World War II. Speaking in the voice of his childhood self, the narrator reports, “[M]y father says your language is your home and your country is your language and your language is your flag” (Hamilton 3). An outright ban on the colonist's tongue emerges: “My father says there will be...no more speaking English under his roof” (28). Like Molly Ivors's brooch, the flag metaphor suggests Revivalists' desire publicly to proclaim Irish culture. Indeed, much about the Revival was theatrically self-promoting. Yeats advertised the Abbey—officially, the Irish National Theater Society—through a stylized logo: an image of the Queen Maeve with an Irish wolfhound (for image, see Appendix A).

The logo derives from a woodcut whose title is “Queen Maeve Hunting on the Hills of Ireland.” In a 1904 letter to the New York lawyer John Quinn, William Butler Yeats documents its origins: “I have just got from Miss Monsel who is staying here [Coole Park] a very charming picture of Queen Maeve with a big wolfhound to go on the [Abbey] program. We think of it for a poster later on” (*Collected Letters* 650). The mythological, self-reliant Queen Maeve (or Mebh) on a hunt clearly stands in contrast with the modern, consumer-driven metropolis of Dublin, the Abbey's home. As Declan Kiberd observes, “Yeatsian revivalists...saw the land as pastoral, mystical, and admirably primitive” (316). The Abbey logo all but invites Dubliners to escape the urban scene and the contemporary moment by entering the space of the theater.

A parody of the Yeatsian fetish for the epic Gaelic past occurs in the “Cyclops” episode of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, where a list of “Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity” (including Gautama Buddha and Lady Godiva!) invokes “Cuchulin” first. Specifically, Cuchulin and the others are “graven with rude yet striking art” upon “seastones” that hang from the “girdle” of a

fantasy hyper-Gaelic male (244). If Maeve—rude and striking upon the Abbey logo—offers an anti-colonial archetype for Irish womanhood, then her young Ulster Cycle antagonist Cuchulainn constitutes a model for recreating Irish masculinity, the essential mission of the Gaelic Athletic Association.

Ulysses engages Revivalism at a number of junctures, but most extensively in “Cyclops,” which is dominated by the Citizen, a hard-drinking, larger-than-life character. Set in Barney Kiernan's pub, “Cyclops” centers on an interaction between Bloom, who is seen as an outsider, and the Citizen, as well as the Citizen’s dog and friends. “The Citizen is modeled after Michael Cusack (1847-1907), founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association,” a Co. Clare native who fancied himself as “Citizen Cusack” (Gifford 316). The interaction between Bloom and the Citizen ends in violence with the Citizen launching a biscuit box at Bloom. In *The New Bloomsday Book*, Harry Blamires characterizes the Citizen as “fanatical”: a man possessed by “unreasoning nationalistic passion that makes him incapable of seeing any other side to a question” (112). In the later, fantastical “Circe” episode, the Citizen makes an appearance wearing an “emerald muffler” (*U* 397), which he uses to “[brush] aside a tear” (397). The Citizen’s tear reflects his fanatical enthusiasm for Gaelic heritage and Irish culture in general.

This scene in “Circe” reiterates his nationalist opinions detailed in “Cyclops” but in a caricature-style portrayal. With an emerald muffler, the Citizen wears his nationality (literally) and appears almost ridiculously emotional just after Bloom is labeled an ideal Irish man. This happens shortly after the Irish-born Jew Leopold Bloom declares Ireland “the new Bloomusalem” and is deemed (by an applewoman) “a man like Ireland wants” (*U* 395). Here, it appears that Bloom is imagining himself – the one the Citizen ostracizes – as being a model Irish man. Parodying the GAA’s model Irish man, Joyce could be seen as rejecting this Hibernicized

ideal of masculinity in favor of a more European model in the Jewish-Hungarian Bloom. This is further reiterated since Bloom bases his own physical fitness routine upon the Prussian-born bodybuilder, Eugen Sandow.

Joyce's awareness of broad-based desire to create a new Irish masculinity through Gaelic games surfaces in "Cyclops," for the pub discussion wanders to the subject of "Irish sports...hurley and putting the stone and racy of the soil and building up a nation once again and all to that" (*U* 260). Bloom does not hesitate to offer an opinion, cautioning that "violent exercise [can be] bad" (*U* 260). Arguably, Joyce intends Bloom to be the antithesis of the GAA's idealized Irish male, whom many believed necessary for the building up of the Irish nation on the Classical model. The unidentified "Cyclops" narrator characterizes a portion of the Citizen-led discussion as centering "on the revival of ancient Gaelic sports and the importance of physical culture, as understood in ancient Greece and ancient Rome and ancient Ireland, for the development of the race" (*U* 260). Bloom seems to reject the over-nationalized male body, thus rejecting the Irish physique. He does not, though, completely reject the importance of physical fitness. Bloom is the antithesis of the Citizen, and rather than wanting to participate in Gaelic sports, he follows Eugen Sandow. Bloom is not participating in the Gaelicized ideal male body, but rather the much more continental model.

Joyce's birth preceded by two years the founding of the Gaelic Athletic Association. Richard Ellmann maintains that as a student at Clongowes, Joyce "resisted" the "propaganda...of national revival, which had filtered from various organizations like the Gaelic League into the school. He was not ready to accept all of his nation" (56). Clearly, Joyce was never a full-blown Revivalist. *Ulysses* takes place not in the "Celtic" West of Ireland, but rather "The Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis" or "Dear Dirty Dublin" (*U* 96). Furthermore, Leopold Bloom is no

farmer-fisherman from the Arans, but rather an advertising salesman of Hungarian-Jewish descent. However, one should not see Joyce as programmatically hostile to Revivalism. He was fascinated by and made himself very familiar with aspects of the movement—for example, Dun Emer: Evelyn Gleeson and the two Yeats sisters' Hibernicized Arts and Crafts enterprise in Dundrum in the Dublin suburbs. It is with care that *Ulysses* parodies William Butler Yeats's attempts to advertise a book created on the Dun Emer hand press: “[P]rinted and bound at the Druidrum press by two designing females. Calf covers of pissedon green. Last word in art shades. Most beautiful book come out of Ireland my time” (*U* 346).

This propaganda that Joyce rejected was partly expressed by a revived interest in the Gaelic language. English had been imposed upon Ireland since the early nineteenth century, and many Irish could not speak Gaelic. In reviving the Irish language, Irish citizens sought to re-imagine themselves as being Irish and not part of England. As the “Cyclops” episode proceeds, the Citizen “begins talking about the Irish language...and the shoneens that can’t speak their own language” (255).³ In Joyce’s embittered, belligerent Citizen, we have a precursor to the father in *The Speckled People*. For both men, the Irish language is a key badge or brand of identity, albeit that *Ulysses* only provides limited evidence of the Citizen’s fluency in the tongue, which is highly inflected and can be difficult to acquire. At one point, the Citizen verbally attacks Leopold Bloom, “cursing the curse of Cromwell on him, bell, book, and candle in Irish” (*U* 280); however, familiarity with Gaelic curses hardly proves breadth or depth of linguistic ability. On an earlier occasion, the Citizen is reported to be “talking in Irish,” but his conversational partner is his dog, Garryowen—a creature that “growl[s], letting on to answer” (*U* 255). Since the Citizen never really speaks Irish at length, one cannot help but question his competence.

³ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term *shoneen* is used to “indicate a person's inclination towards English rather than Irish standards and attitudes in cultural life, sport, etc.”

Another example of a character speaking limited Gaelic is found *Dubliners*. In “The Dead,” the Revivalist Molly Ivors exploits the Gaelic language to distinguish herself from the other partygoers. When dancing with Gabriel Conroy, the central protagonist, she chides him for vacationing in France and Belgium to maintain competence in the languages: “[H]aven't you your own language to keep in touch with—Irish?” (*D* 189). However, she does not utter a word of Irish until just before dashing away from the party: “*Beannacht libh*, cried Miss Ivors, with a laugh, as she ran down the staircase” (*D* 191). The phrase *beannacht libh* (“blessings on you”) would have been commonly known, even or especially by those with a rudimentary grasp of Irish. Like the Citizen, Molly’s interest in the Gaelic language may exceed her ability to speak it. Molly’s teasing of Gabriel causes him to declare, “O, to tell you the truth...I’m sick of my own country, sick of it!” (*D* 189). Molly responds by deeming him a “West Briton!” (*D* 190): a kind of branding that attempts to render him more English than Irish. The phrase sounds like a negative slogan, and its undercurrent of hostility seems congruent with the fact that the word *slogan* comes from the Gaelic for “battle cry.”⁴

With her Celtic brooch on display, Molly may be said to advertise, in the midst of wintry Dublin, the escape of traveling to the Aran Islands: arguably, the lodestone locale of the West of Ireland. She encourages Gabriel to join her and some others there “this summer”; her “advertising” includes the notion that “[w]e’re going to stay...a whole month” and the promise of being “out in the Atlantic” (*U* 189). The length of the enterprise and the remoteness of the destination may put one in mind of a pilgrimage. In “Tourism and Sacred Places,” the theorist of tourism Richard Tresidder labels vacation time as “sacred,” for it permits escape from the “profane” demands of the everyday world (138). Tresidder asserts that tourism is “another form

⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* entry reads, “A war-cry or battle cry; specifically one of those formerly employed by Scottish Highlanders or Borderers, or by the native Irish, usually consisting of a personal surname or the name of a gathering-place.”

of religion” because it permits one to “justify [one’s] existence through a complex celebration” (138). Certainly, programmatic improvements to communication and transportation networks made access to the “otherness” of places like the Arans increasingly straightforward during the Victorian era. Railway companies in particular exploited advertising to trumpet the escapes they facilitated.

The Irish Revival coincided with a consequential expansion of rail services on the island. As Angela Bourke explains, “In 1891, Arthur Balfour, then in his fourth and final year as chief secretary for Ireland, set up the Congested Districts Board (CDB) to develop industry and agriculture.... “[I]nfrastructure” was a fundamental problem, but the CDB spent lavishly. It promoted cottage industries and employed local workers to construct roads, bridges, and harbors. Balfour’s Light Railways (Ireland) Act... provided government funding to allow railway companies to extend their services westward. In the years that followed, lines were carried into the remoter parts of counties Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo, and Donegal” (85). Bourke continues,

The opening of the Galway to Clifden line in 1895 came just two years after the founding of the Gaelic League in Dublin. Railways allowed ordinary people to travel for recreation for the first time, and cultural nationalists in Ireland were now able to combine summer vacations by the sea with opportunities to hear Irish spoken fluently and to improve their own grasp of the language and its oral culture. (86)

Bourke cites Molly Ivors’s Aran expedition as an example of this sort of travel, and she imagines her possible route by train. Bourke concludes that she would “no doubt [travel] by train to Galway, and then by steamship to Kilronan” (86). Molly is evidence that the tourism industry buttressed the Irish nationalist cause. Many railways sponsored or gave rise to tourist guide

books, whose flowery descriptions of Ireland's natural and manmade splendors perhaps inspired some of the rhetorical flights of fancy in Joyce's "Cyclops" episode. These break up the major narrative thrust: exposition of the encounter between the Citizen and Bloom. Harry Blamires observes, "[T]he narration is punctuated by a series of commentaries in vastly different styles—but each style an inflated caricature of the legal, the epic, the scientific, the journalistic, and so on" (112). Arguably, the commentaries' disruptive quality resembles the workings of advertisements in newspapers; consider, for example, Bloom's attention to the ad for Plumtree's Potted Meat within the obituaries section of the *Freeman's Journal*.

Tourism advertising certainly advanced utopian fantasies of Ireland as exceptional: a land whose superabundance of sublime scenery is enhanced by such cultural artifacts as prehistoric barrows, Early Christian round towers, and Norman keeps. A tourist text with which Joyce may have been familiar is John O'Mahoney's *The Sunny Side of Ireland: How to See It by the Great Southern and Western Railway*, first published by Thom of Dublin around 1898. The entire work is, in effect, an advertisement. Promoting the island's largest railway company (founded in 1844), O'Mahoney brands Ireland as an elaborate but attainable commodity. Respecting the especially popular resort of Killarney, Co. Kerry, he offers a gushy list: "magnificent mountain peaks...green swards and rushing cascades, all surrounded with an atmosphere of romance and tradition" (95). Rendering the fantasy realizable is Killarney's railway hotel, "the finest hotel in the south of Ireland" (95). Multiple labeled photographs enhance the printed text (for examples, see Appendix C).

The interpolation in "Cyclops" most reminiscent of an O'Mahoney list concerns Inisfail (a poetic name for Ireland): "A pleasant land it [Inisfail] is in sooth of murmuring waters, fishful streams where sport...denizens of the aqueous kingdom too numerous to be enumerated. In the

mild breezes of the west and of the east the lofty trees wave in different directions their firstclass foliage....[A]nd there is ever heard sheep and pigs and heavyhooved kine...from the streamy vales of Thomond, from the M'Gillicuddy's reeks the inaccessible and lordly Shannon the unfathomable" (*U* 241). Adjectives like "fishful" and "unfathomable" have an elevated, hyperbolic quality, and one perhaps concludes that the speaker is trying to "sell" Ireland's natural wonders to the reader. For his part, when finishing up his enthusiastic description of Killarney—where the high mountains of MacGillycuddy's Reeks sweep down to a series of wooded lakes—O'Mahoney states, "My companion agreed with me, that there is nothing in England or Scotland as Killarney" (100). Referencing a companion or second opinion was sometimes used by advertising campaigns in order to reassure buyers in a friend-to-friend fashion. Trying to reassure consumers that others had either enjoyed a product or place added a false sense of validity to their claim, and it could possibly have made buyers feel more confident in their purchases.

Interestingly, the "Ithaca" episode of *Ulysses* reveals that Leopold Bloom owns a copy of a book called *The Beauties of Killarney* (*U* 582); and the speechifying voice that offers the interpolations in "Cyclops" also makes direct mention of that venue. Specifically, the voices invokes "Glendalough, the lovely lakes of Killarney, the ruins of Clonmacnois," and other first-order tourist attractions before coming to "the brewery of Messrs Arthur Guinness, Son and Company (Limited)" (*U* 272). Ultimately, the voice declares, "[A]ll these moving scenes are still there for us today rendered more beautiful still by the waters of sorrow which have passed over them and by the rich incrustations of time" (*U* 272). These references to the "waters of sorrow" passing over "the rich incrustations of time" engage the sorrow-filled history of Ireland, thus probably engaging a particular audience: Irish nationalists (272).

The back section of Victorian and Edwardian tourist guides often contained advertisements that allowed travelers to make practical arrangements for their trips. Clearly, these final ads sought to capitalize on the guides' having "sold" a location or set of locations in the first place. The end pages of *The Sunny Side of Ireland* include a claim by the Lake Hotel, Killarney: "Unrivalled in situation, concentrating in one view all that is picturesque and sublime in the scenery" (265; for image, see Appendix D). One notes how similar the language in this ad is to O'Mahoney's descriptions in the guide proper. Another hotel, the Royal Victoria, emphasizes its associations with the British Crown, touting the fact that "Her Late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria" gave it "Special Permission" to use her name—and, furthermore, that it is "[t]he only Hotel in Killarney at which King Edward VII stayed when Prince of Wales" (265; for image, see Appendix E). The establishment boasts that is "MAGNIFICENTLY situated on Lower Lake, facing Innisfallen. Highly recommended for its superior comfort." (265). While this sort of advertisement would never appeal to a nationalist, it does demonstrate the English and Anglo-Irish interest in traveling through Ireland. These sorts of advertisements maintained a balance between two types of travelers. Offering almost "English friendly" establishments amidst Irish landscapes, the industry could keep both nationalists and loyalists comfortable. The market apparently wanted to serve both sorts of individuals.

Considering both sorts of advertisements, nationalist and loyalist, one cannot ignore the fact that both kinds of hotel advertisements attempt to offer as much the landscape itself. Like the hyperbolic descriptions of the landscape, the hotels claim to equal the surrounding environment in magnificence. All the while, the hotels are trying to offer the solace of luxury and modernity within the rustic background. This seems almost contradictory, and it appears that Joyce was aware of this as he crafted the lists in "Cyclops." One of the interpolations in

“Cyclops” lists elements of Ireland’s patrimony. It begins with “[t]he muchtreasured and intricately embroidered ancient Irish facecloth attributed to Solomon of Droma and Manus Tomaltach og MacDonogh, authors of the Book of Ballymote”; and it also embraces “Jury’s Hotel” (*U* 272). Joyce’s willingness to include a hotel in such a list indicates just how enmeshed touristic commerce and the Revivalist pursuit of Gaelic culture had become by the early twentieth century.

To say the least, it is interesting that Ireland’s Roman Catholic middle class and its fascination with cultural tourism, including its language, brings Joyce to consideration of advertising. That the figure he most associates with advertising is Bloom merits comment. John McCourt labels Bloom an “other” in Irish society (42): he is more feminine and foreign than any other figure in the text, a foil to the overbearing maleness and nativism of the Citizen. In other words, Joyce exposes a paradox at the heart of the nationalist project: its deployment of, even reliance on, the modern, cosmopolitan system of branding and selling—mass advertising—to revive antique, native identity.

In the midst of the “Cyclops” episode’s presentation of Ireland through a rhetoric associated with touristic advertising, the Citizen brings up Oliver Cromwell’s brutal campaign, begun in 1649, to suppress the broad Catholic rebellion that had started eight years earlier. He focuses on the massacre at Drogheda: “What about sanctimonious Cromwell and his ironsides that put the women and children of Drogheda to the sword with the bible text *God is love* pasted round the mouth of the cannon?” (*U* 273-74).⁵ Cromwell’s campaign was often read as genocidal: a program to annihilate the native culture, destroy infrastructure, and extinguish Irish

⁵ According to John Morley’s biography of Cromwell, “[Cromwell] arrived in Dublin as Lord Lieutenant and commander of the [British] forces...he advanced northward, some ten thousand strong, to Drogheda, and here his Irish career began with an incident of unhappy fame” (288). Morley quotes Cromwell’s religious justification of his actions in Drogheda: “I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches” (289-90).

Catholicism. By invoking Cromwell, the Citizen can, among other things, imply that being Irish means being Catholic—⁶ a smart move if he wants to avoid giving credit to Anglo-Irish Protestants (like William Wilde) when discussing antiquarianism and its offspring, the Revival. The Citizen may believe that the historic fact of Cromwell renders imperative the unequivocal revival of Ireland’s Gaelic patrimony. If Cromwell effaced Irish places, cultural tourism reconstructs them, carefully placing them within one’s experience, affections, and memory. The sobriquet “Citizen” signals confidence about being other than an imperial subject, and, certainly, national self-confidence increased with the post-Famine recovery, built (as we have seen) on a large-scale economic transition from corn to horn.

It is significant that the Citizen’s reason for being in Barney Kiernan’s is to be “give[n]...the hard word about” a meeting of “[c]attle traders” concerning “the foot and mouth disease” (*U* 241). Roy Foster recognizes rural Catholic bourgeois ascendancy over the diminishing peasantry when discussing the late-Victorian Irish priesthood: “[T]he Maynooth priests [i.e. clergy trained at St. Patrick’s Seminary, Maynooth, Co. Kildare] came to represent the families of strong farmers and shopkeepers rather than cottiers” (177). What David Fitzpatrick calls the “growing Catholic middle class” (213) had disposable income, and vacationing became relatively common and a mark of socio-economic attainment. While in the past Ireland had been a tourist destination for the English—as early as 1825, G.M. Wright composed a *Historical Guide to the City of Dublin* for “[t]ourists” (iii) departing from Liverpool and Holyhead—post-Famine prosperity made the Irish touristic consumers of their own country. An important literary instance of tourism between the Famine and the Revival is the Tramore episode in Kickham’s *Knocknagow*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the novel’s central

⁶ In his essay “Ascendancy and Union,” R.F. Foster acknowledges how a sharp religious divide would emerge in Ireland: “To be a Protestant or Catholic in eighteenth-century Ireland indicated more than mere religious allegiance: it represented opposing political cultures, and conflicting views of history” (Foster 163).

focus is the Kearney family, strong tenant farmers that it deems “Irish Catholics of the middle class” (35). Indeed, to a degree, *Knocknagow* advertises the commodity culture that coterie espoused: lace curtains, American clocks, copies of *Moore’s Melodies*, and the like. Around two-thirds of the way into the text, Mrs. Kearney and her daughter, Mary, travel from their home in South Tipperary to the Atlantic beach resort of Tramore, Co. Waterford. Their visit coincides with one by a Catholic priest and two bachelor friends, one of whom had unsuccessfully lobbied against Tramore. He pleaded, “Let us go somewhere where there will be no crowds. I detest the class of people you meet at these bathing places” (Kickham 421). The novel proceeds to name the “class”: “the bourgeoisie” (421).

The beach may not be an iconic nationalist site, but, clearly, by the 1870s the Irish bourgeoisie were taking domestic vacations. Indeed, *Knocknagow* calls Tramore “a household word in *very many* Tipperary homes” (Kickham 424; emphasis mine). *Ulysses*, of course, regularly invokes Harry B. Norris’s popular British song “Seaside Girls” (1899), whose lyrics suggest class aspiration: “They’ve diamond rings and dainty feet, / Golden hair from Regent Street, / Lace and grace and lots of face—those pretty little seaside girls.” Indeed, the novel even offers an Irish version of a seaside girl. In the “Nausicaa” episode, the lame Gerty McDonald excites Bloom to onanistic orgasm. Gerty’s lameness may suggest that Joyce was ambivalent about merely reproducing bourgeois British beach culture in Ireland. As if to introduce a raw, native element into refined, middle-class Tramore, *Knocknagow* stages an encounter there between its prime representative of the peasantry, Mat Donovan—who, in fact, all but joins the rural bourgeoisie as a cattle dealer—and the priest and his companions, one of whom, “[having] never seen [Mat] before. . . .content[s] himself with admiring the broad shoulders and sinewy limbs of the young peasant”—a (perhaps homoerotic) description strikingly similar to

“broadshouldered deepchested... sinewyarmed hero” (*U* 243), words the “Cyclops” narrator uses in a fantasy portrayal of the Citizen.

This moment of admiration for the peasant-like physique at the middle-class beach of Tramore seems to be representative of the Irish Revival as a whole. The Revival sought a model peasant, much like Mat Donovan, mascot. The middle-class young man seems to be a precedent for William Butler Yeats. Being one of the primary leaders of the Irish Literary Revival, he “initially [sought] to write ‘peasant’ plays” where he attempted to present “Irish country people” for the stage” (Pethica 137). Much of the energy behind the Irish Revival came from him. He attempted to advertise the Abbey Theater as a core cultural-nationalist brand. Alongside his sisters Susan (Lily) Yeats and Elizabeth (Lolly) Yeats, he brought the ideology of the Arts and Crafts movement to bear on many Revivalist activities.

As young working women in London, the two sisters came under the influence of William Morris, with the elder, Lily, holding employment for a six years as an embroideress in the studio run by Morris’s daughter, May. For her part, Lolly studied at the Women's Printing Society in London. The artist, writer, and socialist William Morris founded his London-based Arts and Crafts enterprise on principles advanced by John Ruskin in such works as *The Stones of Venice* (1873). Ruskin advocated espousal of medieval aesthetics and hand-making as a push against modern materialism and mass-production. According to the art historian Lauren Weingarden, “Ruskin castigated the classical styles as mechanistic and later in his career directed his aesthetic arguments against industrial capitalism” (8). Concerning Morris, Weingarden observes, “[He] argued that under industrial capitalism artificial needs and superficial ideas about luxury are imposed on the consumer” (8). The Yeats sisters’ experience of Morris and his circle inspired their return to their native Dublin in 1902 to assist the Anglo-Irish woman Evelyn

Gleeson with the establishment of a distinctly Irish (and feminist) version of an Arts and Crafts manufactory: the Dun Emer Guild. In general, the Arts and Crafts movement in Ireland “was closely related to the search for a national identity, which throughout the nineteenth century, had been expressed in politics, literature, the revival of the Irish language, dress, music, and the arts” (Bowe 193).

Nicola Gordon Bowe asserts that “[t]he Dun Emer Guild reflected the nationalist, socialist, industrial, and ultimately political, concerns in Ireland” (197). Its hand press, managed by Lolly Yeats, took as its logo a line drawing of Cuchulainn’s wife, Emer, patroness of needlework and the domestic arts, standing beneath a tree. The idea for Dun Emer was to offer beautiful products made by the Irish: W.B. Yeats wrote in the Dun Emer prospectus, “A wish to find work for Irish hands in the making of beautiful things was the beginning of Dun Emer⁷.” Clearly, Yeats wanted to Hibernicize the Arts and Crafts enterprise. As early as 1904, a rift developed between Gleeson and the Yeats sisters, causing a separation of the concern into the Dun Emer Guild under Gleeson and Dun Emer Industries under the Yeatses. Four years later, the sisters severed all ties with Gleeson, founding their own business, Cuala Industries. The logo for the Cuala Press – like the Abbey Theater – reflects their interests in the Irish Revival.

Monthly during 1908-1915, the Cuala Press published *Broadsides*, a title that suggests the popular press, even though each edition advertises its relative rarity (“300 copies only”). The venture was highly successful; the subscription price of “twelve shillings a year” brought in much-needed revenue. A typical *Broadside* consisted of three pages, beautifully illustrated by the fourth surviving—and youngest—Yeats sibling, Jack Butler Yeats, who also did much of the editing. J.B. Yeats had been involved with John Millington Synge’s Revivalist project of exploring aboriginal Gaelic folkways on the Aran Islands. Traveling with Synge, he produced

⁷ Liam Miller reprinted the prospectus entirely in *The Dun Emer Press, Later The Cuala Press*, Dublin, 1973.

illustrations of the islands' people and traditions, and these eventually appeared in the Synge-authored anthropological study, *The Aran Islands* (1907). A color drawing on the third page of the November 1910 *Broadside* depicts "The Hurley Player" (for image, see Appendix B), a kind of advertisement for the renewed interest in Gaelic sports. Dominating the center of the image is a muscular, mustachioed player in a blue-and-green striped uniform, about to swing his hurling stick. Behind him is amassed a crowd of spectators whose clothing, though indistinct, includes commodities such as multiple styles of hats, suggestive perhaps of the middle class. Certainly, the fact that the player possesses a uniform hints at bourgeois means. Two roofs that rise above the crowd have concave top lines that bring tents (more than cottages) to mind, so the occasion may be a planned bourgeois festival of some sort. The nationalist theme is enhanced by the presence on the left margin of the picture of what could be the lower section of a ruined Round Tower. Little wonder then that, in June of 1912, *The Irish Review* would declare of the greater *Broadsides* project, "[T]o people interested in individual and national expression each issue will be worth the money paid for it" (224).

James Joyce's awareness of the Yeatses as cultural-nationalist advertisers comes across in the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode of *Ulysses*, when the medical student Malachi "Buck" Mulligan attacks Stephen Dedalus for his Dublin *Daily Express* newspaper review of a literary work by W.B. Yeats's main patron, Lady Augusta Gregory: "Longworth [the editor] is awfully sick...after what you wrote about that old hake Gregory. O you inquisitional drunken jewjesuit! 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* 177-178). The "Yeats touch" is Joyce's way of critiquing W.B. Yeats's rhetorical grandiloquence when publicly endorsing his friends' published efforts: clearly, a kind of advertising. Joyce was younger than Yeats, and sought his help with attempting to establish

his writing career. Richard Ellmann discusses how Joyce first approached George William Russell (A.E.), who informed Lady Gregory about him, insisting that Yeats should in turn “suffer” him (104). Ellmann’s description of the initial Joyce-Yeats encounter, which occurred in 1902, emphasizes the importance of class to the contemporary Irish mind:

Their meeting has a symbolic significance in modern literature....The defected Protestant confronted by the defected Catholic, the landless landlord met the shiftless tenant....Joyce knew the limbs and bowels of a city of which Yeats knew only the head. The world of the petty bourgeois, which is the world of *Ulysses* and the world in which Joyce grew up, was for Yeats something to be abjured. Joyce had the same contempt for both the ignorant peasantry and the snobbish aristocracy that Yeats idealized. The two were divided by upbringing and predilection. (104)

Yeats’s romantic ideal of Ireland did not prevent him from participating in modern advertising: quite the contrary. By contrast, rather than idealize the Irish, Joyce presented them as they were. Yeats saw Ireland and its people and culture as products to be branded and promoted; and the post-Famine uptick in the Irish economy yielded a new middle-class market for Yeats’s brand Ireland. Joyce and Yeats differed in their ideas of how to engage the modern phenomenon of mass consumer culture, but it can most certainly be said that both utilized the economic in their artistic endeavors. Unlike Yeats, Joyce saw the culture of the masses as almost an art form, and he employed it in order to artfully create an accurate middle-class depiction within the world of *Dubliners*, and even more so in *Ulysses*. Joyce’s use of the mass consumer culture and advertisements embraced the sort of lower levels of “art” that seemed for the lower class, and

since he rejected the world of bourgeoisie, mass-produced culture seemed in complete opposition to the idealized, upper-class art forms.

In *Ulysses*, Joyce engages the middle-class preoccupation with travel and nationalism, and through the use of advertisements, Joyce underscores the “petty bourgeoisie⁸” preoccupation with expressing middle-class stature and idealized identity. With references to hotels and the invocation of advertising-like language, Joyce presents the newly-arrived middle-class fixation with experiencing their idealized Irish heritage. He also displays its flaws through the Jewish-Hungarian heritage of Leopold Bloom, who is called the “model” in “Circe.” Arguably, Joyce wanted to shed light on the middle class’s heightened interest in tourism through the representation of advertisements and consumer culture. While Joyce was not afraid to use marketing for himself, he was also aware of Irish advertisements catering to the bourgeoisie. Falling below the lines of the middle-class after his father’s loss of land and means, his family fell into destitution, so Joyce was a former member of this portion of society that was courted for these sorts of excursions. Realizing how abundant such advertisements were, Joyce presents them in *Ulysses* and *Dubliners* in order to create his almost-parodied, nationalist bourgeoisie.

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⁸ Taken from R. Brandon Kershner’s *Joyce and Popular Culture* (1996), University of Florida Press. Kershner discusses the idea of using popular culture as a means to engage “low art” that was actually “high art” since both opposed the “petty bourgeoisie” (4).

Chapter 5

A “[C]apital Couple”: *Ulysses*, Advertising Hygiene, and Conclusion

Over the centuries, multiple descriptions of Irish social practices and customs suggest the Irish to be a dirty people, lesser than the English or British. English tourist narratives such as Emily Taylor’s *The Irish Tourist; or The People and the Provinces of Ireland* (1837) cast distinctly negative light upon the Irish. One portion of Taylor’s text describes a stay in the village of Cong in the “wild and uncivilized” western province of Connaught: “[L]ittle inviting...were the in-door accommodations...the best inn was truly a miserable place” (100). Several decades later, Thomas Maguire, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Dublin (Trinity College), wrote, “Most people will admit that at first blush Ireland is less civilized than England” (4). Opinions like Taylor’s and Maguire’s were often used to justify colonizing and civilizing another country. Edmund Spenser’s imperialistic treatise *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) deems Ireland “that savage nation” and insists that England must establish “better government and civility” there (175).⁹ As late as July 2007, the website of the *Derry Journal* could ask, “Are we still the dirty Irish?” using the adjective in its literal sense. Modern efforts toward the goal of re-making Ireland in the image of hygienic England created a niche for advertisers.

In *Ireland: A Study in Nationalism* (1918), the Kilkenny-born author Francis Hackett argues that if the Irish were historically “dirty,” the blame should be laid on “soap that was heavily taxed” (73). Perception of the Irish as unclean followed them overseas to such places as

⁹ In *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, the character Irenius asserts, “[R]egard and moderation ought to be had in tempering and managing of this stubborn nation of the Irish, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarism unto the love of goodness and civility” (178).

the Irish slums or rookeries in British industrial cities like Manchester and Glasgow.¹⁰ Health inspectors regularly campaigned for reform of the living conditions of the Irish, and not just on the British mainland. Using measures of poverty levels, contagious diseases, and beggar populations, Jacinta Prunty's *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (1998) shows that during the period when Joyce wrote *Ulysses*, Ireland's capital city had some of the largest and most dilapidated slums in Europe. At that time, however, hygiene-related products were being heavily advertised to middle-class Irish consumers, a fact that *Ulysses* reflects through and beyond its two main protagonists, Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus.

In the "Sirens" episode, the barmaid Miss Kennedy calls Bloom "greasy eyes," and she and her co-worker Miss Douce then dub him "greasabloom" (*U* 214). Clearly, anti-Semitic stereotyping is at work here, the same phenomenon we see in regards to the Jewish character Mr. Brehgert in the Englishman Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875). Brehgert's "instinctive decency cannot conceal the fact that he is a 'fat, greasy man'" (Rosenberg 144). However, the "dirty Irish" convention also probably informs the moniker "greasabloom." Interestingly, Bloom is all but preoccupied with personal hygiene. Some contemporary advertising campaigns were of a public-service nature, designed to disseminate basic facts about disease-prevention. Others, though, promoted brand-name hygiene products, such as Pears' soap with which Bloom was familiar.

The early twentieth century saw the advertising industry try to sell such goods as soap, mouthwash, and deodorant by creating within consumers a "critical self-consciousness" about conforming to social expectations for personal hygiene (O'Malley). Michael O'Malley invokes his fellow historian Roy Rosenzweig's conclusion "that in the 1910s and particularly the 1920s,

¹⁰ According to *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition), a *rookery* is "[a] cluster of mean tenements densely populated by people of the lowest class."

advertising agents focused their attention on identifying—and often inventing—personal anxieties that could be resolved by the purchase of specific products” (O’Malley). In *Ulysses*, the “Lotus Eaters” episode especially focuses on soap and bathing. Leopold Bloom goes to Sweeny’s chemist shop to order some lotion for his wife, Molly, and while there he purchases a bar of “[s]weet lemony” soap (*U* 69). It is just after leaving the shop with “the coolwrapped soap” (*U* 70) that he runs into Bantam Lyons. All the while, Bloom has been carrying a newspaper, which he uses to disguise a love letter from a woman not his wife. Seeing the advertisement-rich newspaper, Lyons asks, “Is that today’s?” since he is interested in an upcoming horse race (*U* 70). Bloom gives Lyons the newspaper, an exchange that causes the advertising canvasser to notice his “yellow blacknailed fingers” and “dandruff” and think about “Pears’ soap” (*U* 70).

Bloom’s attention to details of Lyons’s personal appearance is likely a symptom of the social pressure described by Rosenzweig (*U* 70). Bloom thinks about a specific brand of soap and an advertising slogan used to market it for consumption at the start of every day: “Good morning, have you used Pears’ soap?” (*U* 70). His disgust with Lyons’s level of personal hygiene clearly demonstrates the anxiety individuals developed about very common problems, such as dandruff. Joyce’s use of the Pears’ advertisement is evidence of the effectiveness of the heavy marketing of hygienic items like soap. Bloom recalls a specific brand as soon as he recognizes its desirability. Declaring that the “advertising language” in *Ulysses* “seems quoted,” Daniel Gunn contends that Joyce deploys the Pears’ soap slogan and other advertisements for “comic purposes” (486). Certainly, advertisements do offer comic relief within the text, but their ubiquity suggests that they were central to—not mere interruptions within—Irish life during the early twentieth century.

Far from comic was the aforementioned history of the Irish laboring classes in England, home of Pears' soap. James Kay-Shuttleworth, a doctor associated with treatment of an 1831 cholera outbreak in Manchester, penned *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working-Class Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832) and investigated the living conditions of the region's factory workers. Kay-Shuttleworth's work led to reform of the sanitation laws. In his study *Four Periods of Public Education* (1862), he remarks, "[S]hould cholera visit...a more suitable soil and situation for its malignant development cannot be found than [the Manchester district] described and commonly known by the name Little Ireland" (17). He strenuously advocates "induc[ing] the inhabitants [of Little Ireland] to observe greater cleanliness in their houses and persons" (17).

In *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1844), Friedrich Engels also considers the poor Irish in England: "Irishmen who migrate fourpence to England, on the deck of a steamship on which they are often packed like cattle, insinuate themselves everywhere. The worst dwellings are good enough for them....The worst quarters of all the large towns are inhabited by Irishmen" (124). Engels's description suggests that the Irish were seen as animalistic or less than human ("packed like cattle"); and the verb "insinuate" has a very negative connotation. As a colonized people, part of the United Kingdom, the Irish were especially prone to the Victorian British obsession with cleanliness. Anne McClintock explains that as the British people acquired more and more colonies possessing raw materials to produce soap, they developed an almost fanatical interest in hygiene. According to McClintock, "By the 1890s...[British] soap sales had soared...[to] 26,000 tons of soap a year," with advertising for the product bringing a kind of "moral and economic salvation to Britain's 'great unwashed,'" a considerable number of whom were Irish slum-dwellers (271-72).

The self-exiled James Joyce was the opposite of his hygiene-focused creation Leopold Bloom; rather, he resembled Stephen Dedalus, “a hydrophobe” who, on 16 June 1904, had not bathed since “October of the preceding year” (*U* 550). In his biography of Joyce, Richard Ellmann asserts that believing that “there was no advantage in being clean,” Joyce once identified “[s]oap and water” as his “pet antipathy” (66-67). If Joyce in his private life devoted attention to not being clean, it is likely that he uses *Ulysses* to critique the influence of the personal-hygiene movement in Ireland. Joyce’s presentation of Bloom and Stephen with contrasting dispositions as regards cleanliness suggests that he was aware of the public discourse on daily washing, as well as the advertisements that reinforced it.

This preoccupation with cleanliness led to an elevated interest in soap, which acquired an almost magical cachet. Stuart Hall maintains that soap’s “capacity to cleanse and purify” caused it to acquire “in the fantasy world of imperial advertising, the quality of a fetish-object” (241). Hall continues, “[Soap] apparently had the power to wash black skin white as well as being capable of washing off soot, grime and dirt of the industrial slums and their inhabitants—the unwashed poor—at home, while at the same time keeping the imperial body clean and pure in the racially polluted contact zones ‘out there’ in the Empire (241). Hall’s point that soap represented a difference between the colonizers and the colonized is, of course, highly pertinent to the English-Irish relationship. For the imperial power, having the Irish engage in daily washing would make them more English.

Soap is personified in the fantastical “Circe” episode of *Ulysses*. At one juncture, addressing him as “Poldy,” Bloom’s wife asks him if the lotion she uses helps makes her skin youthful again. Remembering that he forgot to pay for the lotion at Sweeny’s, Bloom becomes flustered and declares, “I was just going back for that lotion whitewax, orangeflower water. Shop

closes early on Thursday. But the first thing in the morning” (*U* 360). During this incident, Bloom notices the soap he had acquired on the morning of 16 June in an extraordinary tableau: “HE [Bloom] POINTS TO THE SOUTH, THEN TO THE EAST. A CAKE OF NEW CLEAN LEMON SOAP ARISES, DIFFUSING LIGHT AND PERFUME” (*U* 360). The soap offers a couplet: “We’re a capital couple are Bloom and I. / He brightens the earth. I polish the sky” (*U* 360). This paring of the soap and Bloom through a verse that resembles an advertising jingle underscores the penetration into middle-class Irish society of the commercialized doctrine of personal hygiene.

The soap polishing the sky may allude to Sunlight, a brand of vegetable-oil soap created in 1884 for clothes-washing and other household uses. A much-advertised product, it was manufactured by Lever Brothers. One of the brothers, William Hesketh Lever (1851-1925) who was later the first Lord Leverhulme,¹¹ built a model settlement for his employees. Named Port Sunlight, this garden city outside Liverpool, England, is an example of the kind of development Joyce may have had in mind when imagining “the new Bloomusalem” (*U* 395), especially considering Bloom’s affinity for soap. The soap’s rising in the sky relates to Sunlight Soap in its sun-like description of “DIFFUSING LIGHT” (*U* 360), but Joyce never directly mentions the brand Sunlight. In contrast, he does directly quote the brand slogan for Pears’ Soap. W.H. Lever was extremely successful as an advertiser, and the brand name’s suspicious absence from *Ulysses* could be Joyce not revealing his inspiration for the sun-like, rising soap. Furthermore, the simple slogan from Pears’ applied to bodily soap, and Sunlight soap was for household washing. While both are directly related to hygienic practices, the use of personal soap seems more obvious, offering an easy, quick slogan for the dirt beneath Bantam Lyons’s nails.

¹¹ Found on Duke University’s Digital Library for “Emergence of Advertising in America.”

Like Lever's settlement, Port Sunlight, and the Soap rising in the sky in *Ulysses*, soap and other hygiene-related products often contained very hyperbolic, utopian promises. In *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (1990), Thomas Richards calls this the "manufactured utopia of commodities" (235). Soap became the focus of middle class consumption, and it took an important position in Irish lifestyles. Soap's position is as significant as the important position once held by the symbolic Irish potato. Bloom carries both in his pocket, and both offer significant contributions to the text. This suggests that the potato given to him by his mother has now been replaced by a new symbol of middle class Irish society, the soap. Soap had become the new commodity expressing Irish-ness, and the potato and the soap function like characters throughout the day. With the soap rising in the sky in "Circe," one must conclude how immensely important this commodity had become for the Irish. With the soap's declaratory couplet proclaiming Bloom and the soap are a united pair, they symbolize this new direction for the Irish. Moving from potatoes dug from the dirty ground, the Irish now purchase soap to remove that same Irish dirt. Soap's importance as a symbol of Irish progression seems clear: no longer natural, dirty, or organic, the Irish are washed in a commodified, mass produced good.

Bloom offers an example of how to use the commodified soap when in "Lotus-Eaters" he goes to the bath house. His thoughts about his own use of soap and his appearance resemble many eroticized advertisements. "He foresaw his pale body reclined in [the bath] at full, naked, in a womb of warmth, oiled by scented melting soap, softly laved" (Cite). This imagined state is titillating, a kind of erotic advertisement. Arguably, phrases like "scented melting" and "softly laved" suggest the language of advertising. Furthermore, his demonstrated use of the product now offers instruction on how to be a cleaner Irishman. First, he purchases the lemon soap, and

now, he is observing his own body as he uses it. Often, soap advertisements invoked erotic images, and scholars such as Richards have already heavily covered that aspect of consumer culture via Joyce.

During the “Circe” episode, Zoe the English prostitute steals Bloom’s “hard black shriveled potato;” she initially mistakes it for his “hard chancre,” or a syphilitic sore¹², suggesting moral and physical un-cleanliness. Rather, Bloom explains that it is his potato, “a talisman. Heirloom” (*U* 388). She asks him for it—“For Zoe? For keeps?” (*U* 389)—a request he ignores. After he realizes that she has taken the potato, Bloom “gently” pleads, “Give me back that potato, will you?” (*U* 453). Specifically, he reveals that, “[being] a relic of poor mama,” “[t]here is a memory attached to it” (*U* 453). Of course, bitter national memories attach to the potato: the failure of that peasant-class staple in the Great Famine of the 1840s changed Ireland utterly. Joyce offers a complex scenario: the diminished potato is swiped and “greedily” (*U* 389) pocketed by a self-described English prostitute whose name is Greek for “life.” Perhaps he wishes to show that in the past, the English robbed Ireland of its life force. Considering the “black” and “shriveled” potato is mistaken for a syphilitic sore, one must consider that this is referring to the physical and moral dirtiness urban Dublin, and that provides Joyce with the “graffiti of “POST 110 PILLS” (*U* 153) thus making “Dear Dirty Dublin” (*U* 96).

Re-making Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, Stephen Dedalus reacts to Bloom’s request that Zoe return the potato: “To have or not to have, that is the question” (*U* 453). This statement may comment on Ireland’s post-Famine transition from a peasant-dominated to a primarily bourgeois society, one heavily based on materialistic having. Bloom may not be ready completely to eschew the peasant experience that, in the relatively recent past, was part of Irish—and, indeed,

¹² Don Gifford clarifies this in *Ulysses Annotated* on page 469.

Eastern European Jewish—identity. However, one speculates that he may not pass on the black potato to his daughter, Milly. Her talisman may, instead, be a middle-class lemon—or the exotic essence of lemon commodified as middle-class soap.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Ephemera can be read as one place to understand the social and economic underpinnings of the society in which they functioned, and Joyce memorializes them in *Ulysses*. Through the popular culture that appears in the text, it is possible to understand the material interests and wealth of the emerging middle class. It offers one manner in which these individuals chose to spend that newly found wealth they acquired through cattle-trading. Since Joyce focused on actual Ireland rather than an idealized one, one sees a constructed sequence of episodes based upon Ireland during the early twentieth century, as Joyce saw it. As Richard Ellmann points out, Joyce was not interested in participating in the Gaelic Revival, so his perspective is often critical and objective. This was a very dynamic time in Irish history, and this history offers a context for Joyce's presentation of Ireland. The cultural, political, and social changes that occurred after the Great Famine completely moved the Irish from the world of the potato (poverty and famine) to soap and meat (expendable income and consumer goods). Tourism and the Gaelic Revival were of interest to this middle class, and Joyce was aware of this transition. Understanding how these newly arrived individuals chose spend their income offers a context of the social and economic conditions. The purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of this transition in Irish culture, and *Ulysses* serves as a case study.

The importance of the material covered here is found in its historical consideration. Labeling the Gaelic Revival as an advertising campaign is distinctly my own. Joyce was one particular Irish writer who was focused not only on depicting Irish citizens as he truly saw them but also on realistically portraying their environment as well. Through the references to popular culture and advertisements, it is possible to see the historical shift in context with the Great

Famine. The stark contrast demonstrates how deeply affected the population was by the shift toward grazier farming. While consumer culture and advertisement in *Ulysses* are topics that have been heavily covered in Joycean studies, my historical approach distinguishes my scholarship. I have discussed my research with other Joyceans, including R. Brandon Kershner who approved of my topic and said he was not aware of anyone else who had done this sort of research. While my work is not exhaustive, it is original. The contributions to Joyce studies here could be extended to include many more aspects of Irish history to explain the consumer culture of the early twentieth century in Ireland, and much more could be said just about the these chapters alone.

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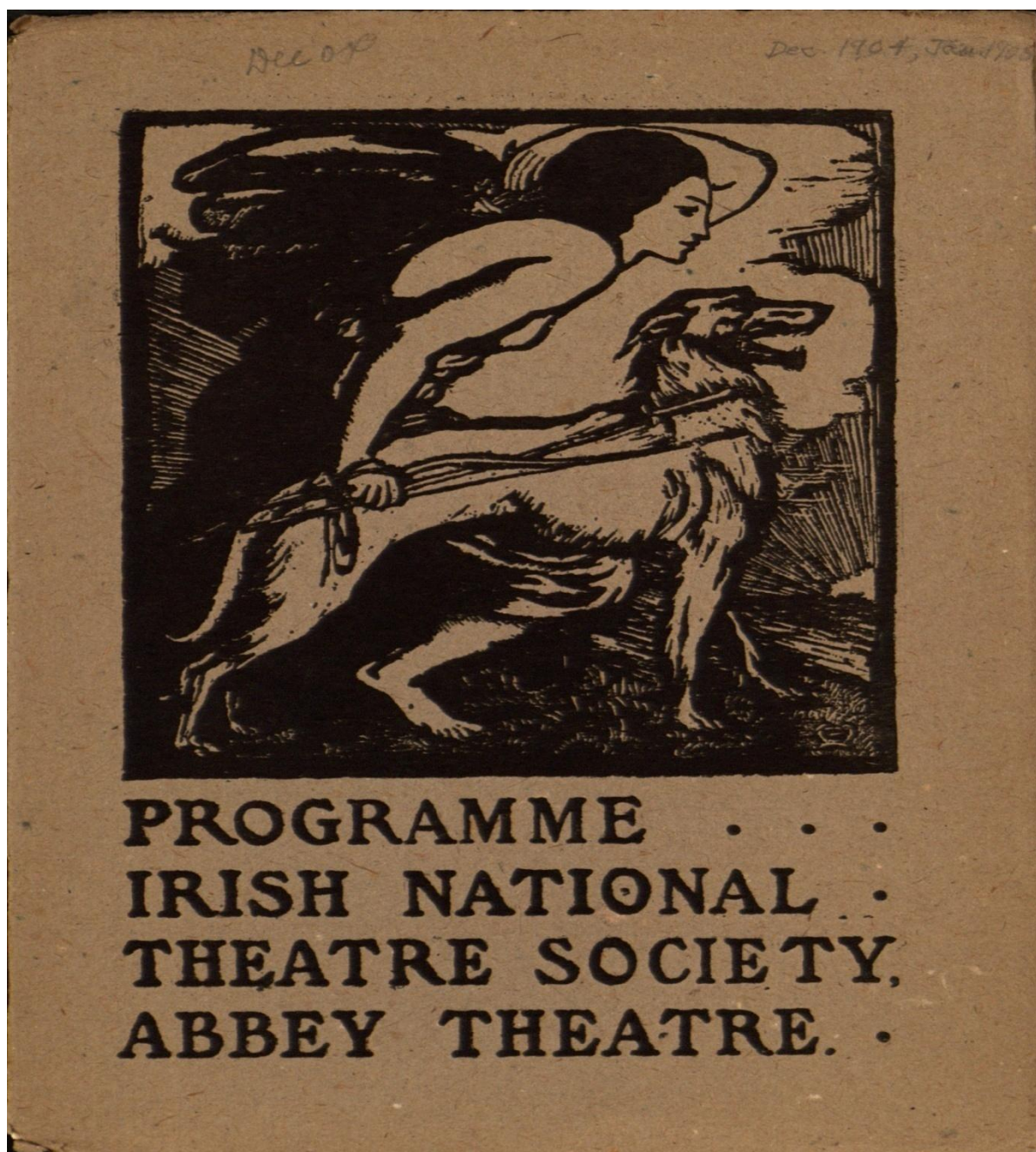
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APPENDIX A

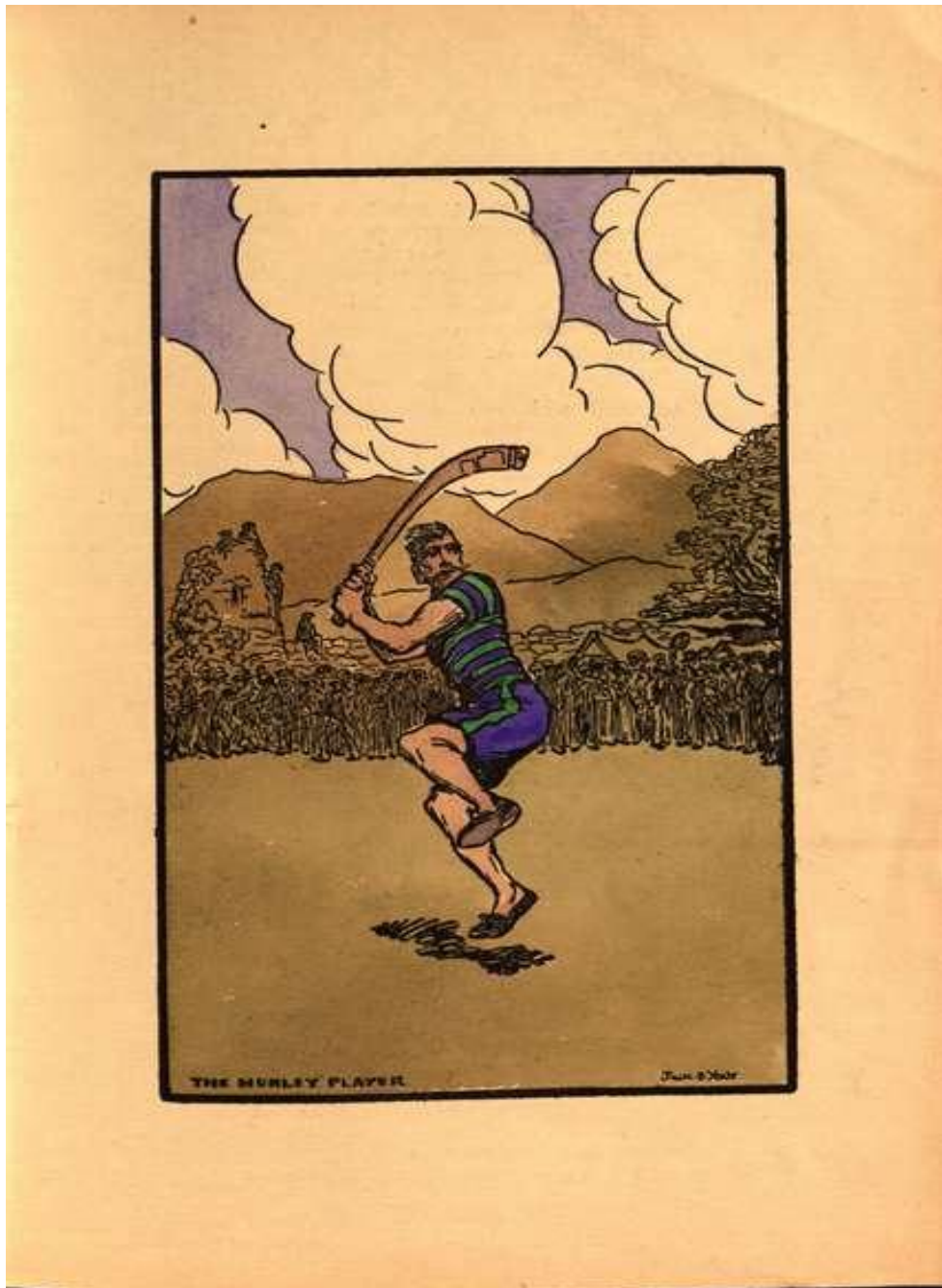
The Abbey Theatre Logo



The Abbey Theatre Logo. 1904. Woodcut. Villanova University Digital Library, Villanova.

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APPENDIX B

The Hurley Player by Jack Yeats

Yeats, Jack B. *The Hurley Player*. 1910. Drawing. Villanova University Digital Library, Villanova. Web. 31 Jan 2009.

APPENDIX C

Images of Killarney in *The Sunny Side of Ireland: How to See it by the Great Southern and Western Railway* by John O'Mahoney (1902).



O'Mahoney, John. *Boating at Killarney*. 1898. Mass reproduced drawing. *The Sunny Side of Ireland: How to see it by the Great Southern and Western Railway*. 3rd ed. 1902. Dublin: Thom, 1902. 95. Print.



O'Mahoney, John. *Bridge in Killarney*. 1898. Photograph. *The Sunny Side of Ireland: How to see it by the Great Southern and Western Railway*. 3rd ed. 1902. Dublin: Thom, 1902. 95. Print.

APPENDIX D

The Lake Hotel Advertisement Photograph with Text

**LAKE HOTEL,
KILLARNEY LAKES.**

Patronised by HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE KING.

Under New Management. Standing in its own Grounds upwards of 60 acres on the Shore of the Lower Lake.

Unrivalled in situation, concentrating in one view all that is picturesque and sublime in the scenery.



NEWLY FURNISHED; Electric Light throughout (Bedrooms included). Boating, Fishing, and Shooting. Conveyances Daily for Local Tours at fixed rates for each Person, also for Private Hiring. Billiards, Tennis.

THE ONLY HOTEL IN THE DISTRICT DIRECTLY ON THE LAKE SHORE.

Hotel Omnibus meets all Trains. The Glengarriff Coach stops at Entrance Gates to take up and set down Passengers.

The Railway Company allow only the Porters of their own Hotel on the Arrival Platform. The Lake Hotel Porters will be found at the Station Entrance.

Address THE MANAGER.

The Lake Hotel Advertisement from O'Mahoney's *The Sunny Side of Ireland*. 1898. Photograph.

Project Gutenberg. Web. 12 Jun. 2009.

APPENDIX E

The Royal Victoria Advertisement Photograph with Text

By Special Permission of Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

The ROYAL VICTORIA Hotel,

Patronised by His Majesty King Edward VII., H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the Royal Families of France and Belgium, the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, and leading American Families.

**KILLARNEY**

MAGNIFICENTLY situated on Lower Lake, facing Innisfallen. Highly recommended for its superior comfort. The only Hotel in Killarney at which King Edward VII. stayed when Prince of Wales.

JOHN O'LEARY, Proprietor.

The Royal Victoria Advertisement from O'Mahoney's *The Sunny Side of Ireland*. 1898.

Photograph. *Project Gutenberg*. Web. 12 Jun. 2009.