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American Joyce: Representations of the United States in *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*

Briana N. Casali

University of Miami, brianacasali@gmail.com

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AMERICAN JOYCE: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN
DUBLINERS, A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN, ULYSSES, AND
FINNEGANS WAKE

By

Briana Casali

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty
of the University of Miami
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Coral Gables, Florida

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Briana Casali

Approved:

Patrick A. McCarthy, Ph.D.
Professor of English

Joel Nickels, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of English

Ranen Omer-Sherman, Ph.D.
Professor of English

M. Brian Blake, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

Michael Patrick Gillespie, Ph.D.
Professor of English
Florida International University

CASALI, BRIANA

(Ph.D., English)

American Joyce: Representations of the United States in *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*.

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This project is the first comprehensive study of James Joyce's literary and personal relationship with the United States. With a foothold in both American and Irish fields of literary criticism, it explores a critical gap in Joyce studies that demonstrates a timely, long-standing need for scholars of literature to reconcile the quintessential 'Irishness' of one of the twentieth century's most dynamic and famous authors with the hundreds of allusions to America throughout his canon and to also examine the unflagging personal impact that the laws, culture and customs, politics, history, religion, and people of the United States had on his legacy as one of the twentieth century's literary powerhouses. This project attempts to determine the nature of Joyce's personal experiences with America and Americans and, as a result, the nature of how he represents the country and its culture in each of his major works: *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*. The study is particularly interested in investigating the emerging pattern one finds when tracing the ways Joyce employed America in his fiction; this pattern reveals an increasing tendency on the author's part to weave references, symbols, parodies, and allusions to America into his works over time. Thus, a biographical account of Joyce's relationship to America or Americans allows me to establish Joyce's complicated, often ambivalent, personal relationship with all things

American and to then reveal how this ever-changing relationship impressed itself upon his fiction, accounting as well for the abundant increase in his use of American references in his later works, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		
1	Introduction	1
2	‘voice from afar’: Transatlantic Desire and American Immigration.....	18
3	<i>non placet</i> : Troublesome Evangelicals and Defiant Catholics	69
4	“the secret of the race”: Mimicry, Minstrels, and Modernism	113
5	Conclusion	168
	APPENDIX.....	172
	WORKS CITED.....	180

Chapter 1

Introduction

James Joyce's relationship with the United States in his personal and professional life is not an easy matter to decipher, and to date there has been no comprehensive study of his connection to or representation of the region in his fiction, despite the hundreds of allusions to America, American people, and American culture in his four major works, particularly his final two novels, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. This goal of this project, therefore, is to come to a greater understanding not only of where and how the Irish Joyce incorporated America into his work, but also why and to what ends.

His personal experience, or lack thereof, with the U.S. does little to shed light on this process, although it does suggest that, despite his own difficulties or ambivalences toward the country, his work nonetheless looks to both sides of the Atlantic for inspiration, as numerous studies on his globalism and transatlanticism have attested. On the one hand, Joyce recognized the U.S. as quite literally "one half of the English speaking world," rendering it essential to the writer, his readership, and his profession. It's not surprising then that many of Joyce's concerns over the U.S. that he expressed in his personal letters and correspondences are directed toward the reception of his works there—on many occasions Joyce expressed interest in how American audiences and critics felt about his works. The U.S. was, after all, a significant market for the writer, and he knew it. In fact, as Jeffrey Segall notes in his study of early Joyce criticism in the U.S., "America would eventually provide Joyce with his most substantial reading audience," although he notes that this would not take place until after the author's death in 1941 (187). Because the country was such a large market for Joyce's works, his connection

with the world of American publishing was also heavy on his mind throughout his career, and this relationship is infamous for its troubled history. Segall charts the turbulent reception Joyce's works and personal standing endured in America, particularly in the 1920s and 30s as he completed *Ulysses* and composed on *Finnegans Wake*. As Segall explains, "Nowhere was there more public debate over *Ulysses* than in the United States," which he claims "reminds us how Joyce's ostracism during the two decades after its (*Ulysses*) publication (1922) and his rapid canonization after his death occurred against the backdrop of a sometimes fierce ideological struggle among American intellectuals" (7-8). Joyce displayed with regularity in his letters an expressed concern over this tumultuous critical reception of his works in the U.S.; at the same time he seems to have been sincerely interested in what these American intellectuals were saying or thinking about him. How this resentment makes its way into his fiction, however, is another matter entirely, and one that has received little attention.

In America, Joyce's works were pirated, put on trial, and generally abused for decades¹ in the national press and in the courtroom, which is perhaps one of the reasons Richard Ellmann writes in his acclaimed biography of Joyce that "he (Joyce) could not

¹ The history of the piracy of and litigation over *Ulysses* in America is well-documented in studies such as Segall's or in Bruce Arnold's *The Scandal of Ulysses: The Life and Afterlife of a Twentieth Century Masterpiece*, which chart the long, complicated history of the novel's publication in the U.S. In short, the work was first serialized in *Little Review*, a New York publication, until it was declared obscene by the courts in 1921. In 1926, New York publisher (and some say religious fanatic) Samuel Roth began to serialize the novel in the *Two Worlds Monthly* without Joyce's permission, a move that ignited an impressive protest signed by nearly 200, including W.B. Yeats and Virginia Woolf, and published in *transition* magazine in 1927. Roth's role as either a champion for intellectual property or a criminal and swindler has been debated, but, regardless, Joyce referred to him as an out and out "pirate," and the debate over copyright would last for years. *Ulysses* was finally brought to trial in 1933 when Judge Woolsey ruled that the book was not pornographic and lifted the more than decade-long ban on its publication in America, which had for years greatly troubled Joyce and is the subject of countless letters and correspondences during this time. The decision became a benchmark judgment on censorship. The book was finally published by Random House in the U.S. in 1934.

bear their country” (Ellmann 3)—a sentiment that, this dissertation suggests, is perhaps true on some fronts but certainly not as clear cut as Ellmann would have it. As for Joyce’s own admissions on the subject, he wrote on more than one occasion that he had no interest in visiting the United States, yet failed to explain why. For example, Joyce wrote to his son in the 1930s (who was visiting the U.S. at the time) that he had “little or no desire” to travel to America and knew “nothing about the country which may seem very beautiful to many,” adding a rather terse explanation that “I feel that way because I feel that way” (*JIII* 683). One must wonder at the sincerity of his admitted lack of knowledge on America considering the hundreds of references, many detailed and impressive in their nuance and accuracy, to America and American culture in his works. Nonetheless, many of Joyce’s letters and correspondences bear out this kind of ambiguous, ambivalent attitude toward the U.S., and this was typical of his response to questions about America; and as one critic puts it, “he was seldom more forthcoming on the matter” (Monk 116). Therefore, given Joyce’s self-professed general lack of interest in the U.S. (aside from his interest in its critics), not to mention moments of real (often quite justified) frustration toward the country,² one wonders at the staggering number of references to America—its culture, language, history, politics, geography, and religions—in Joyce’s later works and the myriad ways he makes use of it thematically in his fictions. In *Dubliners* there are around ten such references, yet *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* far surpass this number as

² One such moment is in a letter to his daughter where Joyce mentions his concern over his son’s lengthy stay in America: “I did not know my son had such a strong stomach” (*Letters III* 357).

Joyce's allusions to America can be found scattered throughout both works with noticeable frequency.³

Further, Joyce seems to deviate somewhat from this rather terse judgment of America that we see in his personal correspondence and, instead, offers in his fiction the possibility for a number of redeeming qualities or opportunities that he ascribes to the country. As each of the chapters here will explore, Joyce seems drawn to the country and displayed a decidedly transatlantic sensibility in his work, despite his personal admonitions against the U.S. in his letters, and he tends to imbue it with redeeming qualities defined by wealth, opportunity, freedom, or beauty just as often as he excoriates it for its failings. Joyce's representation of America, therefore, is almost always dual in nature, much like the country itself, and the allusions to it in his fiction will certainly bear this out.

Specifically, by engaging in close readings of the most significant references to America, this dissertation traces Joyce's depiction of and relationship to the United States in each of his major works—*Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*—in order to determine the ways he imagines the country and the thematic purposes this serves, how he situates the U.S. into his representations of colonialism and imperialism, the manner in which he incorporates the region into his global, and certainly transatlantic, sensibility, and how the theme of America contributes to Joyce's modernist technique. Of further curiosity is the gradual increase of references to the United States as Joyce grew older and the connection between his growing interest

³ *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* contains surprisingly few references to America, particularly compared with the other novels, so it will naturally be the least-cited of Joyce's works in the dissertation.

in the U.S. and his personal contacts or connections with Americans (such as Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, Eugene Jolas⁴, and many others); somewhat of a biographical account of his personal remarks on the U.S. in his letters and papers will undoubtedly shed light on his willingness to include it in his fictions, particularly where *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* are concerned. It certainly seems that, as the publication of his works in America became increasingly complicated and troubled, so too did his inclusion of all things American in his fiction. Also, one must take into account that both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* are transnational works that concern themselves with global themes, global geographies, and global identities. For Joyce to leave America out of either of these endeavors would have been unthinkable, regardless of his own self-proclaimed lack of interest⁵ in visiting the country or in becoming one of the millions of Irish “wild geese” who crossed the Atlantic.⁶

⁴ In particular, Jolas, a New-Jersey-born journalist, was very close to Joyce throughout the 1920s as he was working on *Work in Progress*, the early title of *Finnegans Wake*. Jolas lived in Paris and established the influential modernist publication *transition* in 1927. Incidentally, the first item published in *transition* was what would later become the opening chapter of *Finnegans Wake*. Much like the kind of international use of language Joyce displays in *Finnegans Wake*, one that made frequent use of American speech patterns and vernacular, Jolas shared an interest in a modernism and modern linguistic that is global and certainly transatlantic: “I dreamed a new language, a super-tongue for intercontinental expression . . . I felt that the great Atlantic community to which I belonged demanded an Atlantic language” (qtd. in Kintzele 69).

⁵ This tendency of Joyce’s to fictionalize themes or issues that he was in personal conflict with is nothing new. As Kintzele writes, despite Joyce’s aversion to politics, “his work is nonetheless thoroughly political” (55). So too where religion is concerned. Although he was an avowed disbeliever, each of Joyce’s works is explicitly religious. Kintzele accounts for this in a way that aligns nicely with my thesis when he claims that this trend in Joyce’s fiction to confront issues that he may be in conflict with in fact helps to define his modernity. As Kintzele writes, his fiction “expands to incorporate issues [such as politics and religion] that confront modernity as a whole” (55).

⁶ Joyce was famously afraid of thunderstorms and was not a relaxed traveler, so one might wonder if his reluctance to visit the United States was not ultimately attributable to a fear of the long, arduous Atlantic crossing itself. The crossing was notoriously dangerous, and even the ships used to transport people from Ireland to America were often referred to as “coffin ships” because of the danger inherent in such a long voyage.

This transnational approach that included America is a reflection of Joyce's modernist technique, one that looks beyond Ireland for ways to define the nation, identity, or a culture and instead looks to the international or global for different perspectives, themes, and languages. As Kintzele writes, "Joyce repeatedly engaged the problems of how to form a distinctively modern nation and what sort of international sphere may one day exist, or ought to exist, beyond the nation-state" of Ireland or England (55). Joyce's approach to America is undoubtedly a large part of this international sphere, and in his works it exists as both a literal (geographical) and symbolic (cultural) space that is juxtaposed as a binary opposition to England and offers a legitimate alternative to colonial Ireland, for, unlike Ireland, America was able to free itself from British rule and, as a result, stands a kind of beacon for millions of Irish immigrants who flocked to its Eastern seaboard in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Yet, America as a kind of modern-day alternative to England is also a notion that he simultaneously mistrusts and undermines in the novels, displaying a deeper skepticism over the nation (be it Ireland, England, or America), and the kind of nationalism that uses "race, gender, religion, ethnicity, and language itself in order to fashion sociopolitical groups" (Kintzele 55). In this manner, Joyce reflects a kind of Bloomian sensibility (that I will discuss further in the final chapter) by not simply endorsing America to his readers as a so-called replacement nation for England's colonial position, because his kind of international modernism "does not erase modernism in favor of a monolithic or homogenized world; rather, it shows how the boundaries of the nation, just like the boundaries of language, are continually shifting" (Kintzele 75). Joyce's fiction rejects the temptation to fix meaning and delineate boundaries based on national

borders. As such, each of the three chapters in this dissertation discusses instances where Joyce seems to be both offering the United States as a national model for postcolonial Ireland and a legitimate alternative to England as a way to sidestep and escape British colonialism, while also remaining “careful to maintain his skepticism about one-world utopian solutions;” for that reason America was never a clear-cut alternative to British-led colonialism, but instead maintained its own political, economic, and cultural hegemony that posed its own threats, particularly to the kinds of minorities, immigrant populations, subordinate groups, or outsiders that Joyce’s characters, indeed Joyce himself, are often defined as. America may have been the country of the Rockefellers and Wall Street, Hollywood, or Mark Twain and the Wild West, but, for Joyce, it was also a country of racism and greed, lynchings and false prophets, political scandal and abuse of power, and disasters and death.

Joyce’s mistrust of America’s influence and power in a global setting or “international sphere” is particularly apparent in a 1906 letter in which he cited French writer Ernest Renan, whose theories on the nation seemed to align with Joyce’s: “Renan was right when he said we were marching toward universal Americanism” (qtd. in Kintzele 58). As Kintzele points out, the letter’s critical tone suggests that this kind of universal influence that America began to exert—politically, financially, and culturally—in the early years of the twentieth century held little appeal to Joyce, who expressed disdain over America’s influence just as often as he lauded it.

Each of the dissertation’s three chapters frames the various pursuits Joyce seemed to have in mind when he threaded America into the complex design of his works, and they trace his references to the United States throughout his fiction. The first chapter,

“‘voice from afar’: Transatlantic Desire and American Immigration in Joyce,” explores numerous instances of immigration to America in Joyce’s works, taking into account Joyce’s own status as a self-imposed exile and emigrant from his native Ireland who nonetheless refused, unlike millions of his countrymen, to embark on the infamous journey westward. This chapter asserts that Joyce’s underlying colonial resentments toward the British Empire manifest themselves in various American immigration scenarios throughout his fiction—some in favor of it, some against—and that his complicated nationalism often reveals itself in his endorsement of and even identification with the Irish immigration movement to America, which peaked between the 1850s and the early 1900s. This chapter also addresses Joyce’s underlying skepticism over Irish emigration to America, in part for the simple fact that emigration westward, while perhaps offering the possibility of a better life and more opportunity for the emigrant, simultaneously meant loss, lack of opportunity, and failure for Ireland. This dual awareness over the issue of Irish emigration to America is evident in nearly every instance of this theme in the novels, suggesting that Joyce’s “international consciousness” (Kintzele 76) was never fully liberated from a national perspective or national concerns. The chapter will examine the U.S. in Joyce’s works also as a site of adventure or exploration, which also includes the complex issue of Irish immigration wherein America is a destination characterized by the exotic, the unknown, opportunity, and freedom, notwithstanding some sense of foreboding or danger though. Joyce, particularly in *Ulysses*, cites a few instances in his fiction of native Irishmen who “smuggled off to America,” a place where “They never come back” (*U* 5.547), and even Joyce himself was none too pleased when his own family members traveled to the continent. However, one

of the few immigrant characters who visited the U.S. and returned to Ireland is Mrs. Riordan, Stephen Dedalus' aunt in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Mrs. Riordan had been to a convent in the U.S., and this remains one of the few references to America in this particular novel, making it all the more significant for a study on Joyce's attitude toward it. As stated earlier, though, the author made no pretense about his lack of interest in visiting the country for himself, despite its significance to his readership (again, half of the English-speaking world, as he described it) and the attention he pays to it in his fiction. Finally, this chapter will address one of Joyce's most prominent emigrant characters, Shaun of *Finnegans Wake*, whose emigration to America actually serves as an act of Irish patriotism or nationalism. Here, Shaun's emigration does not contribute to the weakening of the Irish nation or population but instead is in service to it, suggesting an international perspective that never fully forsakes Joyce's native country. This manifold depiction of Irish immigration to America in his works is a complicated one, with only a few textual references, that, like his relationship to the country in general, has by and large been untouched by critics.

The second chapter of the dissertation will document and examine the function of American religious references in Joyce's fiction. At several points in *Dubliners*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce either parodies American religious figures or references its institutions and practices. As Joyce's own relationship with religion and the Church has long been discussed among critics, it's curious to note that his many references to American religious practices, which he primarily imagines as evangelical and protestant, have been by and large ignored in the many examinations of the role of religion in his fiction. Peter Gilliver in his short article "Billy Sunday: A New Source for 'Oxen of the

Sun”” offers one of the few short genetic studies in existence concerning Joyce’s American religious references and examines the genesis of this chapter of *Ulysses*, one of the more lengthy passages in the novel that parodies American evangelical preaching (although the figures in this chapter are mentioned elsewhere throughout the novel). Other, related, studies have established the likelihood that Joyce did have access in the Irish or British newspapers to real-life accounts of American preaching or sermons, and some of these religious figures also appeared in Ireland or Britain at various times in Joyce’s life. However, aside from these genetic studies of the potential sources of Joyce’s American religious references, it has yet to be determined how Joyce used these references throughout his fiction to make wider comments on the United States and how or why this is significant when read against other religious themes in his works. This chapter in particular focuses on Joyce’s fascination with Alexander J. Dowie, a colorful American evangelical preacher (some say cult leader and swindler), who figures heavily in *Ulysses*’ religious allegory of Elijah/throwaway/Bloom. Dowie’s presence in the novel supports my thesis that Joyce often looked critically on America, American culture, or American institutions, as his international reputation is less spiritual or faith-based and more inclined toward profit (Joyce takes comical license with the word profit/prophet in several places concerning Dowie), exploitation, and performance. Again, the real face of America, for Joyce, is never exactly what it seems to the rest of the international community, and his works portray a profound mistrust of the power and motives behind its institutions.

The final chapter of the dissertation will address the many references in Joyce’s works to issues of race, color, and ethnicity in the four novels, particularly as there are

several significant instances of racial mimicry and parody where Joyce's characters adopt or manipulate American minority identities, particularly black Americans and Native Americans. One of the more significant and consistent allusions to racial issues and the United States (which appears in *Dubliners*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*—the latter two at length) is Joyce's reference to the Christy Minstrels, a traveling blackface minstrel show popularized both in the U.S. and throughout Europe in the nineteenth century.⁷ This reference expands in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* to include the wider theme of blackface minstrelsy or black American mimicry, which has direct implications for Joyce's notions of colonial identity. In his article, "Joyce, Minstrels, and Mimes," Zack Bowen offers one of a handful of examinations of the minstrels in Joyce's fiction (his article focuses specifically on the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*) and their association with the United States, and he suggests a parallel between the minstrels and Leopold Bloom's unconscious mind and his own marginalized status as Jew.⁸ For example, in the "Circe" episode, Joyce makes direct reference not only to the minstrel show but also to slavery and race in America via an article describing a hanging of a black man, "Sambo," in

⁷ Although the Christy Minstrels originated in the United States in the 19th century, various other troupes were formed in Europe during Joyce's time. Therefore, although American in origin, the minstrel shows Joyce might have seen or had direct contact with might have been European-based troupes. However, the connection of even these groups to America is still significant, especially considering the American nature of the specific minstrels Joyce mentions, from the Christies, Eugene Stratton, or the Bohee Brothers. As Bowen wrote, "The shows disseminated and promoted what most people regard as the only identifiably American forms of music and dance, as well as what many think of as a quintessentially American form of humor" (813). As my chapter will discuss, blackface performance was undoubtedly considered an American performative phenomenon.

⁸ The novel also establishes a connection between Jews and African Americans in several places. For example, Leopold Bloom is himself referred to as a "coon" by another character, and the word "Jew" is also substituted for African American references at a few points. This will be addressed in the third and final chapter.

Georgia.⁹ In his article, Bowen forges a connection between this racially-motivated execution and “the anti-Semitism of Dublin’s own Citizen, who, with equal vehemence, attempts to brain and crucify ‘that bloody jewman,’ Bloom ...” (815). Vincent Cheng agrees and describes the moment in “The Dead” when Gretta Conroy thinks of the Christy Minstrels after hearing the word “Guttapercha” (a Malaysian word meaning galoshes) as having notable racial and imperial implications, and it is in fact the first instance in Joyce’s fiction where minstrelsy is mentioned and the theme of performative racial mimicry is introduced. As Cheng describes it in “Empire and Patriarchy in ‘The Dead’,” Malay, an English colony, produced such rubbery materials used for making galoshes for the English consumer who, as a result, “depend(s) on the guttapercha and the ivory ripped out of colonial nations by the labor and sweat of the colonized natives” (351). It’s no wonder, Cheng suggests, that the galoshes conjure thoughts of the American entertainers for Gretta since “the wearing of galoshes becomes a correlative for a more ‘civilized’ dominant European culture, whose very cultural superiority and refinement depend on the exploitation of its colonies” (ibid). Parallels to the American South or, at the very least, the African American labor force in general, are more than obvious here, and this initial reference foreshadows a career-long fascination with the black American population, which Joyce often parallels with the Irish, that appear more frequently and in a variety of forms in the later works. Once again the United States

⁹ The state of Georgia will also carry significance on the first page of *Finnegans Wake* where Joyce establishes a connection between Dublin, Ireland and Dublin, Georgia. Joyce also makes reference to this at least once in his letters.

serves as a kind of parallel space to Ireland where issues of prejudice, colonization, and even slavery and racial/ethnic violence align in striking ways.

This chapter also inquires after the ways Joyce's works depict a wide, expansive America characterized by wild frontier lands, by rebellion and colonization, and by crippling ethnic or racial demarcations. The first instance of a highly racialized America is in the *Dubliners*' story "An Encounter," the second story in the adolescence sequence at the beginning of the novel. Fittingly, this is also the very first reference to the United States in all Joyce's works. Here, stories of the Wild West and of Native Americans capture the imaginations of the young Dublin boys as they engage in a performative act of racial mimicry and identification with the American native group. As Greg Winston writes, the boys find in these "fantasies materials for re-fashioning themselves and their surroundings so as to escape the tedium of school and home life" (219). More importantly, though, this first American reference that appears in Joyce's works also has significant implications for Joyce's politics and suggests a larger attitude toward the U.S. in general. Winston argues that the Wild West stories and the Native American identities not only serve as an exotic escape route for Dublin youth, but also furnish a "structure in which to portray the colonized status of the young-reader subject" that mirrors the "cultural-ideological arm of British rule in the late-nineteenth-century Ireland" (220). Here, we can begin to situate Joyce's placement of America—the international—into the national politics of his time, particularly as it stands either with or against his often ambiguous portrayal of imperialism and colonization. Genevieve Abravanel suggests that this first instance of the United States in Joyce's fiction presents the country as "a model of postcolonial existence for Ireland" (153), in no small part because America

accomplished what Ireland had often failed to do—free itself from British presence. Therefore, Joyce’s frequent portrayal of the U.S. as a site of expansive frontier, a source of imaginative and physical escape, and a land with its own colonial past (both as colonized and colonizer) begins even in his earliest major work to figure into Joyce’s own identity as an Irishman and his fictionalized account of his country, in particular explored through the theme of racial mimicry and masquerade via the boys’ symbolic identification with Native Americans.

Joyce makes several more references of varying length and significance to the minstrels in his other works, and this final chapter will also attempt to draw connections between these allusions across his works in order to form a clearer understanding of Joyce’s use of American racial/ethnic issues. In addition to the minstrels, though, Joyce also makes a number of other references to both African American and Native American cultures in all of these works, most prominently in *Finnegans Wake*. Interestingly enough, many of these allusions are steeped in popular cultural stereotypes and biases, which Joyce seems to be constantly playing upon and manipulating, whether it’s the “Redskins in America” (*U* 12.1368) or the Black “Sambos” of the South. This chapter, then, will also explore how race and ethnicity in America is portrayed and parodied in these novels and to what ends Joyce employs, relies on, or manipulates references to American popular culture in his fiction.

In addition, Joyce’s internationalism is in large part defined by his unique use of language, which has been the subject of a great many studies, and both Chapters Two and Three will investigate the ways that Joyce incorporates into his fiction the “American” language, specifically American slang, in addition to linguistic references from the region

as it appears in other works of fiction or in American culture in general. I will draw most heavily from *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* in this chapter as Joyce makes a number of American linguistic references in the form of slang, literary language, the language of the media and critics, evangelical rhetoric, the language of minority races and ethnicities, and song, to name a few. Joyce, particularly in *Finnegans Wake*, also exercises frequent word-plays using American-themed words or American references. For one small example, even the word “America” takes several forms throughout the novel, from “Amirican” to “Amodicum” and the like.¹⁰ However, one of the more significant starting points in a study of Joyce’s use of American slang is the “Oxen of the Sun” chapter of *Ulysses* which parodies the English language in an allegorical setting of gestation and development—a maternity hospital. Joyce includes American slang throughout this episode but, more significantly, the “gestating English language” which he alludes to throughout “ultimately delivers up American slang” at the end of the episode with the “hellfire sermonizing” of an American preacher (Abravanel 159). As Abravanel puts it, “In an episode so fully committed to undermining established literary forms, Joyce’s treatment of American English is ... a conceit that undermines the structures of value that privilege Ben Jonson and Shakespeare of bawdy American curse words” (159). This suggests that Joyce’s use of American slang is a subversive move that stands as a reflection on “the globalism and imperialism of the modern age” (159), and the dissertation will also explore how this kind of linguistic parody or masquerade contributes to and even distinguishes his modernist techniques. And, in typical Joycean

¹⁰ Several of these are listed in Appendix C.

fashion, humor, puns, and wordplay in this section of the novel as in others is always on hand to complicate the linguistic and cultural power structures he is calling into question. However rich *Ulysses* is in linguistic experimentation—as Abravanel says, “for a master statement of Joyce’s treatment of language...the obvious place to turn is to *Ulysses*”—*Finnegans Wake* undoubtedly contains the largest number of American religious and racial linguistic parodies.

The United States is, on first consideration, perhaps a curious backdrop for a study of Joyce and his works. As one critic puts it, “it might seem unlikely that the United States could provide a significant frame for understanding a writer who grew up under British imperialism, lived much of his adult life in Paris and Trieste, wrote obsessively about his native Ireland and never even made a transatlantic tour” (Abravanel 153). Yet, this dissertation attempts to offer what hopefully will be the first of many full-length studies of a distinctly “American Joyce,” notwithstanding but situated within his Irish, European, or British identities. Joyce, particularly in his later works, obviously references many countries, languages, cultures, and histories outside of his own European perspective. An acute study of his American sensibility is to my mind an essential part of Joyce scholarship because, for starters, his real-life personal and professional experiences with the U.S. clearly reflect his ambivalence toward the country, yet the U.S. also seems surprisingly significant to him in his letters and fiction. I believe that his relationship to the U.S. has hitherto been written off as troubled and insignificant in part because of his publication difficulties there and also because of the critical tendency to focus on the England/Ireland binary. But, I believe his work speaks otherwise. In total, I have recorded hundreds references of varying length, significance, and theme to the United

States in Joyce's four major novels, many of which appear in the Appendix as a foundation for further study.¹¹ Two of the titles of his works—*Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*—are directly connected to American themes and references. And, as these chapters will discuss, Joyce drew heavily from American traditions, race relations, rhetoric, history, religious practices throughout the body of his career, despite his own somewhat misleading claims of disinterest for the country. Indeed, after a close examination of these four works, Joyce seems anything but disinterested in the United States. Therefore, an underlying goal of the dissertation, in addition to exploring and making connections between these American references in his works, will be to find a reasonable reconciliation between Joyce's contradictory reconstructions of America—his marked disregard of and mistrust over it on one hand and his willingness to fictionalize it as a postcolonial ideal on the other. America, through the eyes of James Joyce, is an imagined location that contains both opportunity and freedom but also death, loss, and corruption, and for a country that itself can be defined as simultaneously *colonized* and *colonizer*, Joyce's double sense may be the most American aspect of his work.

¹¹ Interestingly enough, on the first page of *Finnegans Wake* alone there are at least five references to the United States.

Chapter 2

‘voice from afar’: Transatlantic Desire and American Immigration

By the time of Joyce’s birth in 1882, and especially by the time he began writing in the early 1900s, Ireland and the United States were unequivocally locked in a long-standing, complex, transatlantic relationship defined principally by immigration. Between 1841 and 1850 over three-quarters of a million people left Ireland for North America, and, in total, from 1820 to 1920, Ireland lost more than 4.5 million of its population, mainly to the United States (O’Hara 6). The shadow of emigration would have no doubt cast itself over Joyce’s consciousness. As Mary Lowe-Evans points out, in 1901, when Joyce was 19-years-old and still living in his home country, “Ireland lost one of every 114 members of its population” to emigration, which was nearly double and sometimes triple the amount of other European countries (31). Not surprisingly, the threat of depopulation became one of the country’s chief concerns as organizations, and groups like the Anti-Emigration Society made it their goal to restore Ireland’s population to pre-famine numbers (around 8.5 million). Joyce, himself a shining statistical example of the Irishman who emigrated from Ireland to the continent in his early twenties, never to live fully in Ireland again, grappled with this social phenomenon early in his career, in spite of his own refusal to visit the U.S. throughout his life. The problem was so pervasive, Lowe-Evans explains, that “virtually every type of text produced in or about Ireland in the last decade of the 19th and several decades of the 20th century ... reflected, however subtly, the concern about depopulation” (31), and Joyce is certainly no exception, even bearing these issues out in his own life. In a speech he gave in Trieste in 1907 (which subsequently became the essay titled “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages”), he presented

his own statistical breakdown of Irish immigration to America: “Every year, Ireland, decimated as she already is,¹² loses 60,000 of her sons. From 1850 to the present day, more than 5,000,000 emigrants have left for America, and every post brings to Ireland their inviting letters to friends and relatives at home” (172). For Joyce, understandably, the numbers seem staggering. Further, the population that Joyce claims is leaving Ireland for the shores of America—these “wild geese,”¹³ as he calls them—are Ireland’s finest. As he describes them, the American-bound Irish emigrants are promising, healthy young men who have been forced by Ireland’s paralytic institutions to seek out greater economic and intellectual opportunities, and they look to the United States to fulfill these goals. Ireland’s own economic and intellectual conditions, Joyce says, “do not permit the development of individuality,” thus “no one who has any self-respect stays in Ireland” (171). For these Irish emigrants, America became what Joyce sees as a second “native land” (that “greater Ireland beyond the sea,” as it is referred to in *Ulysses*), luring Ireland’s best and brightest away from their homeland in exchange for “a rich, powerful, and industrious settlement” in the U.S. (“Saints and Sages” 172). Joyce describes those who remain in Ireland and reject the flight to America as “the old men, the corrupt, the

¹² Joyce refers here to the decimation of Ireland’s population by the Potato Famine, also known as The Great Famine, which struck around 1845, culminating in the hardest-hit year of 1847 (referred to as “Black ’47”), and lasting until the early 1850s. It is estimated that around a million Irish died during the Famine, while nearly a million more emigrated, many to the Northeast coast of the United States (and in a country with a population of roughly 5 million people, these figures are especially startling). By 1850, the Irish made up nearly a quarter of the population in this region of the U.S.

¹³ Although Joyce often uses the term “wild geese” to refer to modern-day emigrants from Ireland, it was originally used to describe the Irish insurgents who supported James II of England. In 1691, after William of England defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne and the Treaty of Limerick was signed, these insurgents or “wild geese” went willingly into exile. Since then, however, the term was often used to refer to any “Irish who have purposefully become expatriated rather than live in an Ireland ruled by England” (Gifford 52).

Incidentally, in *Portrait*, Stephen refers to his friend Davin as his “little tame goose,” suggesting that Davin won’t leave Ireland, like the ‘wild geese’ did, nor will he openly rebel against Britain. As a ‘tame goose,’ Stephen implies that Davin is too passive to be either a revolutionary or an exile.

children, and the poor” groups who are dispossessed of any power to advance the country and reverse the trend of depopulation by mass migration. Thus, Joyce’s attitude about Irish immigration is a complex one, drawn as he is on the one hand to identify and sympathize with the ideals of freedom, opportunity, and mobility that the U.S. represented to many immigrants, yet he also seems to be acutely aware throughout his career that each individual case of emigration from Ireland is a kind of sucker-punch to the country in general, making it that much more difficult to improve conditions at home and reverse the trend of depopulation. But, in his 1907 “Saints and Sages” speech, Joyce seems to offer little or no criticism of America, that transatlantic siren call of a country that tempts Ireland’s finest away from their native shores and draws them westward. Instead, Joyce’s attitude here is rather sympathetic toward the emigrant and conversely quite critical of his own country, which he seems to suggest *deserves* in some way to lose its most valuable. Here, Joyce implicitly aligns himself with those ‘wild geese’ who have the courage to leave Ireland, whether they are headed West for America or, like Joyce, for the Continent (perhaps this less critical stance early on in his career is evidence of his mounting instinct to “exile” himself from his country?). The blame for Irish emigration to the U.S., in this speech at least, is placed squarely on Ireland, although much of his later creative work will no doubt complicate this early claim. America, Joyce seems to suggest here, embraces these Irish “wild geese” and turns each of them into “a respected man” (171). What’s more, Joyce speaks of Ireland as a kind of failed version of America and offers the hope that maybe one day the Irish can, like the Americans, free themselves from the clutches of Mother England: “If the Irishmen at home have not been able to do what their brothers have done in America, it does not mean that they never will” (163).

These Irish “brothers” in America—both Americans and also Irish-American immigrants who have rejected Britain in favor of the U.S.—are saluted by Joyce for accomplishing a kind of independence that cannot be found at “home” but, as the would-be emigrant Stephen Dedalus¹⁴ says in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, “must be sought abroad.” Joyce again shows his support and admiration for the founding of America—particularly in terms of its independence from Britain—when he later refers to these founders as “brothers” of the English who found themselves in a “similar plight” to the Irish but instead chose “to go to wonderful America” in search of a new democracy. So, not only does he see the United States as succeeding where Ireland failed, he also shows empathy toward the modern-day Irishman who chooses this new path to democracy and freedom by emigrating. As Mary Lowe-Evans writes, Joyce’s references to Irish emigration in his critical works “expose [his] attempts to present his case in favor of the emigrant” (31). According to Lowe-Evans, Joyce believes that “the individual who respects himself and seeks respect from others must resist the reproaches of the Church and leave Ireland ... at home there is no hope” (32). As she puts it, the ones who elect to leave Ireland are, by Joyce’s standards, the self-respecting and the courageous (33).

However, it must be acknowledged that the views that Lowe-Evans cites and the speech I refer to represent Joyce’s sentiments in the early years of the 1900s, years and even decades before the publication of *Ulysses* or his work on *Finnegans Wake*, and some time before certain developments occurred that may be responsible for altering his views on America (developments like the pirating of his works by an American publisher, the obscenity trial over *Ulysses*, his evolving relationships with several

¹⁴ Stephen, of course, will not emigrate to America, but to Europe, like Joyce himself.

Americans, the complex critical reception his works received in the U.S., the marriage of his son to a troubled American woman, or simply the long, bumpy road he suffered in order to see his works published in the U.S.). Also one must consider Joyce's own status as an emigrant. It has been often said that Joyce left Ireland only to spend the rest of his life writing and thinking about it. A sharp-eyed critic of his country, he is also one of its biggest champions, immortalizing it in his works and in doing so redeeming it somehow from its many flaws and complexities. So while Joyce hailed the plight of the emigrant and understood the attraction to America, the land of opportunity, both his life and his works reveal a contrary ambivalence toward a country that is, in some way, robbing his native land of its own people, future, and potential. Therefore, the foremost goal of this chapter will be to consider the various ways Joyce represents the United States through the issue of Irish immigration in his fiction and the complex relationship between the two countries that this modern phenomenon gave rise to. Indirectly, I also hope to complicate the commonly-held notion that Joyce was consistently in favor of emigration and the Irish emigrant. As discussed in the Introduction, Joyce's personal dealings with the U.S. or with Americans are impossible to pin down as entirely negative or positive experiences for him, and he expressly refused on several occasions to explain his lack of interest in visiting the country, which was not for want of opportunity. Yet, as a political idea and cultural monolith, as a critical audience and as paying customers for his novels, America was of great interest to Joyce, and based on the sheer variety of emigrant experiences or aspects of emigration, ranging from highly positive to downright criminal, Joyce draws on for his fiction, it seems this was not always an easy matter for him to settle.

In his fiction, primarily in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce often refers to the issue of mass emigration to America. And, not only do we get a sense of the different ways that he reflects upon Irish immigration—whether favorably, ironically, or critically—but there are also several places in the texts that seem to suggest how Joyce thought of America, essentially, what was waiting for these immigrants when they got there. The first direct reference in Joyce’s works to introduce the theme of Irish immigration to the United States occurs in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In Chapter II, a maturing Stephen Dedalus accompanies his father to his hometown of Cork, a trip that symbolically marks the end of Stephen’s childhood in the novel. On the morning of their arrival, after a night-long train ride from Dublin to Cork, Stephen awakes to his father softly singing the following “come-all-you:”

‘Tis youth and folly
 Makes young men marry,
 So here, my love, I’ll
 No longer stay.
 What can’t be cured, sure,
 So I’ll go to
 Amerikay

My love she’s handsome,
 My love she’s boney:
 She’s like good whisky
 When it is new;
 But when ‘tis old
 And growing cold
 It fades and dies like
 The mountain dew. (77)

The song itself is said to be one of Joyce’s own father’s favorite tunes and one which Joyce often sang himself (Gordon 65). Don Gifford notes that the song has been considered a variation of the English and Scots folk song “Waly Waly,” although a specific source for it has not yet been identified (171). Stephen is soothed by the song,

and it “drove off all the mists of the night’s ill humor from [his] brain” (ibid). He even compliments his father on the ballad: “That’s much prettier than any of your other *come-all-yous* ... I like it.” The song, as Zack Bowen in *Musical Allusions in the Works of James Joyce* points out, mirrors themes occurring throughout this section of the novel and serves as a kind of musical synecdoche for the father-son trip to Cork. Bowen points out that the themes of escape and youth versus old age that figure heavily in the song are also key issues that Stephen faces as he squares himself with the paltry memories of his aging father’s childhood while simultaneously contemplating his own maturation and adulthood. For Simon Dedalus, the trip to Cork becomes a sad attempt to recapture his youth and, as Bowen says, “to cling to the memories and sensibilities of his young manhood” (38). In the maturing Stephen’s eye, this is merely nostalgic “folly,” as the song goes, and he attempts to “dissociate” himself from the very things that his father is desperately trying to revisit (ibid). Sheldon Brivic describes the speaker in the song as “both hypermasculine and cowardly,” in that it is an expression by both father and son of “the exhilaration of being boys away from female supervision” (79), and therefore one of the many attempts Stephen Dedalus will take in order to separate himself from his mother and, I might add, from his country. To this end, I suggest an additional critical dimension to the song that indicates an underlying resentment toward Ireland (and an endorsement of emigration) at a particularly significant point in the novel. The song suggests that domestic ties (marriage and family) in Ireland are born out of “youth and folly,” something that the speaker of the song obviously sees as a kind of state of illness or even decay, one that leads to negative ends and needs a ‘cure.’ That cure, for the young Irishman of the song, is immigration to America—a country that represents freedom from

these “nets,” so to speak, that Stephen will later seek to “fly by.” However, marital responsibility is not the only “net” from which the ideal immigrant of the song is attempting to escape, but, specifically, it’s a commitment to one’s mother country.¹⁵ For the youth, beauty, and passion that the speaker attributes to one’s desire to marry or couple-up, so to speak, surely do not change or fade in any setting, whether Ireland or America. There is no reason to think that a “handsome” love would escape the inevitable fate of “growing cold” or growing old in America any more than in Ireland. Therefore, one must assume that the speaker is leaving behind more than a girl in Ireland, and because of this, his choice to emigrate is an expression of escape from a truly domestic commitment—not just to one’s own home but to one’s own nation. It also characterizes America, by implied contrast, as a place where youth, beauty, and opportunity await the immigrant; it’s an expression of the ideal America that often charmed the immigrant imagination from its native home. Thus, when read along these lines, it seems that the speaker, particularly in the second verse stanza, is referring not only to a girl, but also to Ireland herself. In this sense, Ireland (unlike the relatively “new” country of America, which can still be “boney” and “handsome” because of her youth) is characterized as old, fading, even cold, suggesting a detachment from its own population. It is a place of decay and sickness, where all of the possibility and beauty of its youth seem, as the song suggests, fated for failure, disappointment, and death. One is reminded here of Joyce’s words in “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages,” where he characterizes those “wild geese” who fly from Ireland to America as a prosperous, young, smart population to be

¹⁵ Brivic comes close to this analysis in his claim that the song somewhat prefigures Stephen’s later renunciation of and final separation from his own mother [and his country as a mother-figure] in Chapter V when he claims that “Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow” (Brivic 79).

contrasted with the poor, elderly, and corrupt who remain in Ireland “where the double yoke wears another groove in the tamed neck” (172). Therefore, the song suggests a failed marriage attempt not only between a man and a woman (particularly an *Irishman* and *Irishwoman*) but between a country and her population.

Later in the section, there is yet another reference to immigration and America. It is, admittedly, subtle and a seemingly passing place-reference, but considering the symbolic significance that the song has in relation to the themes of disillusionment and disappointment with one’s origins that shape the section, it seems a timely reference and one that should be noted. As Stephen and his father walk the streets of Cork, it becomes apparent that Simon Dedalus’ nostalgia for his past and his birthplace takes a rather pitiful turn, which Stephen notices. Most of the people who his father knew are now dead, the places are much changed, and his childhood glories have now faded into irrelevance and memory. As they walk, Simon Dedalus begins to advise Stephen, as his own father, Stephen’s grandfather, had advised him, to always “associate with, fellows of the right kidney” (80), to always be a “gentleman,” as he calls it. Simon reminisces how his father spoke candidly about life to him, just as he believes he is speaking to Stephen, and recalls an incident when his father caught him smoking. Rather than punish the young man, Simon recounts for Stephen with fondness and emotion his father’s reaction:

...the next day, Sunday, we were out for a walk together and when we were coming home he took out his cigar case and said: *By the bye, Simon, I didn't know you smoked ... If you want a good smoke, he said, try one of these cigars. An American captain made me a present of them last night in Queenstown.*

Stephen heard his father's voice break into a laugh which was almost a sob. (80)

Queenstown, renamed Cobh in 1920, was one of if not the most important ports of immigration for the Irish to America in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Roughly 2.5 million immigrants have passed through its port on their way to the United States since the mid-19th Century. In fact, Queenstown was the port of departure for the first immigrant, from any country, to be processed in New York's Ellis Island in 1892.¹⁶ Cobh remains to this day a historic city for Ireland, with cultural centers devoted to the study and remembrance of the millions who left for America, and at the time *Portrait* was published in 1916, it undoubtedly would have had these associations and remained an active place of departure for Ireland.

It is significant, then, that such an important point of emigration becomes a part, however small, of Simon Dedalus' narrative of his boyhood, particularly at a point in the novel where his own failures and lost hopes from his youth are laid painfully bare. Simon Dedalus (or Joyce's own father for that matter) never became one of the promising "wild geese" that Joyce spoke of in "Saints and Sages." Instead, he is marked by financial failure (their visit to Cork, after all, was initiated by the auctioning off of Simon Dedalus' property), by "shameful ... drinkingabout" (82), and by, as Stephen sees it, "one humiliation" after another (*ibid*). It is interesting to note, then, that both of the references to American emigration (which we must keep in mind are the *only explicit* references of this kind until *Ulysses*) are spoken *not* by Stephen Dedalus, who we know will come to

¹⁶ The first immigrant to be processed through Ellis Island was Irish-born Annie Moore. Statues of her can be found both at the Cobh Heritage Center and on Ellis Island.

have his own personal experience as an Irish immigrant, but by Simon, a man who couldn't stand in greater contrast to immigrant's desire for escape. Indeed, Simon expresses deep love for his native Cork and for his Irish ancestry. Yet, by singing a song that directly addresses the plight of the Irish immigrant and by recounting an incident at the port of Queenstown with an impressive American who had the "good" quality tobacco, Simon Dedalus introduces, however subtly, the connection between Ireland and America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When considering the anecdote over the cigar, one might note that the origin of the cigar itself is not mentioned, only the captain, who is American. The cigar itself likely could have come from any place outside of mainland United States, although the significant cultural reference here—reinforced by the mention of Queenstown—is the American connection. Just like the American apples that Uncle Charles, Stephen's "constant companion" during the summer of his youth, bought for Stephen, claiming "They're good for your bowels" (53), the special cigars that were a "present" (80) to Simon's father also seem to represent something special, desirable, and foreign, thus suggesting, if it comes from America or from an American, it is going to be good. As Joyce's successive works will attest, this positive outlook on America undergoes drastic changes as time goes on. The next example in *Ulysses* is direct evidence of this shift in Joyce's portrayal of the U.S.

Ulysses

The next reference to Irish immigration to America in any of Joyce's works occurs in the "Hades" chapter of *Ulysses* and is also musical. In fact, it's a reference that occurs at two separate points in the same chapter, first when Leopold Bloom hears the song and later when he recalls hearing it. Martin Cunningham, Mr. Power, Simon

Dedalus, and Bloom are on the carriage ride to Paddy Dignam's funeral, one of a series of events in Dublin that happen in the roughly 24-hour day-span of the novel. Bloom's stream of consciousness during the funeral procession leads him to thoughts of both his father's and son's deaths; the other men engage in idle gossip and friendly chit-chat, and when, "they turned into Berkeley street a streetorgan near the Basin sent over and over after them a rollicking rattling song of the halls. Has anybody here seen Kelly? Kay ee double ell wy" (6.372-4). As Gifford notes, the song "Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly" is an American adaptation of an English song "Kelly from the Isle of Man." The American version of the song is particularly interesting in that, like the come-all-you "Tis Youth and Folly" in *Portrait*, it explicitly addresses the experience of the Irish immigrant. And, although immigration might not seem an obvious theme for this section of the funeral chapter in general, further examination of the allusions that contextualize the song suggest the probability that Joyce was making an indirect reference to immigration and to America in particular in this episode. Here, the lyrics to the song provided by Gifford are significant:

Michael Kelly with his sweetheart came from County Cork
 And bent upon a holiday, they landed in New York.
 They strolled around to see the sights, alas, it's sad to say,
 Poor Kelly lost his little girl upon the Great White Way.
 She walked uptown from Herald Square to Forty-second Street,
 The traffic stopped as she cried to the copper on the beat:

[Chorus:] Has anybody here seen Kelly?
 Have you seen him smile?
 Sure his hair is red, his eyes are blue,
 And he's Irish through and through.
 Has anybody here seen Kelly?
 Kelly from the Emerald Isle.

[Second verse:] Over on Fifth Avenue, a band began to play,
 Ten thousand men were marching for it was St. Patrick's Day,

The 'Wearing of the Green' rang out upon the morning air.
 'Twas Kelly's favorite song, so Mary said, 'I'll find him there.'
 She climbed upon the grandstand in hopes her Mike she'd see,
 Five hundred Kellys left the ranks in answer to her plea. (113)

The juxtaposition of the somber funeral carriage moving along toward the cemetery with, as Zack Bowen puts it, the “lively” tunes coming from the street, does seem to suggest a sense of irony on Bloom’s part (Bowen 108). Further, Bowen writes, “Underlying the passage and the music is the theme of the continual cycle of life,” because, as he explains, Bloom’s view on life seems to include both the moribund (as he thinks of his father, of Rudy, of a dying Mrs. Riordan) and the lively, as shown in the lighthearted tunes he hears and the accompanying image of a “twirling pirouette” that the songs conjure in his mind (108). The song can further be contextualized as a tune of loss, of, in particular, Irish loss, and of separation (Kelly’s sweetheart is separated from him and, as far as we know, might never be reunited with him again), which also seems to correspond with the feelings of loss and separation that Bloom is at this very moment feeling for his deceased son and father, immigrants, not to America, but to “Hades.”

However, there is a noticeable series of indirect references to America in this section of the chapter that seem to suggest on Joyce’s part some kind of an intentional presence of the immigrant theme. Firstly, four lines before the song is mentioned, Martin Cunningham points out to the group that there “will be a great race tomorrow in Germany. The Gordon Bennett,” to which Simon Dedalus replies, “Yes, by Jove . . . That will be worth seeing, faith” (6.369-71). Gifford rightly identifies the Gordon Bennett international road race as established by the American newspaperman, Gordon Bennett, but, he tells little else about him. Bennett, publisher of the *New York Herald*, was a

Junior. His father, Gordon Bennett Sr., was a Scottish immigrant who settled in New York City in the 19th Century and founded the paper that his son would later take over. Bennett Jr. was a transatlantic socialite, a wealthy American who, in a kind of reverse-immigration move, left New York for Europe later in life, yet maintained ties with both continents until his death.

Secondly, just after hearing the song, Bloom thinks of “Our Lady’s Hospice for the dying. ... Where old Mrs Riordan died” (6.378). Mrs. Riordan, who appears as “Dante” in *Portrait*, was first introduced into Joyce’s fiction by Stephen Dedalus who describes her thus: “Dante knew a lot of things. She had taught him where the Mozambique Channel was and what was the longest river in America and what was the name of the highest mountain in the moon” (9). Further, Dante Riordan is herself an immigrant to the United States (although she returns to Ireland). Simon Dedalus describes Dante as “a spoiled nun and that she had come out of the convent in the Alleghanies [a mountain range in the Eastern United States] when her brothers had got the money from the savages for the trinkets and chainies” (P 30). In *My Brother’s Keeper*, Joyce’s younger brother Stanislaus writes that the character of Mrs. Riordan is based on a distant relative of their father’s named Mrs. Conway who he claims even taught the elder James to read and write, along with elementary arithmetic and geography (7). Stanislaus records her departure from the convent in the American Alleghanies as a result of a death in the family that “bequeathed her a rather large sum of money” (8). However, according to Stanislaus, Mrs. Conway’s return to Ireland brought future troubles when her new husband took “the greater part of his wife’s fortune” and himself immigrated to South America, never to be seen again. Mrs. Riordan is also referred to

briefly in the “Cyclops” and “Penelope” episodes of *Ulysses* where the narrators reference Bloom’s unsuccessful efforts to become her heir or receive any part of her fortune upon her death. Although little else seems to be recorded in Joyce’s fiction about Mrs. Riordan’s experiences in America other than the brief mention of her stay in the convent or her knowledge of American geography, she is one of Joyce’s few minor, recurring characters in the early novels who have experience with the country and one of the few immigrants referenced in these works who managed to make their way back to Ireland.

Bloom’s thoughts of Mrs. Riordan and the “lying-in hospital” are quickly interrupted by the abrupt crossing of a herd of cattle across the road, momentarily stopping the carriage. As the men watch the “divided drove of branded cattle” and the “raddled sheep bleating their fear” run past their carriage window, the only one to utter a response to the scene is Mr. Power, who simply says the word “Emigrants.” The cattle, according to Bloom’s interior monologue, are being led to slaughter and then exportation to England where, he thinks, “They buy up all the juicy ones” (*U* 6.394). As Wim Van Mierlo writes, “in one word Mr. Power calls forth the history of Britain’s liberal politics of Laissez-faire that, after successive failures of the potato crops, led to mass starvation and waves of people leaving the country” (“The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea” 187). Mr. Power’s comment is, according to Van Mierlo, evidence of Joyce’s own critical equation of the depopulation of Ireland by emigration with the faulty economic policies and corrupt colonial intentions of the British (188). While this certainly seems like an overt reference to the links between depopulation (possibly even The Famine, for it is literally food (beef) and economy that are being exported to the colonial power) and

Britain, it is also the fourth instance of an immigration reference (the previous three having ties to America specifically) in a matter of only twenty lines. Therefore, the subjects of each of these three references (Gordon Benett, Kelly, and Mrs. Riordan) in and of themselves could all be considered “Emigrants” at some point in time and in the sense that Mr. Powers seems to be using the phrase. Despite the narrative slippage that makes it impossible for Mr. Powers to know about the reference to Mrs. Riordan (presuming he, too, heard the tune “Has anybody here seen Kelly” and knows the song) because it is an unspoken thought of Bloom’s, there nonetheless is a series of subtle references in these lines that all seem quite unrelated except for the curious fact that they make some underlying reference to immigration and America.

Out of these four references to immigration in this passage, however, the song and the cattle crossing are the most symbolically rich in terms of confronting the national and political difficulties that accompany immigration. The song in itself is a story of immigration, yet it is also a story of loss, separation, and the symbolic dissolution of Irish nuclear family in the face of a new, overwhelming country that seems to all but swallow up the Irish individual immigrant. The song is also ironic in that it alludes to the large population and perhaps even celebration (via the parade) of the Irish abroad, particularly in the American Northeast, but it also suggests that this kind of mass exodus of Irish to the United States has resulted in a loss of the individual through the process of immigrating (“Ten thousand men were marching for it was St. Patrick’s Day,” and when the young girl called out for Michael Kelly, “Five hundred Kellys left the ranks in answer to her plea”); each immigrant is lost in the larger sea of immigrants, often separated from loved ones, and becoming a part of a kind of un-individuated monoculture of immigrants.

Therefore, Joyce may be “in favor of the emigrant” in his earlier critical works, as Lowe-Evans puts it, but in his fiction he also seems committed to the range of complex issues or consequences—some good, some bad—surrounding immigration, always just eluding a definitive endorsement of it. And, just like the song, “Tis Youth and Folly,” that Simon Dedalus hummed in *Portrait*, “Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly” also reflects the strain that immigration had on the individual family or relationships between men and women, further alluding not only to the depopulation of Ireland but to the weakening of the Irish Family as a result of immigration.

So, why does this song—one of the few songs specifically about immigration to the U.S. in the novel—appear in this particular chapter of the novel, and why does Bloom think of the song again near the end of the episode? Death and immigration are obviously both forms of de-population, yet while the former is a natural part of the community goings-on, the latter is unnatural and potentially destructive to the community. Therefore, death and immigration are essentially one and the same in that they both constitute the subtraction of a member of the community from the population as a whole. For Bloom, emigration seems, like death, to be a permanent separation, as evidenced later in the novel when he refers to Irish emigrants by saying, “They never come back.” In her essay describing the so-called “American Wake” death ritual that took place when emigrants left Ireland for the States, Eileen Metress states unequivocally that emigration to the U.S. was a “symbolic form of death” for many Irish (148). Also, the ships used to transport Irish immigrants to America were often referred to as “coffin ships” because so many people on the ships died in transit before reaching America. Both occurrences, emigration and death, Metress says, share many of the same anxieties, feelings, and consequences:

“It [emigration] separated families and took forever from the community many young men and women along with whatever talents they possessed. Parents expected that any of their children who left for Ireland for North America would never be seen again” (150). Metress also points out that the very nature of the journey from Ireland to America was arduous, fraught with peril, and often took, particularly in the 19th century, up to two or three months (in the “Cyclops” episode of the novel, even the Citizen will refer to the transatlantic steamers as “coffin ships,” carrying the ‘departed’ emigrants to America). For most, this was a journey made only once in a lifetime, impressing upon all who considered it the sense of permanence and finality that, like death, characterized the majority of emigration experiences to America. Metress writes that the Irish so thoroughly associated emigration with death that they designed a unique “American Wake” ritual that mimicked the actual death-wakes held at funerals. In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce will make explicit note of this uniquely Irish phenomena, yet the emphasis in the “Hades” episode, an episode characterized by Bloom’s symbolic journey to the underworld for Paddy Dignam’s funeral, on emigrants suggests that Joyce was well aware of the tendency to view emigration as a “death-like exit from the homeland” (Metress 148).

Bloom seems to make a subtle nuance that distinguishes these two forms of depopulation in this section. When one dies, like Paddy Dignam, Rudy, Mrs. Riordan, or Bloom’s father (all cross Bloom’s mind at one point or another throughout this episode), there are usually only a handful of reasons—sickness, old age, suicide, etc. However, when one emigrates, there are many complex cultural, economic, historical, and political forces behind these sorts of movements, which the novel seems to be commenting on in

this section of the episode. More specifically, this section of “Hades” places an indirect blame on Britain for Irish immigration to the United States. For example, immediately after the carriage passes the “halls” out of which sounds the song “Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?,” the “drove of [Irish] branded cattle” crosses in front of the carriage, momentarily stopping it, and prompting Mr. Power to remark, “Emigrants” (80-1). Bloom’s internal monologue separates these two things, but as far as what is going on in the world of the novel, these two events—the hearing of the song and the passing of the cattle—seem to happen one right after the other, making a rather obvious connection between the two. After Mr. Power calls the cattle “emigrants,” Bloom’s thoughts explain this connection:

Thursday, of course. Tomorrow is killing day. Springers. Cuffe sold them about twentyseven quid each. For Liverpool probably. Roastbeef for old England. They buy up all the juicy ones. And then the fifth quarter lost: all that raw stuff, hide, hair, horns. Comes to a big thing in a year. Dead meat trade. Byproducts of the slaughterhouses for tanneries, soap, margarine. . . .
(81)

The blame for the depletion of Ireland’s agrarian and economic resources is placed squarely on “old England,” who is making “emigrants” out of the Irish population, symbolized here by the exportation of the cattle. This section of the novel, therefore, demonstrates the nationalist tradition of holding England responsible not only for the Famine but also for the political and economic exploitation that many believe resulted in the mass emigration (which occurred mainly *to* the United States) that took place during both during and after the Famine. Further, by buttressing the song of a young Irish

couple's immigration to America against the cattle, which serve as raw Irish materials shipped to England for economic gain, the suggestion is that the stripping of Ireland's economic resources (the *material* emigrants such as cattle) by once country (England) nevertheless results in the stripping of its human resources, its people, to another country (America). Either way, Ireland is left, like the funeral procession for Paddy Dignam, to "mourn" this dual loss of material and human resources, and while there is no *actual* death—as in Paddy Dignam's, or Rudy's, or Mrs. Riordan's, etc.—taking place in this symbolic moment of the chapter, it certainly signals a kind of death-blow to the nation in general, who must suffer a rather unfortunate and unnatural kind of depopulation.

This sentiment to hold England accountable for the depopulation of Ireland is echoed much more strongly in the "Cyclops" episode when the Citizen quite explicitly blames England for the waves of mass immigration to the United States, while Bloom—who doesn't seem to disagree with him—can't seem to get a word in edgewise. Bloom's earlier association of the cattle with the English economic policy toward Ireland focused less on the resulting trend to immigrate to America and more on the British policies that got them there. However, the Citizen directly mentions these immigrants and seems to imagine the United States as a kind of haven for this dislocated population, and one that also fosters the will to someday re-fashion Ireland in their own manner and gives them the resources to become strong enough to do it. America, as the Citizen puts it, is "our greater Ireland beyond the sea," greater in the sense that it now houses a great many Irishmen and women, but also greater in its freedoms and opportunities than Ireland. Like Bloom in "Hades," the Citizen places this blame—the blame for Ireland's inability to achieve economic and political independence and prosperity (as he believes America has

done)—squarely on the shoulders of the English. The Irish peasants, he says, “were driven out of house and home in the black ’47,” referring to the Potato Famine in the late 1840s, which resulted in thousands of deaths but also immigrations to various parts of the world, but mainly the United States. The Citizen is so emphatic about this that he repeats himself, “Ay, they drove out the peasants in hordes.” Here he seems not only to be referring to the many English landlords who “drove off” their Irish peasants from their homesteads during the famine years by refusing to lower rents or offer assistance, but also to the larger driving off of a significant portion of the Irish population to America. He laments, although his numbers are questionable, that 20,000 of these immigrants, who were driven off of their lands by corrupt British policies, “died in the coffinships” on their way to America. He attacks the commonly-held notion that many British at the time believed Ireland should remain an agrarian, rather than an industrial, state. But the ones who did make it to “our greater Ireland beyond the sea,” are, to the feisty Citizen, still with their sights set on their homeland: “But those that came to the land of the free [America] remember the land of bondage [Ireland]. And they will come again with a vengeance, no cravens, the sons of Granuaile, the champions of Kathleen ni Houlihan” (270). Bloom, however, doesn’t seem to share the Citizen’s patriotic optimism.

Later in “Hades,” Bloom recalls the song “Has anybody here seen Kelly?” during an exchange with Hynes, who is recording the names of the funeral-goers in a kind of roster. Hynes asks Bloom the name of another attendee, instigating the hilarious misunderstanding that leads Hynes to record the stranger’s name as “Macintosh,” although Bloom was merely identifying the kind of coat the man was wearing. Once Bloom realizes Hynes’s mistake, he turns to correct him:

He [Hynes] moved away, looking about him.

—No, Mr. Bloom began, turning and stopping. I say, Hynes!

Didn't hear. What? Where has he disappeared to? Not a sign. Well of all the. Has anybody here seen? Kay ee double ell. Become invisible.

Good Lord, what became of him? (92)

Obviously in his memory from only a short time before in the carriage ride, the song forges a mental connection between either Hynes or the man in the macintosh and the missing Irishman in the tune. Possibly this is just a passing reference where Bloom thinks of a song (a song that is rife with political and cultural implications for Ireland) in a comical, rather non-serious manner seizing on its humorous way that an Irishman gets lost in the crowd, so to speak. It's a song, literally, of not being able to find someone, of being lost or unidentifiable, and Bloom's looking around for Hynes or the man in the macintosh coat is a comical demonstration of this. However, the overt subject matter in the song of immigration leads one to wonder if this mysterious man whom Hynes writes down as "M'Intosh" is, as some critics have suggested, the symbol of the wanderer. If this is the case, linking him with a song about immigration would certainly further this hypothesis of him as the wanderer or the outsider, although there seems to be no suggestion that the man in the macintosh is anyhow connected with America. Bloom's assertion, "Become invisible," that immediately follows his thinking of the song seems to have many layers of meaning here. Firstly, the macintosh man is a kind of invisible figure and certainly unidentifiable, followed by the temporarily invisible Hynes who merely

walks away from Bloom mid-conversation, and thirdly Paddy Dignam is invisible to them all through his death as his soul is departed and his physical body lowered into the ground. However, there are other implied invisibles: the “Kellys” of the world, i.e. the Irish immigrant. In the song, Kelly literally becomes invisible in New York City as he becomes disappears into the hundreds of thousands of similarly-situated immigrants from Ireland. Thus, the immigrant is not only invisible (unable to be seen, heard from, or communicated with by his friends or family ‘back home’) to his homeland from which he has departed, but he is also invisible in the *new* home, as his identity undergoes a kind of mass-assimilation process into a large community of immigrants abroad. Bloom’s second reference to the song seems to suggest that this particular kind of assimilation experienced by the Irish immigrant in the U.S. signals not the acquisition of something—a new American community, opportunity, or identity—but instead the loss of something, some kind of Irish individuality or self-hood that might be automatically lost in the process of leaving home. Again, the emphasis of loss here seems to fall aptly in line with the funeral activities in this chapter—death, obviously, is the primary way that one “becomes invisible.” However, it seems that there is an underlying suggestion here that immigration—the symbolic ‘death’ of millions of Irishmen and women as they ‘depart’ to the United States—is also a process through which one might “become invisible.”

There is further evidence that Bloom begins to subtly equate the dead with departed immigrants at the end of the chapter a few moments after his interaction with Hynes and the unidentified man in the macintosh, when he is walking through the

graveyard: “Mr. Bloom walked unheeded along his [Paddy Dignam’s?] grove by saddened angels, crosses, broken pillars, family vaults, stone hopes praying with upcast eyes, old Ireland’s hearts and hands” (93). According to Gifford, “old Ireland’s hearts and hands” is the title of an Irish song that tells the story of strong ties to and love of one’s country that exists in the heart of the Irish immigrant or wanderer. The Irishman in the song says, “... For like a restless bird I’ve strayed, / And off on far-off strands / I’ve dreamed of love knots years have made / With Ireland’s hearts and hands. ... / Though near or far I stray, / I love them all, they heart and hand ...” (93). That Bloom describes the statues mounted on gravestones (or is also describing the deceased themselves) as “old Ireland’s hearts and hands” demonstrates his equation (perhaps even unconscious) of the earthly-departed (dead) with the geographically-departed (immigrant). Either way, both phenomena are permanent losses for Ireland, as the novel suggests.

As for naming specific Irish immigrants to America in *Ulysses*, these references are sparse, although their similarities are noteworthy. They are also rather mysterious references, partly unexplained or fictionalized for the novel, but both suggest ominous, even criminal motivations for immigration. Thus, if immigration to America is, on one hand, an escape from the paralytic cultural or religious “nets” in Ireland or its limited economic opportunity (in part due to British colonialism), for a few shady characters it is a different kind of escape all together, an escape *away* from their misdeeds (perhaps these kinds of characters are the ones who would most want to “become invisible” in America?). The first of these occurs at the end of “Lotus Eaters.” Bloom runs into Bantam Lyons, an avid gambler, who looks at the betting pages in Bloom’s paper yet refuses to take the paper when Bloom offers it to him. As Lyons hurries away from

Bloom in a rather abrupt manner, their discussion of the horseraces sets Bloom's mind to thinking:

Mr Bloom folded the sheets again to a neat square and lodged the soap in it, smiling. Silly lips of that chap. Betting. Regular hotbed of it lately. Messenger boys stealing to put on sixpence. Raffle for large tender turkey. Your Christmas dinner for threepence. Jack Fleming embezzling to gamble then smuggled off to America. Keeps a hotel now. They never come back. Fleshpots of Egypt. (70)

As Gifford notes, Jack Fleming, who has apparently immigrated to America after racking up illegal gambling debts in Ireland, is not referred to in any other place in the novel. Therefore, this is all we know of Jack Fleming. However, Fleming seems to be significant here not for his individual story and its relation to the novel but for what his character—and the little we know about it—suggests about this particular kind of immigrant and why Bloom might conjure his name at this precise moment. Principally, Bloom seems to think of Fleming because of his own dislike for the culture of betting in general, which he believes has turned Dublin into a regular “hotbed” of gambling, vice, and petty criminal activity. And, the fact that Fleming “keeps a hotel now” in the U.S. suggests that he didn't do half-bad for himself by immigrating, perhaps escaping some nasty gambling debts or embezzlement charges in Ireland. Interestingly, Bloom then remarks that “They never come back. Fleshpots of Egypt.” Presumably, the “they” Bloom is referring to are Irish immigrants who “smuggle off” to America in the manner of Fleming. So, his train of thought which first started with Lyons' strange behavior, then the

larger issue of gambling in Ireland, followed by the example of the dead-beat gambler Fleming, finally ends with an impromptu comment on immigration that seems wholly prompted by his brief thought of Fleming making a new (perhaps more legitimate, as Bloom suggests) life for himself in the U.S. The comment that “they [the immigrants] never come back” to Ireland suggest the permanency of immigration, the permanent loss of members of the Irish population to another community. Also, in this particular context of Fleming the gambler, there is the suggestion that the U.S. is perhaps a source of immunity or even asylum for those who botch things up for themselves in their homeland so much so that they must seek the safety (and invisibility?) of the Irish immigrant community in America. Only one other quickly-noted reference of this sort exists in the novel. In the fourteenth section of “Wandering Rocks” Simon Dedalus and Father Cowley meet Ben Dollard who wants to take them to the subsheriff’s office “to show you the new beauty Rock has for a bailiff. He’s a cross between Lobengula and Lynchehaun. He’s well worth seeing, mind you” (201). It is a passing reference, no doubt, but considering there are so few mentions of actual Irish immigrants to the United States (and more on the issue itself), it seems to warrant mentioning that Lynchehaun is an alias for Irishman James Walshe who, after nearly murdering a woman in Ireland, immigrated to America where he received political asylum. Thought of as one of Synge’s models for Christy in *Playboy of the Western World*, Walshe became known for his cunning and resourceful successes at eluding the Irish authorities. More to the point, however, he had to move to America to accomplish this. Therefore, this is another mention of the

criminal-immigrant, like Jack Fleming, whose immigration to America results in either a comfortable profession or, in Walshe's case, becoming a kind of legend in your own time. Both of these ne're-do wells seem to be in some way rewarded for their immigration to the U.S., which offers them escape from potential imprisonment in Ireland.

No wonder, then, that Fleming is one of the many who "never come back"—who knows what kinds of old scores are waiting for him to be settled there? Bloom's reference to these immigrants in conjunction with "Fleshpots of Egypt," however, seems a more complicated matter. The literal reference here is from Exodus 16:3 in the *Bible*. After two months of having led the Israelites out of bondage in Egypt, Moses and Aaron face a challenge, spiritual and literal; there is little food, and the crowd is beginning to get restless and skeptical:

And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "fleshpot" not only means a literal pot that meat or food is boiled in, but it also alludes to "luxuries or advantages regarded with regret or envy." The Israelites, in a moment of spiritual doubt or weakness (and in the face of physical hunger), long for the advantages they had in captivity, chiefly, a guarantee of food. They long for these "flesh pots" of Egypt, indicating a lack of faith in their own people. In *Ulysses*, Bloom uses this phrase as a declarative statement, referring to those immigrants to

America who “never come back.” Stephen also refers to the “fleshpots of Egypt” in “Proteus” in connection with his own failed emigration to (sinful) Paris. This biblical allusion, then, connects Ireland to Israel and connects places of exile or emigration, like Paris or America, with Egypt. Therefore, “fleshpots of Egypt” is a symbolic statement that alludes to the imagined advantages and opportunities (the fleshpots) that the U.S. has to offer its immigrants (the Israelites, after all, were also immigrants in Egypt, a land that was not their native home). However, unlike the Israelites who are led out of Egypt, Irish immigrants in America choose to remain by these “fleshpots” (like Fleming who obviously chooses to remain in America and enjoy his new profession and also the absence of his old gambling debts). When thought of in this way, Bloom doesn’t seem to have a particularly fond view of these immigrants, who, unlike their Biblical counterparts the Israelites who did not return to Egypt, choose to remain in a larger state of degradation or imprisonment simply because these “fleshpots”—the economic advantages of America—are too tempting to reject. In a rather surprising turn against immigration, then (and certainly not one in line with the Joyce of *Portrait* or of “Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages”), Bloom seems to be suggesting a sense of the corrupt in the immigrant to the U.S., as opposed to, by inference, the pure or virtuous who remain at home in Ireland. This idea stands in direct opposition to Joyce’s earlier writings, particularly in “Saints and Sages,” where he characterizes—and, most importantly, sympathizes with—those who leave as the brightest, most ambitious, valuable members of society, contrasted by those who remain, which he describes as the criminal, the elderly, or the sick. In Bloom’s

imagination here, it is the criminal who leaves, not the other way around. Thus, Bloom criticizes this immigrant for setting up nicely in America and for enjoying the “fleshpots” it has to offer, alluding to the Israelites in their moment of faithlessness and envy. Have these immigrants lost faith in Ireland? Do they blasphemously covet the imagined opportunities of America, betraying their homeland in the process? Bloom certainly seems to think so. As for Joyce, before this can be answered, one must first consider his most important fictional account of the emigrant, Shaun.

Shaun: Portrait of an Emigrant

Of all of Joyce’s works, his final and most complex novel, *Finnegans Wake*, offers an extensive elucidation of the American-bound emigrant through the character of Shaun, brother to Shem and Issy and son to HCE and ALP. Book III Chapters 1-2 contain the story of Shaun the Postman’s emigration to America as he circles the globe from east to west in a kind of “backwards” journey carrying a letter written by his brother (*Letters I*, 214), expressing the feelings of his mother toward his father, and bearing the postmark “Boston (Mass) (*FW* 421.10-11). As Wim Van Mierlo writes, of all of the characters in *Finnegans Wake*, “Shaun ... most clearly embodies the culture of exile.” Joyce makes this journey even more explicit in a 1926 note on Shaun’s section: “^ writes to ! he / is going to U.S.A.” (VI.B.17: 96 qtd. in Van Mierlo “Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea” p. 192), and there are numerous references in the section to Shaun’s westward destination. Shaun is an interesting example of immigration in Joyce’s fiction in particular because his character represents, at various points in the section, different aspects

or versions of the Irish emigrant: an outcast sent to America on his family's dime; a criminal seeking asylum; a teller of American tall tales; a famous tenor crooning his way across the Atlantic; an opportunist in search of his fortune; a pilgrim in search of heaven; an ancient explorer discovering the Americas; or, finally, the hope and joy of Ireland sent to America only to find his way back home. Shaun, in true Wakean fashion (his meaning ever-slipping, ever-changing), is all, some, or none of these immigrants at various points in this section. And, while several critics have noted Shaun's connection to the United States and the individual symbols that Joyce uses to represent him as an emigrant character, a comprehensive study of his journey to the U.S. will further contextualize Joyce's overall attitude toward Irish immigration to America.

In the beginning of III.1, Shaun's outward appearance immediately orients him as an Irish immigrant with American aspirations. Shaun is described as wearing, under his "overshirt," "a starspangled zephyr with a decidedly surplice crinklydoodle front with his motto through dear life embrothred over it in peas, rice, and yeggy-yolk, Or for royal, Am for Mail, R.M.D." (404. 27-30). With obvious references to *The Star Spangled Banner* and *Yankee Doodle*, the zephyr Shaun wears not only refers to any light article of clothing such as a light shirt, jacket, or shawl, but Zephyr is also the Greek god of the West wind, indicating the direction of Shaun's destination (America). Therefore, his West-wind-inspired sweater bears a "crinklydoodle" [Yankee Doodle] scrawl across the front that indicates his occupation as a kind of postal envoy for the R.M.D. [Royal Mail, Dublin]. These letters are written in the color of Ireland's national flag, "peas,

rice, and yeggy-yolk” [green, white, and orange]. By conflagrating elements of both American and Irish patriotic symbols—the U.S. national anthem and the Irish flag—Shaun’s sweater symbolizes not only his status as an Irish immigrant but also the complex relationship between the two nations, even suggesting a brotherly-type (like Shaun and Shem) relationship as the colors of the Irish flag are “*embrothred*,” or embroidered, on Shaun’s American “starspangled zephyr” [my emphasis]. However, there is yet another layer of meaning for Shaun’s clothing. This “starspangled zephyr” or sweater also alludes to the famous Irish tenor John McCormack, his recording of *The Star Spangled Banner*, and his own experience as an Irish immigrant in America (Scarry 156).

The connection between Shaun and John McCormack is surely one of the most often-cited allusions for Shaun in novel, and it remains one of the chief metaphors in the entire Shaun the Postman section (McCormack and his songs are referenced well nearly a hundred times times in Book III.1-2 alone, compared with only a handful of references throughout the rest of the book). John Scarry has written several articles on the Joyce / McCormack connection, and he cites letters from Joyce’s publisher, friend, and adviser Sylvia Beach where this reference is made explicit: “He [Joyce] read all the newspaper accounts of MacCormack’s [sic] songs, his love affairs, his tennis playing, his way of dressing and his curly hairdo. Little did MacCormack know that he was sitting for his portrait to James Joyce” (qtd. in Scarry 155). Scarry writes that McCormack was the “principal model for Shaun the Post,” and Beach also undoubtedly remarked

on the similarities between the two. After seeing McCormack sing in person, Beach “felt I had already met him as ‘Shaun the Post’” (qtd. in Scarry 155).

John McCormack was a celebrated Irish tenor—he is often called the greatest Irish tenor in recent history—who travelled the world throughout his long, financially successful career. One of the more significant aspects of McCormack’s biography, however, is that he was also an immigrant. In the early 1900s, he infamously became a naturalized citizen of the United States, which sparked controversy in Ireland and Britain after many felt he was abandoning his country as well as the whole British Empire. His biographer, Raymond Foxall, notes the consternation this move to the U.S. caused, particularly as it was undertaken just a few short months into the first World War: “Why had he rushed off to America? Why did he stay there while the guns thumped in France? That he had applied for American citizenship did not silence the scandalous talk . . . It was probably the public’s severest criticism of him throughout his life. When people spoke of him their inference, quite plainly, was that he was funking war service. And even worse, that he was running away from Europe to a safe place across the Atlantic” (76-77). Joyce knew McCormack personally. In fact, in 1903 Joyce spent some time with McCormack, who was only beginning his career, and the two competed in the same tenor competition in Dublin (Ellmann, 151). Not too long after, they shared the stage, which Ellmann describes as “the high point of his [Joyce’s] musical career” (168). McCormack’s career as a singer would supersede Joyce’s by a longshot, a cause of both admiration and envy on Joyce’s part.

Yet, according to John Scarry, Joyce and McCormack had a rather friendly relationship over many years, as evidenced by the exchange of several polite, complimentary letters between the two, Joyce's attendance at several of McCormack's concerts and subsequent meetings of the two families, Joyce's willingness to share his own writings with McCormack and his family, and even a kind of "play-date" between the two men's young daughters. And it seems that the scandal caused by McCormack's emigration to the U.S. did not affect Joyce in the ways that many other Irish or British took the news. Scarry points out that after the announcement of his new American citizenship, which was "a step many had interpreted as an abandonment of his origins," McCormack "suddenly found himself not welcome in any part of the British empire" (527). In fact, on one of McCormack's European tours in 1920, when the sting of his American citizenship was still inspiring hostility from the English, McCormack headed to kinder, more forgiving audiences in Paris for a concert—in attendance were the Joyces. Joyce obviously did not share in the gossip-makers who had not given up their grudge against McCormack's emigration to America, since he sent the singer a rather convivial note during his stay: "Dear MacCormack: In the general confusion the other afternoon I had not the opportunity to tell you how delighted we were by your singing ... We are all going to hear you again next Tuesday and I am sure you will have another big success" (Scarry 528). Therefore, when Joyce characterizes Shaun as the "vote of the Irish, voice from afar" (*FW* 407.13-14), he does not seem, here or elsewhere in the chapter, to be making an indictment against the nature of McCormack's immigration to the United States (which just

as easily could have been motivated by financial gain, a career move so to speak—after all, he did earn his fortune mainly in the U.S.—rather than an act of desertion during wartime). However, I should note here that Shaun’s status as an immigrant and his symbolic journey to the U.S. does have him returning to Ireland. As Glasheen says, “Shaun will return—all Ireland prays it, including his brother—Shaun was our darling” (lix). Similarly, McCormack also returned to Ireland after several years in America. Upon his return, he lived lavishly, maintaining ties across the Atlantic as he continued to tour, and he would remain living in Ireland until his death in 1945.

It is no wonder, then, that Joyce used McCormack as one of the principal metaphors for a section in which the character, Shaun, embodies the figure of the emigrant. Joyce, who refers to McCormack and his songs too many times in this section for me to discuss each individual instance, uses the tenor and his ‘voice’ as a kind of representative for the larger voices across the Atlantic in America, voices that, because of the modern technology of the 20th century, can now be heard back at home in Ireland. For example, Shaun’s “voise from afar” is heard as “a breeze to Yverzone o’er the brozaozaozing sea, from Inchigeela call the way how it suspired . . . to scented nightlife as softly as the loftly marconimasts from Clifden sough open tireless secrets (mauveport! mauvport!) to Nova Scotia’s listing sisterwands. Tubetube!” (407.14-22). Here Joyce references the first point-to-point fixed wireless communication between North America and Europe that took place in October of 1907 on behalf of the Marconi Wireless Corporation, thereby announcing a new age in trans-Atlantic communication. This “breeze” is

the far-away voice of Shaun, in the form of John McCormack, whose voice Joyce imagines being transported from North America to “Yverzone,” or Ireland (*Iverzone* is Breton for Ireland [McHugh 407]).

Indeed, similarities between the real-life figure and Shaun’s character in the first two chapters of Book III are numerous. Glasheen notes that Shaun, who like McCormack is a superior tenor, appears quite large and with a voracious appetite, and “has a physical appearance . . . that is modeled on John McCormack” (lviii). Shaun’s eating habits are described at length in the beginning of the section, and critics have frequently pointed out Joyce’s efforts to establish a striking physical connection between Shaun and McCormack. Shaun is described as “immense” and “topping swell for he was after having a great time of it, a twentyfour hours every moment matters maltsight” (405.21-23). Epstein similarly describes McCormack as, like Shaun, “a notable glutton, eating and drinking everything in sight” (168). Likewise, John Gordon says that “Shaun is a type of John McCormack, the alter ego whose career the tenor Joyce observed with overt disdain and transparent envy” (220). Joyce apparently wanted there to be little doubt as to who Shaun, later referred to as Jaun (both for Don Juan and, of course, John McCormack), takes after.

In much of Joyce’s fiction, America or Americans are often associated with the extravagance or indulgence associated with wealth and financial gain. Figures like the Rockefellers or the Morgans are mentioned both in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, and wealthy Americans appear as far back as *Dubliners* in the character of the yacht-owning Farley in “After the Race.” Thus one of the aspects

of McCormack's experience as an immigrant that Joyce makes use of in the figure of Shaun is his large fortune, most of which McCormack acquired when in the U.S. (Scarry 160). In another allusion to McCormack's American citizenship, Joyce writes: "Flunkey Footle furloughed foul, writing off his phoney, but Conte Carme makes the melody that mints the money" (*FW* 418.2-4). "Flunkey Footle" is a kind of stand-in for Joyce, the writer, who refers to himself as a kind of "Yankee Doodle" figure who "struggles for survival and recognition" (Scarry 160), while Conte Carme [Italian for 'red count'—John McCormack in his red papal uniform], "makes the melody that mints the money." Shaun's immigration to America is thusly characterized by progress, success, and wealth, keeping in mind that one day, as Glasheen says, "Shaun will return ... Shaun was our darling" (lix). One of Shaun's objectives as an immigrant is to grow his fortune in the U.S., to "mint the money," so to speak, and return to his country with the greater benefit of Ireland in mind.

Indeed, in Chapter 2, Shaun imagines his own successful return, bringing home the wealth that he'll acquire in the U.S. in order to improve conditions at home in Ireland. Shaun will enjoy the accolades upon his return, the "rainkiss" and "happy moments of our your soft accord" with the girls when "in that united I.R.U. stade, when I come (toul! toul!) wildflier's fox into my own greengeese again ... on my safe return to ignorance and bliss in my horseless Coppal Poor ... with my ropes of pearls for gamey girls the way ye'll hardly. Knowme "(446.16-26). Shaun will return from America a wieldy, world-wise fox, not to the "wild geese" that Joyce's spoke of in "Saints and Sages" who flew from Ireland for a

better life abroad, but to the “greengeese” who faithfully remained in that country of “ignorance and bliss.” But, he doesn’t come back empty handed. Shaun will have his new American wealth, the “ropes of pearls,” for all to see, especially those “gamey girls.” And, just as the estranged girlfriend of an amputee soldier in the song “Johnny, I hardly knew ye,” alluded to in the last line, laments how changed her lover is after he experiences the ravages of war, Shaun dreams of being transformed by his newfound wealth so that the “gamey girls” will hardly be able to recognize him. But, Shaun also appears to have wider, philanthropic intentions with his American money, which would benefit all of Ireland:

We’ll circumcivicise all Dublin country. Let us, the real Us, all ignite in our prepurgatory grade as aposcals and be instrumental to utensilise, help our Jakeline sisters clean out the hogshole and generally ginger things up. Meliorism in massquantities, raffling receipts and sharing sweepstakes till navel, spokes and felloes hum like hymn. Burn only what’s Irish, accepting their coals. You will soothe the cockeblack bile that’s Anglia’s and touch Armourican’s iron core. (446.35-447.6).

Shaun plans for a kind of urban improvement project upon his return, channeling the rhetoric of a local politician or community representative. He intends, along with his “aposcals” or apostles, to spread civic order, extend help to the community, to “generally ginger things up,” and to basically improve conditions for everyone so that “navel, spokes and felloes hum like hymn” in Dublin. By performing this kind of symbolic cleansing act for Ireland, Shaun and his apostles will “touch Armourican’s iron core,” alluding both to the supposed birthplace

(Armorica, or Brittany) of the legendary hero Tristan of Tristan and Iseult, but most poignantly to America, suggesting that a “circumciviced” Dublin that has gone through this process of “meliorism in massquantities” will not only be able to stand charge against Britain but grow its strength in the face of America’s “iron core.” His immigration, therefore, is clearly in the service of Ireland and for the sake of its strengthening and improvement, not, as in the case of Joyce’s modern-day “wild geese” in “Saints and Sages,” who in an act of abandonment emigrate to escape Ireland, thereby leaving the country weaker and suffering the losses of those who are crucial to her survival and success.

At the end of Book III, Chapter 1, Shaun’s symbolic immigration to America nears, and he is given blessings from home before his voyage: “Sireland calls you. . . . And may the mosse of prosperousness gather you rolling home! May foggy dews bediamondise your hoopings!” (428.7-12). Shaun is leaving in the barrel down the Liffey to make his nighttime dream trip around the world to America, yet Ireland calls him back, blesses him all the while, and knows he will return, hopefully with full pockets. Shaun, after his emigration to America, will return on the hopes that he has prospered, much, as John McCormack did.

However, there is another side to Shaun the emigrant, and despite the fact that he is the hope of Ireland throughout the section, he is also a remittance man. As the last few lines of Chapter 1 suggest, Shaun and all of Ireland may have high, lucrative hopes for his return home, but he seems to be leaving under very different circumstances:

... you will shiff across the Moylendsea and round up in your own
 escapology some canisators day or other, sack on back, alack! Digging
 snow, (not so?) like the good man you are, with your picture pockets
 turned knockside out in the rake of the rain for fresh remittances and from
 that till this in any case, timus tenant, may the tussocks grow quickly
 under your trampthickets and the daisies trip lightly over your battercops.
 (428.20-27).

The term “remittance” here is key in understanding Shaun’s immigration
 experience. Glasheen writes that as the “barrel pulls him [Shaun] over and he rolls
 backward down the Liffey,” he is “bound for a career as a remittance man in
 America” (lix). In fact, Joyce wrote the phrase “remittance (man)” in reference to
 Shaun in one of his notebooks (*JJA* VI.B.17, 96). Wim Van Mierlo suggests that
 this stands as Shaun’s “promise that he will send home ‘fresh remittances’ from
 the U.S. to Ireland,” sending financial support back home while he is abroad
 (“The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea,” 192). Yet, at the time Joyce was writing,
 there were two contradictory understandings of the term “remittance man,” and
 differentiation between the two is necessary to discern Shaun’s “escapology.”
 Throughout the 19th Century, the term “remittance man” was largely an insult, a
 disparaging remark that referred to a disgraced family member who was paid by
 his family to leave the country and stay abroad. This was often applied to young
 British men who were sent to British colonies around the world as a kind of
 punishment by their families, who sent them remittances from home in order that
 they remain in exile. Over time, this term also referred in a more general sense to

any immigrant who received support from family back home. However, in the 20th Century the term “remittance man” shifted from one who *received* funds from their homeland to one who *sends* money back to their families, obviously considered a much nobler cause for immigration. The term’s connotation, thus, transitioned from a highly negative meaning to, instead, one that represents a positive, almost selfless experience of immigration and one that has direct benefits to the home country in the form of financial remittances. At the time Joyce was composing *Finnegans Wake*, this term was in transition and both usages would have been familiar, and Shaun seems to embody both of these kinds of emigrants. At the end of III.1, Shaun leaves for America with his pockets turned inside out, “knockside out,” as he takes the form of a “rake” or “tramp,” his mode of transportation being the “*trampthickets*,” instead of tram ticket,¹⁷ taking in “fresh remittances” for his journey abroad. Here, like Jack Fleming or Lynchhaun in *Ulysses*, this description of Shaun stands as a metaphor for the outcast emigrant, the rake, the tramp. Nevertheless, “Sireland’s” expectations for Shaun remain high, as he is simultaneously indicted for his rakish behavior while still encouraged to make his fortune abroad and one day return home, Ireland’s “darling” (Glasheen lix). Shaun, unlike the typical remittance man of the 19th Century, is not just encouraged or paid to shamefacedly remain in exile abroad, but instead to “gather” the “mosse of prosperousness” in America and, in the spirit of John McCormack, sing “the melody that mints the money.” Thus, with his eventual return in mind, Ireland gives Shaun her “remittances” for his journey,

¹⁷ McHugh’s note on “trampthickets” lists (feet) as a possible interpretation. Still, the association of Shaun with a kind of traveling tramp or rake is clear in these final lines.

even though “we know you were loth to leave us,” he is told. He is sent down the Liffey with their encouragements in his heart and his well-being in theirs, ever their “timus tenant” (*timus* is German for heart), in spite of his rakish behavior.

Shaun as the emigrant/John McCormack, is no stranger to scandal or this rakish behavior. One of the many questions that he is asked in this chapter is whether or not he can read the contents of the letter, written by his brother Shem, that Shaun is carrying with him through the night and across the globe: “But could you, of course, decent Lettrechaun, we knew (to change your name of not your nation) while still in the barrel, read the strangewrote anaglyptics of those shemletters patent for His Christian’s Eve?” (419.17.-20). To which, Shaun replies: “Greek! Hand it to me! ... I’m as afterdusk nobly Roman as pope and water would christen me. Look at that for a ridingpin! I am, thing Sing Larynx, letter potent to play the sem backwards ...” (419.21-25). There are multiple layers of allusion here, however, the overt references to John McCormack, along with one other quite rakish Irish immigrant to the U.S., give us yet another side to Shaun’s misbehavior as an immigrant. Shaun is referred to here as “decent Lettrechaun,” a reference to his status as the bearer of his brother’s letter (“letterchuan” sounds quite similar to “letter” and “shaun” when read aloud) and also to the Irishness of the leprechaun. However, I believe there is another scandalous immigrant that Joyce makes sly allusion to—James “Lynchehaun” Walshe. Lynchehaun, also mentioned briefly in the “Wandering Rocks” episode of *Ulysses* in Ben Dollard’s description of the new bailiff (“He’s a cross between Lobengula and Lynchehaun. He’s well worth seeing, mind you.” [201.935-6]),

was, as stated earlier, a notorious Irish criminal who, in the late 1890s, was convicted of the brutal attempted murder of his landlady. The crime was gruesome. Newspaper accounts describe Walshe setting fire to the victim's property before beating her severely, cracking her skull; bite marks were evident on her face. In 1895, a jury found Walshe guilty and sentenced him to penal servitude for life. However, seven years into his sentence, Walshe managed to escape the prison in Ireland and flee to America, where the British secret service eventually found him. The American government, however, refused to extradite Walshe on the grounds that he was considered a political prisoner. In one of the more bizarre aspects of Walshe's biography, he later re-entered Ireland, but in the disguise of a clergyman, and once again managed to escape the country without consequence (Beirne & O'Donnell 38-9). Thus, as Gifford's note on Lynchhaun in *Ulysses Annotated* describes, "he passed into legend as a man so tough and resourceful the police were afraid to touch him, and he passed into literature as one of the models for Christy in John Millington Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*" (279). The legend of Lynchhaun (much like Synge's Christy) is somewhat ameliorated by his clever evasions of the Irish police. Like Jack Fleming who "smuggled off to America" in *Ulysses* to escape gambling debts, Shaun as Lynchhaun becomes the rakish, criminal, almost legendary Irish emigrant who must escape and assume a new identity and a new home, who must "change your name of not your nation." Shaun's reply to the question of the letter contains further allusions to the Lynchhaun/Synge connection, while simultaneously paying homage to that other, more noble Irish emigrant, John

McCormack. Shaun is “nobly Roman as pope and water would christen me,” an obvious reference to McCormack’s appointment as a count by the pope. However, “christen” also recalls Christy Mahon, Sygne’s character partly inspired by Lynchehaun. Another Sygne reference immediately follows: “I am, thing Sing Layrnx...” Again, John McCormack is invoked here by the musical terminology, yet we also detect Sygne’s mis-spelled name. Within seven lines, we have the terms “Lettrechaun,” “christen,” and “Sing Larynx,” suggesting that even though Shaun is the “vote of the Irish, voice from afar,” this voice of the emigrant can have rather dubious associations.

Chapter 2 of Shaun the Post’s section maintains this emigration metaphor as Shaun performs an extended goodbye to Ireland, which largely consists of passing along a sexually moralizing sermon to his sister, Issy, and her young friends. Shaun first appears to the young girls of “Benet Saint Berched’s national nightschool” as “the rarerust sight of the first human Yellowstone landmark” (430.2,6); in addition to his associations with the yellow sun as he purportedly mimics its course around the globe, Shaun becomes an American national landmark here, an authority figure over the group of young girls who is ready to tell them how to behave while he will “shove off to stray on our long last journey and not be the load on ye” (431.26-7). His advice to the girls in this section consists largely of instructions on how to be sexually chaste, particularly in his absence, and Joyce even mingles Shaun’s destination in America with his sermon to the girls. Shaun preaches: “You’ll pay for each bally sorraday night every billing sumday morning” (436.26-7), suggesting Saturday’s fun brings repentance on Sunday. However, Billy Sunday was a famous American preacher who traveled across Europe, and Joyce

also mentions him several in *Ulysses*. In her book chapter “‘Don’t cry for me, Argentina’: ‘Eveline’, White Slavery and the Seductions of Propaganda,” Katherine Mullin discusses the anxiety in Joyce’s works over immigration and sexual impropriety, suggesting the subtle threat of white slavery or prostitution in Joyce’s short story “Eveline” or even in certain passages in *Shaun the Post*’s second chapter. Mullin states that when Shaun warns his sister against “Autist Algy, the pulcherman and would-do performer ... stated by the vice crusaders to be well known to all the dallytaunties in and near the ciudad of Buellas Arias” (434.35–435-2), he is expressing the connection between immigration to the Americas and sexual betrayal or prostitution (Mullin 79). However, in this section it does seem that Shaun is more concerned with Issy’s sexual purity “whilst Jaun is from home,” rather than her impropriety abroad (437.35).

Shaun’s extended farewell to the girls in Chapter 2 is a symbolic parody of what was known in Ireland, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as an “American Wake.” Joyce’s *FW* notebooks encourage this allusion, as one of his early notes contains the exact phrase, “American Wake” (*JJA* VI.B.2 128), and, as Wim Van Mierlo points out, this note “further suggests the importance of emigration as a motif” in Shaun’s section (“The Greater Ireland Beyond the Sea” 190). The American Wake, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was an important cultural ritual in Ireland during times of heavy immigration, as the loss of a member of the community to another country was often seen as a kind of permanent separation, a death. Eileen Metress describes the American Wake as a funeral-like ritual performed only for those family members or friends who were crossing the Atlantic, not those headed to Europe (it was assumed by many that a

move to the continent would usually result in regular visits back to Ireland). Like an actual death wake, the American Wake was “often a perplexing union of grief and gaiety,” where upon their departure, the emigrant announced his leaving and begins to say his goodbyes to friends, family, and neighbors (148). Then a celebration/mourning period would last throughout the night, beginning at sundown, typically taking place the night before embarking on the journey to America. Food, music, dancing, games, and storytelling were common, although Metress points out that, just as often, a bout of laughter and mirth among the group could quickly turn into tears, mourning, and “laments articulating the torment of leaving one’s land or the longing to return to the native soil” (150). She also points out that the mood of the American Wake during the heaviest periods of immigration (roughly the 1850s and 60s) “tended to be very melancholy” and “somber” where “serious conversation prevailed” and “tales were told of those who had already made the trip and of the wealth and abundance that was America” (151). American Wakes usually involved the Irish custom of keening, which is a kind of grief lament typically performed by older women who “might eulogize the virtues of the emigrant and bemoan the parting that must take place” (151). This kind of flurry of exclamation at the thought of greater opportunity in America mixed with the sorrow of losing one of their own, characterizes the American Wake as a ritual both “of festivity and sorrow” (151). Book III. 2 has Shaun continuously bidding farewell throughout the chapter as he says his extended goodbye. The schoolgirls become, then, Shaun’s “mourners” who participate in this abstract version of an American Wake, and he even goes

so far as to instruct them in their American Wake, encouraging them not to get too carried away with the ritual:

So now, I'll ask of you, let ye create no scenes in my poor primmafore's wake. I don't want yous to be billowfighting your biddy moriarty duels, gobble gabble, over me till you spit stout ... sniffing clambake to hering and impudent barney, braggart of blarney, nor you ugly lemoncholic gobs o'er the hobs in a sewing circle ... wearing out your ohs by sitting around your ahs ... curse luck, with your rags up, exciting your mucuses, turning breakfarts into lost soupirs ... praying Holy Prohibition and Jaun Dyspeptist ... May my tunc fester if ever I see such a miry lot of maggalenes!" (453.2-19).

Shaun discourages the typical display of mourning at his "primmafore's wake," no tears "biddy moriarty duels," in the spirit of Bidy Moriarty who cried over Tim Finnegan's death in the Irish-American song, "Finnegan's Wake," that gave the novel its name. No lamenting Shaun to "clambake to hering," or, in other words, begging him to come back to Ireland. No old "lemoncholic," or melancholic, maids sighing over his departure in their sewing circles, "turning breakfarts into lost soupirs," making a mournful Last Supper out of his departure, particularly with "soupir" as the French word for "sigh." Shaun, who knows he will return, rejects their grief and instead embraces that aspect of the American Wake that is, as Merrit describes it, more festive, jolly, and hopeful for the future. Instead, Shaun tells the girls: "Sussumcordials all around, let ye alloyiss and ominies, while I stray and let ye not be getting grief out of it ... So cut out the

lonesome stuff. Drink it up, ladies, please, as smart as you can lower it. Out with lent! Clap hands postilium! Fastintide is by. So for e'er fare the welt! Partin's fun. ... Goodbye, swisstart, goodbye. Haugh! Haugh!" (453.25- 454.4). After this, "westminstrel Jaun" breaks into a "grand big blossy hearty stenorious laugh" at the thought of the ladies trailing joyously in his wake (454.9-10). Shaun's address to the girls "Sussummcordials," which McHugh notes is Latin for *sursum corda*, meaning "lift up your hearts," although Shaun knows they are sad for his "poor headsake." Instead of mourning his emigration, however, he tells them instead to "drink it up," and clap their hands in merriment as one does when lent and fasting are over. Shaun's American Wake, his "primmfore's wake," then, is no sad affair, but rather, like the coming of Spring (*primavera*), it is a new beginning,¹⁸ and he sees himself "sailsread over the singing" (453.24) ladies. Instead, "parting's fun," he says, recalling still the merriment and mirth that characterizes Tim Finnegan's own wake in the song "Finnegan's Wake." The song's chorus, after all, is "lots of fun at Finnegan's Wake," and Shaun certainly seems to be taking a cue here for his own American Wake.

As Shaun's departure draws near at the end of the chapter, his destination is clear, "It's Winland for moyne, bickbuck!" (469.11), as he identifies with the legend of the Norse explorers who were thought to have discovered North

¹⁸ Like the symbolic changing of the seasons, Metress notes how the ritual of the wake in Irish culture functioned as a marker for important life transitions: "The American Wake shared not only many descriptive characteristics with a wake for the dead but functional characteristics as well. Like a true funeral ritual, it marked the transition from one social category to another heralding rebirth to a new state of being. It reiterated the significance of transitional times for the Irish; whether turning points between the seasons or major life changes such as birth, death, and emigration, transitions held a special fascination and so were ritualized" (151-152). By invoking the Springtime as well as a wake in "primmafore's wake," Joyce seems to be acknowledging the notion of transitions (change of seasons, death, emigration) in the manner that Metress describes.

America (at Vinland in what is now Canada) some few hundred years before the Vikings in 1000 A.D. His final speech at the end of the chapter, or his “last fireless words of postludium of his soapbox speech ending in’ sheaven” (469.29-30), suggest that Shaun is leaving for what Clive Hart calls the “Heaven of America.” What follows is a culmination of his farewell exclamations to Ireland as the girls break out into a fury of cries, laments, song, and emotion. The similarities to the mourners at an American Wake are especially potent here:

...the phalanx of daughters of February Fillydyke, embushed and climbing, rambled and weeps, voiced approval in their customary manner by dropping kneedeep in tears over their concelebrated meednight sunflower, piopadey boy, their solase in dorckaness, and splattering together joyously the plaps of their tappyhands as, with a cry of genuine distress, so prettly prattly pollylogue, they viewed him, the just one, their darling away ... Wherefore they wail” (470.4-12).¹⁹

The rituals of the American Wake are fulfilled as the girls wail and cry over Shaun, their so-called ‘midnight sunflower’ and ‘darling’ of Ireland. The end of the American Wake, Metress describes, consists of what is known as a “convoy,” which is when the younger family members or friends form a procession line as they all walk with the emigrant to their place of departure, whether a train station

¹⁹ In a letter to Harriett Shaw Weaver on August, 8, 1928, Joyce wrote of this mourning section: “The Maronite [R.C.] liturgy, the language of which is Syrian is at the back of it. On good Friday the body of Jesus is unscrewed from the cross, placed in a sheet & carried to the sepluchre while girls dressed in white throw flowers at it & a great deal of incense is used. ...” (qtd. in McHugh 470). As Epstein describes it, “the girls use a liturgy borrowed from the Maronite Christians of Lebanon, with twenty-nine words in the mourning ritual, one of each of the girls. The rite itself, exalting Shaun as a series of lovely trees, is from the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus 24:17-10” (188-189).

or boat dock (152). Metress also points out that during this procession—the final ritualistic act of the American Wake—short cuts to the point of departure where highly frowned upon, and “it was considered an insult to hasten the inevitable departure” of the emigrant (ibid.). There certainly is no sense of a short-cut or hastening of Shaun’s departure as his own farewell and the ladies’ farewell rituals for him are characterized by their extended, drawn-out format. Indeed, the girls accompany him to his final point of departure, which happens when he falls, once again, into the liffey (his second fall of the section) as a barrel and sinks into the water where he “was quickly lost to sight” (471.28). His fall into the water which will symbolize his final act of emigration takes place against the backdrop of the mourning ritual, this peculiar kind of American Wake, the 29 girls calling out to him, arms open, and, almost in an incantatory fashion, each crying out the word ‘peace’ in different languages.²⁰ As in the end of Chapter 1, Shaun’s departure is ushered in with a series of final blessings and praises, that, like Metress describes, mirrors the sense of “the peculiar mix of celebration and sorrow” that marked these of American Wakes (as well as the traditional Irish death wakes), but always with a special emphasis on Shaun’s eventual return (152). Here, Shaun is again John McCormack, and he is blessed as the “songster, angler, choreographer! ... Musicianship made Embrassador-at-Large!” who, they fear, “we ne’er may see again.” Yet, all of Ireland seems determined to wait for Shaun’s return, as if it will hold some sort of ameliorative power over their own lives. Those hopeful mourners Shaun has left in his wake are described:

²⁰ Epstein notes that Joyce believed “such a series of cries of peace sounded around the world on November 11, 1918, at the armistice in World War One” (189).

Numerous are those who, nay, there are a dozen of folks still unclaimed by the death angel in this country of ours today, humble indivisibles in this grand continuum, overlorded by fate and interlarded with accidence, who, while there are hours and days, will fervently pray to the spirit above that they may never depart this earth of theirs till in his long run from that place where the day begins, ere he retourneys postexilic, on that day that belongs to joyful Ireland, the old old oldest, the young young youngest, after decades of longsuffering and decennia of brief glory ... their Janyouare Fibyouare ... comes marching a home on the summer crust of the flagway.” (472.28-473.5)

Shaun’s emigration will mean success for Ireland, a relief from their “longsuffering” and “decennia,” which is Latin for ‘decades,’ of temporary or stunted successes. His travel to America, therefore, inspires the complex emotions of the American Wake, that unique combination of a hopeful farewell with notes of sorrow and grief, yet both sections seem to suggest that Shaun’s emigration is not a permanent state, and, what’s more, that his departure to the States will eventually somehow—perhaps by potential financial gain?—relieve or have a direct bearing on the longsuffering conditions of his homeland. It’s almost as if his emigration, rather than existing as a kind of abandonment of or permanent exile from his native Ireland, is rather *in service of* his home country, and part of his attempt to assume the role of the “voise of Ireland,” or the “darling” of the land. The final blessing for Shaun’s emigration in the last lines of his section demonstrate the expectations for a successful return to his community: “Brave

footsore Haun! Work your progress! Hold to! Now! Win out, ye divil ye! ... The west shall shake the east awake” (473.20-3). Shaun’s mission as an emigrant is to pursue progress and return from the West, the “ousts of Amiracles” (427.23), to implement “melioration in massquantities.” Shaun’s emigration project echoes another of Joyce’s voices for Ireland, the Citizen in *Ulysses*, who wonders “where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes?” (267.1240-1). The solution to the de-population of Ireland lies, according to the Citizen, in the hands of the American-bound emigrants, the ones who, like Shaun will at the end of *FW* III.2, make their way to “the land of the free,” to America, yet with their minds and hearts set all the while on “the land of bondage,” Ireland. The Citizen, as well as the Irish mourners who bless Shaun’s swift return, stake the future of their country on the emigrant’s return. Ireland’s success depends on it, on the promise that, as the Citizen says, “they will come again and with a vengeance, no cravens, the sons of Granuaile, the champions of Kathleen ni Houlihan” (270.273-5). In *Finnegans Wake* Shaun, the “darling of Ireland,” symbolically fulfills the Citizen’s prophecy set forth by the Citizen in *Ulysses*, suggesting that, while Joyce may have often been “in favor of the emigrant,” the fate of his native Ireland was never absent from this complex equation.

Chapter 3

non placet: Troublesome Evangelicals and Defiant Catholics

Joyce's ambivalent attitude toward the United States as a source not only of financial gain, critical acceptance, and artistic freedom but also of disaster, unrestrained power, and greed extend to the manner in which he portrays its religious institutions. His own mistrust of religious institutions in general has been the focus of many a critical work on Joyce, and his rejection of the Catholic faith in his personal life coupled with its constant presence in his fiction has kept his critics busy for decades. Joyce even declared himself a "misbeliever" who has "found no man with a faith like mine," and Roy Gottfried put it well when he describes Joyce as one who "is not a believer in Catholic pieties, not an unbeliever in the rich complexity of religious thought and symbol, nor a disbeliever in Catholicism in order to hold to another and alternate religious system, but a misbeliever, someone who does not think as others do about Catholicism, but who clearly thinks about it nonetheless" (2). Yet, interestingly enough, Joyce seemingly all but ignores Catholic issues or Catholicism in the United States in his works; instead, representations of religion in America are overwhelmingly concerned with evangelism, revivalism, and Protestantism. Characters like Reverend Alexander J. Dowie, Billy Sunday, Torrey and Alexander, and Moody and Sankey populate both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. In fact, a reader would be hard-pressed to find a reference to religion in the United States that is not related to evangelism, and certainly this is how Joyce seems to picture the religious landscape in America. For Joyce, America is not Catholic, but evangelical and Protestant and, perhaps more importantly, it is performative. However, when we consider the fact that *Dubliners* is an obvious exception to this (there are, in

fact, no references to Protestant America in the book) with a rather interesting reference to a Catholic American in “Grace” that will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, it should be noted that even this reference is all but ignored by the characters and certainly obscured from Joyce’s readers. To be sure, America and Catholicism were not held in the same category for Joyce, and the manner in which he constructed the United States in his fiction obviously required for him a divergent religious construct. This construct was evangelism. The point is made sure enough in “Cyclops” as the parody of the “ancient Irish facecloth” is described “wherein one can distinctly discern each of the four evangelists [i.e., Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John] in turn presenting to each of the four masters [four 17th century Franciscans, according to Gifford] his evangelical symbol” (12.1443-4). The second symbol named here is the “North American puma (a far nobler king of beasts than the British article, be it said in passing)” (12.1445-6). Interestingly enough, each of the other four symbols on the facecloth are distinctly Irish (a bog scepter, a calf from Kerry, and an eagle from an Irish mountain). America’s evangelical presence in Irish history—perhaps even its indebtedness to Irish history, one might say—is evidenced here. Yet, Joyce’s representation of modern American evangelism is most often characterized not by the noble qualities of that North American puma but instead by the curious religious outliers who represent the most extreme or radical interpretations of Protestantism in the United States. This manner of representing the American religious landscape as corrupt and essentially performative points again to Joyce’s inherent mistrust of American institutions and their interests both at home and abroad. The kind of international “Americanism” that Joyce critiqued in his letter on

Renan is evidenced here in his seeming disdain for the Americanization of salvation, redemption, and conversion—a “paying game,” as Bloom calls it.

Geert Lernout points out the simple fact that “Joyce remained fascinated by all kinds of religious dissent,” revivalism or evangelism easily falling into this category, and that “just as in his reading about Irish or other forms of historical catholicism he would always focus on its more extravagant practices” (55). Lernout also notes that throughout the composition of *Ulysses* Joyce “continued to be fascinated by the variety of unorthodox belief” (203), the American variety in particular, including Protestant evangelism and revivalism. It appears that Joyce was attracted to or found interesting the kind of extremism and oddity that American evangelists so often embodied, particularly in the press. Lernout explains that Joyce’s own readings indicate his interest in the more extreme forms of evangelical Protestantism in America, not to mention its “colourful leaders” (57), who of their own accord seem ripe for fictionalization. Further, these kinds of larger-than-life American religious leaders are radical products of the anti-catholic, pro-protestant cultural mood that pervaded in the United States in the second half of the 19th century (Lernout 59), which must have appealed somewhat to Joyce’s sense of anti-establishment. Roy Gottfried agrees that Joyce had a “lifelong inclination to schism and fascination with religions in which there are repeated breaks from the monolithic authority” (94), which seems in part to account for his interest in these over-the-top cultural figures. Joyce’s fascination with evangelism, and, as it seems, his fascination with America, was a matter of extremes, with the United States is often associated with large-scale occurrences and grand controversy, even where God is concerned. Joyce constructed an America of money, of newsmakers and law-breakers, and of a new kind of

20th century religion with its roots in the worlds of commerce, capitalism, and advertising. Joyce's America is a place where big things happen, not always for the better, and where God is just another commodity to be bought and sold in the world's most powerful free market.

Dubliners

"Grace" is unique to a study of this nature as it offers the first written reference to religion and America in Joyce's works, in particular to Catholic religion in America, and, although the allusion is rather understated compared with the manner in which American evangelism functions in *Ulysses*, which will be the focus of the latter portion of this chapter, it does suggest the possibility early on that America occupied a firm, yet subtle at times, position in the background of his consciousness and fiction. What's more, this particular reference is both curious and meaningful not for what he directly comments on concerning America, but instead for what is omitted by the author and also what is simply gotten wrong by the characters. As Fritz Senn writes of "Grace," "It becomes an obligation for readers and critics who will in fact set right the various accounts presented in the story and, first of all, not be taken in by mere glibness or assurance" (qtd. in Norris 197). This instance of American religion in *Dubliners* differs from what I will discuss later in *Ulysses*, in that the latter work, much like the trajectory of the American references on immigration from *A Portrait* to *Ulysses*, offers a more pejorative perspective on American religious practices and figures.

In his confinement following his embarrassing barroom gaffe at the beginning of the story, Mr Kernan is visited by Mr Cunningham, Mr Power, Mr M'Coy, and Mr Fogarty, who gather about his sickbed to discuss the Catholic church as a part of their

“plot” (134) to convince Kernan to repent his errant ways and walk the straight and narrow. The scene is as comical as it is symbolic in its clumsy efforts to convert, so to speak, the Protestant-leaning Kernan back to the religion of his wife and his peers, Catholicism. As Geert Lernout describes this scene in *Help My Unbelief* as one where “almost all the information about the church exchanged among the five nominal Dublin catholics is inaccurate and Joyce seems to have had considerable fun in exposing the level of ignorance of these supposedly pious men . . . nearly everything that is said is wrong . . .” (125). Specifically, their collective ignorance and misinformation in regards to the history of their church seems to peak when the discussion turns to the Vatican Council’s vote on papal infallibility—a historical event that put one Irish-American priest squarely in the church’s spotlight. Strangely enough, Joyce’s Dubliners, have a much dimmer view of the history of their church.

In response to Mr Kernan’s veiled criticism against the church and its corrupt history—some of its previous popes not being “up to the knocker,” as he puts it (145)—the subject of papal infallibility is immediately raised by the others as they attempt, amid the clink of their own whiskey glasses, to defend the righteousness of their church and the authority of its leader. Mr Cunningham speaks with the most passion for the cause, the Catholic church that is, when he declares, “Papal infallibility . . . that was the greatest scene in the whole history of the Church” (146). Declared by the Vatican Council in 1870, papal infallibility established that the office of the pope is incapable of error when commenting on church doctrine or on issues of morality. Not to be confused with the notion that the pope is incapable of sin, papal infallibility simply states that the pope can make no mistake when speaking on matters of the church, when speaking *ex cathedra*, as

it were. Funny enough, Mr Cunningham's pronouncement on the infallibility of the pope is followed by a series of comments and assertions about the church that are entirely inaccurate, chiefly his misidentification of the only two dissenting Bishops present at the Council who voted against the notion of papal infallibility as a German and an Irishman (John MacHale), the latter of whom, Cunningham proudly states, finally "shouted with a voice of a lion: *Credo!*" (147) after infallibility was declared. Caught up in his efforts to defend the Church, Mr Cunningham's imagination gets the better of him.

Indeed two out of 535 bishops present at the Council did cast votes of "no," or *non placet* [it does not please], against papal infallibility: Bishop Luigi Aloisio Riccio of Cajazzo, Sicily, and Bishop Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. Mr Fogarty comes the closest to getting it right when he humbly suggests to Mr Cunningham that he "thought it was some Italian or American . . ." (146) who objected at the Council, a suggestion that Cunningham quickly dismisses in order to continue with his entirely fictional account of the inspirational Irish dissenter-turned-believer, John MacHale, who, as Cunningham tells it, finally "submitted" to the church at the end of the Council, "show(ing) the faith he had" (147) in the pope's infallibility. The story is a powerful one for the listeners, even to a doubter and native Protestant like Mr Kernan: "Mr Cunningham's words had built up the vast image of the Church in the minds of his hearers . . . 'I once saw John MacHale, said Mr Kernan, and I'll never forget it as long as I live'" (146). Despite the solemnity and reverence being acted out by the characters here as they ponder things like "belief and submission" (147) and, in particular, one Irishman's conversion from dissenter to believer, what strikes the reader—and what Joyce critics have commented on for decades—is, instead, the humor. Mr Cunningham's

own moving, poignant retelling of the Vatican Council’s vote on the infallibility—the accuracy and error-free status—of the pope, is, in fact, filled with historical errors.

What’s more, and what critics have not pointed out, Mr Cunningham, as well as the others, is wholly unaware that by (falsely) holding the Irishman John MacHale up as an example of eventual submission to the church—which, incidentally, they are also trying to coax out of poor old Protestant Kernan—he unknowingly ignores another Irishman, an Irish-American that is, who *did* in fact cast a dissenting vote against the formal decree, only to eventually accept it after its ratification, and was, both in his lifetime and beyond, defined by his efforts to seek out converts in a largely Protestant landscape. And, while Mr Cunningham might realistically claim ignorance to any knowledge of this particular Irish-American Bishop, Joyce (and perhaps Mr Fogarty) certainly cannot.

Born in 1833, Bishop Edward Fitzgerald migrated with his parents from his hometown of Limerick, Ireland, to the United States when he was 16-years-old as they left Ireland on the heels of the Great Famine. After getting his start in Ohio where he attended seminary and began his first pastorship, Fitzgerald became an official American citizen in 1859; by the time he was in his early thirties, he had become the youngest Catholic bishop in the United States, relocating, albeit reluctantly, to his new post as Bishop in the Diocese of Little Rock, Arkansas.²¹

At the outset, conversion was Bishop Fitzgerald’s primary objective during his pastorship in the Southern territory. According to Mazzocchi, “the struggle of his people to survive as practicing Catholics in this harsh and markedly Protestant frontier became

²¹ His jurisdiction included not only the state of Arkansas but also what was known as “Indian Territory,” now present-day Oklahoma (Luyet).

Fitzgerald's lifelong concern" (n.p.). And the bishop's efforts to spread Catholicism to the region paid off: nearly forty schools and academies were established in Arkansas during his career, and the state's Catholic population more than doubled. However, his steady accomplishments in the American South—an inhospitable region ravaged by years of economic, medical, and agricultural strife—did not shield him from the Vatican's critical gaze. In 1870, upon his arrival in Rome for the Council's vote on papal infallibility, Bishop Fitzgerald did not hide his opposition to the dogma, and he knew this dissenting view did not go unnoticed. In a letter to an Arkansas colleague during the Council, he wrote: "There is no chance the Holy Father will take me from Arkansas, except to put me in the prisons of the Inquisition, perhaps. I have not been in his good book since coming to Rome" (Mazzocchi n.p.).

However, he was far from alone in his rebellion. Nearly 100 other bishops refused to vote in favor of papal infallibility (a significant detail in the history of the Council that Mr Cunningham, not surprisingly, overlooks), yet Bishop Fitzgerald along with one other were the only two who remained in Rome to cast their final votes of *non placet* in person. By his own admittance, however, Bishop Fitzgerald's refusal to vote with the rest of the flock and cast a ballot of *non placet* had little or nothing to do with matters of theology. In fact, immediately after the Council voted and infallibility was declared, the bishop—much like Cunningham's made-up account of the John McHale—promptly declared his acceptance of the doctrine and, some years later, in an address titled "After Ten Years, the Vatican Council," Fitzgerald upheld his belief in papal infallibility as a doctrine and offered explanation for his dissenting vote:

it is one thing to hold a given doctrine as the most probable, or even as certain in the face of other conflicting views; quite a different thing to aid by my vote to impose a new obligation on Catholics, and, as it appeared to me then, to place a new obstacle in the path of others seeking a union with the Catholic Church. (Mazzocchi n.p.)

Since conversion and the colonization of new Catholic institutions in an overwhelmingly Protestant American landscape were the top priorities of the bishop, papal infallibility, in his view, was yet another obstacle for him to overcome in accomplishing these ends. Therefore, Bishop Fitzgerald cast his vote of *non placet* in order to successfully convert more Americans to the Catholic faith. As Mazzocchi describes it, Fitzgerald's role in the United States was as a "leader of a minority religious body in a rugged, often hostile theological landscape" (n.p.); because of these conditions, his mission to acquire as many converts as possible often necessitated, as it did at the Vatican Council's vote on papal infallibility, a setting aside of theological doctrine in favor of a more pragmatic approach to matters of economy, infrastructure, and the mere survival of the Church in the Protestant-led American South.

As Garry Leonard writes in *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*,²² "Joyce teaches us that insignificance is curiously powerful, precisely because it dwells beneath the notice of history" (35). The confusion in "Grace" over who voted for papal infallibility and the complete exclusion of the two real-life bishops who cast the votes—only casually referred to as "some Italian or American" (146)—in fact does seem like a

²² Leonard's chapter, "Advertising and Religion: The New (Improved!) Testament," that I quote from in *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* first appeared in 1996 in *Joyce and Popular Culture*, Ed. R. B. Kershner.

rather insignificant blunder that functions primarily to highlight Mr Cunningham's own buffoonery and to offer a rather deflated, even satirical view on matters of faith. And, this "Italian or American" who cast one of the most notable dissenting votes in the modern history of the Church indeed "dwells beneath the notice of history" in this story.

However, Joyce subtly imprints the story with yet another layer of symbolic meaning as the characters' missteps during their discussion of the Vatican Council surreptitiously parallel that of the historical figure they so obviously leave out. Mr Kernan's fall—literal, at the beginning of the story, and spiritual, as a failed Catholic—is followed by a series of clumsy efforts on the part of his friends to redeem his drunken, wayward soul back into the Catholic fold. As Richard Kain puts it, the humor with which these efforts to convert Mr Kernan (from drunk to sober and, more importantly, from Protestant to Catholic) are carried out, particularly during their discussion of the Vatican Council, "make one of the funniest passages" in the story (135). However, I believe it's more than funny; it's also thematically pertinent to the story as a whole. Specifically, in an effort to convince Mr Kernan to attend a religious retreat to repent for his sins, and in an effort, essentially, to convert him anew into the faith, the "conspiring friends," as Kain calls them (*ibid*), ironically and mistakenly cite a historical event (the Vatican Council) where the sole motivation of the falsely-identified bishop (and an Irishman at that!) was to convert a reluctant Protestant population to Catholicism. Therefore, if "Grace," a fiercely humorous parody of the Catholic Church (and, according to Stuart Gilbert, also of the *Divine Comedy*²³), equates turn-of-the-century Catholicism in Ireland with a kind

²³ Several sources cite Stanislaus Joyce for the notion that "Grace" is an allegorical account of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Margot Norris writes that Joyce's brother "inspired a tradition of reading 'Grace' as a religious allegory that parodies the spiritual and moral failings of Dubliners" (199). In a textual note,

of tragi-comedy of errors, it is certainly fitting that the players here get the *authentic* historical account of a man dedicated to conversion wrong as well. What astounds the reader upon making this discovery is that Joyce could have easily inserted Fitzgerald's correct name into the discussion and still maintained the satirical purpose of the scene while also making the connection between the conversion efforts of the Irish-American bishop and Kernan's "conspiring friends" more apparent. So, why doesn't this occur? Aside from proving to be yet another moment of religion-got-wrong by one of the characters, why does Cunningham, along with the others, get the names of the dissenting bishops wrong?

Oddly enough, Mr Kernan's friends are unknowingly acting out a comedic version of the very circumstances and choices that Bishop Fitzgerald was faced with at the Vatican Council. In this way, it is as if they serve also as a parody of Bishop Fitzgerald's own life and legacy. By his own admission, Fitzgerald eschewed a doctrine that he viewed "as certain in the face of other conflicting views," and he put aside his regard for theological accuracy (his adherence to the doctrine of papal infallibility) for the sole purpose of making it that much easier for American Protestants in the South to convert to Catholicism. His *non placet*, then, was not a vote *against* his Church or the Pope, but actually a vote in favor of it and in its service, and his actions at the Vatican Council belie a deep devotion to his mission in America, a mission of conversion and, as it were, Catholic evangelism. Kernan's bedside friends, particularly Mr Cunningham, are not so noble as Fitzgerald, however, as they enact a parody of the Vatican Council itself, with Cunningham a fledgling Fitzgerald, he too disregarding theological accuracy and

however, Richard Kain identifies Stuart Gilbert as the first to suggest this parallel between Joyce's story and the *Divine Comedy* (134).

doctrine in the name of converting Mr Kernan. In this parody, though, Cunningham accomplishes his conversion in a comic manner via a series of obvious blunders rather than as a result of official church duty and careful spiritual engagement as Fitzgerald experienced. Simply put, in order to convert a Protestant to the Catholic faith, Cunningham ignores historical and theological accuracy when citing a moment in the Church's history that, by its nature, is defined by a man who ignores theological accuracy in order to convert Protestants to the Catholic faith. The only difference is, Cunningham is unaware of his mistakes; Fitzgerald isn't—he knows it, defends it, and upholds it. In fact, voting against a doctrine that he in fact believed in doesn't seem to have been a “mistake” at all for Bishop Fitzgerald, who turned out to be one of the most respected and important Catholic figures in the state of Arkansas. All the same, Bishop Fitzgerald's biography is one that is indelibly defined by his efforts to convert, particularly in an overwhelmingly Protestant population, and “Grace,” in turn, is also defined by the efforts of Mr Kernan's friends and family to convert the allegorical “fallen man,” the Protestant at heart, back into the Catholic fold and redeem him from the abyss of his errant ways, aligning the Dubliners, however subtly, within a uniquely American context here.

Ulysses

The most prominent recurring allusion to American evangelism and revivalism in all of Joyce's works is the reference in *Ulysses* to Alexander J. Dowie, whose visit is advertised on a throwaway advertisement that Bloom is handed at the beginning of “Lestrygonians.” Bloom tosses the throwaway into the Liffey, only to have the skiff, as it is also referred to, resurface multiple times throughout the rest of the book. In addition to the multiple re-

appearances of this throwaway, the figure of Dowie also becomes a powerful symbol for Bloom, particularly in “Lestrygonians,” “Oxen of the Sun,” and “Circe.”

Although several annotations and guidebooks have made cursory mention of Dowie’s biography, the first article-length study on the Dowie reference in *Ulysses* comes from Joe Voelker and Thomas Arner in the *James Joyce Quarterly*, which was soon followed by Robert Janusko’s rejoinder in the same publication titled “More on J.A. Dowie (& Son).” To date, these are the primary studies dedicated solely to the examination of Dowie’s recurring role in the novel. Both studies on Dowie offer short discussions of his role in the so-called “Messianic Scene” in “Circe” or his ardent sermonizing as Elijah the Restorer in the final pages of “Oxen of the Sun.” However, the primary contribution that these studies have made to Joyce studies concerns Dowie’s larger-than-life biography, and, while Dowie’s background is most certainly useful for understanding Joyce’s fascination with him and his use of Dowie in the book, this first section of the chapter will expand on these two previous studies by questioning the ways that Dowie and his particular kind of American revivalism function symbolically in the novel and also what this reflects about Joyce’s larger depiction of America in general. In short, Dowie functions on various symbolic levels in the novel and critics have all agreed that the role of this symbol in the novel quite significant. Yet why did Joyce choose a decidedly American form of religious reference to function so heavily in such intrinsically Irish novel? The purpose of this chapter, then, is to address this previously unanswered and unexplored question and to determine how and why Joyce employs such important American religious references in his works, such as Dowie, and how this

corresponds to the general way that he imagines and represents the far-off country to his West.

The final years of Dowie's odd biography, as previous critics have noted, is perhaps the most interesting aspect of this obscure historical figure, and one that surely would have caught the attention of a writer with a penchant for subversives or newsmakers. As several critics have confirmed, although there is no evidence that Dowie ever made it to Dublin around Joyce's (or Bloom's) time or that Joyce had any kind of contact, direct or indirect, with Dowie or his traveling missionaries, countless newspaper accounts of the American-based evangelist would have no doubt caught Joyce's attention. Voelker and Arner point out that a few days before Bloomsday on June 13, 1904, Dowie arrived in London for what would turn out to be a rather disastrous evangelical tour. He was met with harsh criticism from the press and the general public because of his principled rejection of modern medicine and also for his sharp attacks against Edward VII. His trip to London was, not surprisingly, a short one. Yet, these two critics aptly suggest that Joyce "could hardly have missed" the numerous newspaper accounts and profiles of Dowie in the *Evening Telegraph* that appeared in the month of his visit (290). And, considering the breadth and scope of Joyce's regular reading and knowledge of news items from around the world, the insights of one reporter from 1901 would suggest that Dowie had been such a press sensation that there is little reason to question why someone like Joyce—regardless of where he was living, be it Trieste, Zurich, or Dublin—would know a thing or two about Dowie: "the Reverend John Alexander Dowie is freely conceded to be the most talked about, and to most persons the most baffling subject Chicago is able to discuss. Pick up a Chicago daily paper on Monday morning

and you will certainly find in prominent position such headlines as these: ‘Dowie Turns Dynamiter’; ‘Dowie Flays the Bar’; or ‘Lije Scolds His Ravens’ (Lowe 163).

The Scotland-born John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907) emigrated to Australia as an adolescent where he later attended seminary and began his career as a non-denominational evangelist. Yet, Dowie’s presence in the novel is nonetheless defined as American because his career and reputation as a religious leader did not begin to gain any significant attention until he established himself in the United States, and it is this decidedly American context in which Joyce would have come to know of him. His emigration to the United States did not occur until his early forties (in 1888), first taking him to California and then to Chicago, where he would eventually settle for the remainder of his life. There, he founded his own church (later to be known as the Christian Apostolic Catholic Church) and formed a “religious community shaped by a heady cocktail of biblical, utopian, and modernist ideas” (Robinson 38). Located just north of the city of Chicago, Zion City became the appointed site for Dowie’s religious community, which, at its height, served as the home for over 6,000 of his followers, making it “one of the more grandly conceived utopian settlements in modern American history” (Robinson 38). However, a combination of dubious business practices and controversial behavior eventually resulted in Dowie’s dramatic downfall at the end of his life as he was scandalized by his own corruption and exposed to the world as a charlatan and quack.

Dowie’s initial reason for settling in the United States, however, is somewhat unclear, although one reporter for an American periodical wrote in a 1901 profile of Dowie that “There were many things that Dowie found in the bible which he could not

reconcile with the daily practice of Australian life. One was the custom of paying ministers a salary. Another was the use of medicine to cure disease” (Lowe n.p.). According to this reporter, Dowie himself stated a personal objection to the financial gain of the ministry (something akin, in Joycean terms, to simony) and cited this as the reason for seeking out America as an alternative: “I resigned my pastorate (in Australia), declaring that I would no longer sell my services for God, but would depend on what support was sent me” (Lowe n.p.). Dowie’s supposed statement indeed becomes a rather ironic prediction considering the succession of financial tangles and ill-gotten gains that all but ruined his reputation as a man of God and leader of his own Protestant sect in the U.S. Dowie’s rejection of standard medical practices in Australia and his view that America would afford him the freedom to practice his alternative religious project reflect his reputation as a faith-healer, which became the defining feature of his religious legacy. Indeed, the more prominent principle of Dowie’s teachings was healing. Dowie’s ministry concerned itself with the human body, not only in terms of restricting diet—he frequently argued for a particularly stringent ban on pork, alcohol, and tobacco—but also in terms of the healing power of God and the rejection of modern medicine. As James Robinson writes, Dowie is considered by many to be “the father of healing revivalism in America . . . the first man to bring national attention to divine healing in twentieth-century America” (44). However, this reputation as a faith-healer eventually resulted in scorn and criticism by the general population and the media, and Robinson concludes that “Dowie’s stridency, his distinctive views on divine healing, . . . his bold vision and later waywardness of his theology, all combined to make him an internationally known, though largely scorned, figure” (38).

Initially, though, it seems that Dowie had little plans to settle permanently in Chicago, Illinois, starting his residency first in California and preaching his way eastward across the country; yet his establishment of Zion City, Illinois, marked the pinnacle of his career and the height of his notoriety, and it is this aspect of his celebrity that would become an integral part of the Dowie allusion in *Ulysses* and the American pre-cursor to Bloom's own "new Bloomusalem in the Nova Hiberna of the future" (15.1544-5).

In addition, early newspaper accounts of Dowie in America suggest that his decision to plant his evangelical roots in Chicago, where he was met with initial opposition, seem to prove the kind of radical, even confrontational reputation that he was building for himself as a controversial religious subversive and so-called 'miracle-worker' with the power of healing. According to Lowe, after Dowie conducted a series of sermons in Chicago (prior to the establishment of Zion City), he was met with a scathing attack by an editor of a local newspaper, the *Tribune*. Dowie, Lowe reports in his profile, "was up in arms in an instant" and determined then and there to remain in the American Midwest to "fight" what he considered this true "enemy" of God, his critics. As he sees it, Dowie felt he had been "called" by the Lord to challenge non-believers and to prove his legitimacy as a healer and leader. Incidentally, Lowe also points out that a timely "healing" Dowie performed on a young Chicago woman with a deadly tumor established Dowie's reputation in the area and "it is from this curing ... that Dowie dates his Chicago success" (Lowe n.p.). Therefore, it would seem that Dowie's American reputation (soon after becoming synonymous with his international reputation, which was obviously established enough to reach Joyce's attention) was antagonistic in nature, founded on the principle of radical evangelism—which has as its primary goal the object of conversion—

as Dowie viewed the mission against his detractors as a kind of personal call to arms for his ministry.

In spite of this, however, during the 1890s and early 1900s, before the dramatic turn into decline of his final few years, Dowie amassed a rather impressive religious empire, at which he was the literal, symbolic, and ecumenical head, and this career (not just his eventual decline) seems to be what Joyce would most likely have been aware of. Indeed several accounts of Dowie published during his most successful years make mention of his so-called humble, penniless beginnings in the United States which stood in contrast with the fame and fortune that he achieved in little more than a decade and while at somewhat of an advanced age. Dowie's story, it seems, was valuable fodder for the press. Yet a century of forgetfulness has left the once scandalous Dowie in relative historical and religious obscurity and irrelevance; however, by examining newspaper accounts of the man and his mission at the time, it's surprising to realize his prominence in the headlines, even at an international level. In his rejoinder article to Voelker and Arner, Janusko acknowledges that "in Bloom's era he (Dowie) was a dominant, albeit notorious, figure in American Christianity" (607), again, all this despite the fact that Dowie was a born Scotsman. One reporter opened his 1901 profile on Dowie with the following sentence: "Chicago has been described as a home of religious cranks, and among those whom the world designates as such John Alexander Dowie holds at present the front rank" (Napes 1786). Needless to say, Dowie was not only an evangelical, he was an American, or, at least this is how he was portrayed to the world.

At its peak, Dowie's holdings included the following: hundreds of acres of prime, expensive farmland just north of Chicago where he established his own colony called

Zion City, selling plots of land to his followers; thousands of devotees who regularly contributed to his coffer; a school, along with several other organizations outfitted under the Dowie name and philosophy; a bank; a successful lace-making industry established in Zion City which he created by importing a large number of English citizens who could establish the business in order to drum up funds for the colony; and a seat at the head of his own religious order which he founded and controlled, the Christian Apostolic Catholic Church. This name probably would have puzzled the Catholic-born Joyce, despite the fact that Dowie claimed his church had nothing in common with the Roman Catholic church. Instead, Lowe writes that “the creed of this church is the doctrine he preaches—the law of Moses, the eleventh commandment, and the power of God to heal sickness in response to prayer” (n.p.).

Dowie, however, was not only known for his financial gains in America (where he also became a citizen). His theology caused quite a stir during Joyce’s time, but by today’s standards Dowie might be seen as no more than a flash-in-the-pan cult leader for a fringe group of misguided zealots. Voelker and Arner describe Dowie as a “charlatan” (283) who “preached moral and civic reform, performed miracles of healing, and decried the use of tobacco and alcohol” (284). One historical account describes him as a “charismatic preacher” with a “flamboyant lifestyle and lack of business sense” (*Daily Herald* April 14, 2009, n.p.). Kevin McDermott also adds that, in addition to Dowie’s well-known aversion to alcohol, tobacco, or pork, his ardent disbelief in modern medical science,²⁴ or his adherence to flat-earth theory, Dowie was also a proponent of “Anglo-

²⁴ Voelker and Arner cite a *New York Times* report from 1903 that claims Dowie was so against medical interventions that “he allowed his daughter to die of burn wounds rather than consult a physician” (qtd. in Voelker and Arner 285).

Israelism, the belief that Anglo-Saxons were the lost tribes of Israel” (n.p.). McDermott cites Dowie’s own weekly paper, *Leaves of Healing*, for evidence of this: “you have got the descendents of Israel in a very pure condition in the highlands of Scotland and in some parts of Wales and Ireland . . . The Celtic languages are full of Hebrew, and with customs that are Hebraistic (*Leaves of Healing*, August 7, 1896)” (qtd. in McDermott n.p.). Dowie’s Anglo-Israelism is a theme that this chapter will revisit in the context of the three *Ulysses* episodes as Bloom contemplates his own Zionist desires, yet here one already finds a sense of Dowie as a controversial religious figure that transforms this Anglo-Israelism into an undoubtedly American project.

To that end, perhaps the most outrageous, defining moment of both Dowie’s ministry and legacy came on the cusp of his establishment of Zion City. As Weldon Thornton writes in his *Allusions in Ulysses*, in 1902 Dowie, a “fanatical evangelist,” “... proclaimed himself Elijah the Restorer, and two years later consecrated himself the First Apostle” (130). This is surely Dowie’s most marked characteristic as a religious leader and one that figures heavily in Joyce’s use of him as a symbolic figure in *Ulysses*. As Voelker and Arnar describe Dowie’s identification with Elijah as the “most outrageous act” of his career, and accounts of Dowie near the end of his life document his odd appearance, which often included his wearing a white silk robe with a blue and gold lining. And, despite the fact that Thornton seems to have post-dated Dowie’s self-proclamation as Elijah incarnate for 1902 (U.S. newspaper accounts from 1901 already make reference to this declaration of divinity²⁵), Dowie’s association with the Biblical

²⁵ Voelker and Arnar (p. 288) cite a *New York Times* article from June 3, 1901 where Dowie declares his prophetic title: “I am Elijah the prophet, who appeared first as Elijah himself, second as John the Baptist, and who comes in me, the restorer of all things. Elijah was a prophet, John was a preacher, but I combine in myself the attributes of prophet, priest, and ruler over men. Gaze on me then, you wretches in

figure form what seem to be the basis of the connection in *Ulysses* between Dowie and Bloom and Bloom and Elijah. This association begins in “Lestrygonians,” is reinforced in “Cyclops,” is parodied in “Oxen of the Sun,” and eventually culminates in “Circe” where Bloom and Dowie compete against one another for the title of prophet, the true Elijah. Therefore, this chapter investigates one of the more significant symbolic events of Bloom’s day that involves his association and eventual rivalry with an infamous American religious figure.

“Lestrygonians”

Bloom first thinks of Dowie at the beginning of “Lestrygonians” when a YMCA man hands him a flyer advertising the evangelists visit to Dublin. Since, as Terence Killeen says, “nothing much happens in this episode,” its significance “lies not on the level of incident, but rather on the level of internal processes, both psychic and physical” (83). Bloom’s thoughts while reading the throwaway at the start of the episode introduce what will become an ongoing, recurring connection between himself and the American evangelist, referred to as Elijah, which will continue throughout the rest of the novel before finally reaching its ultimate explication in “Circe” where the two meet, one might say, face to face. In effect, this passage establishes the defining themes that the allusion will carry throughout the rest of the novel: first, it sets up the rivalry between Bloom and Dowie in their pursuit of the role of the savior for Ireland; second, the passage comments on the commodification of religion; and lastly, Bloom gives us a veiled criticism of those

ecclesiastical garb. I am he that is the living physical embodiment of Elijah, and my commission to earth a third time has been prophesied by Malachi.” It is hardly a stretch to imagine that Joyce would have come across this article.

American institutions that promise salvation or opportunity under false, economic pretenses.

The initial connection between the two figures—Bloom and Dowie—is meant to be so obvious to the reader that Bloom himself even hesitates for a moment while reading, thinking for just a moment that he sees his own name written on the paper instead of Dowie’s Christ-like moniker:

A somber Y. M. C. A. young man ... placed a throwaway in the hand of Mr Bloom.

Heart to heart talks.

Bloo Me? No.

Blood of the Lamb.

His slow feet walked riverward, reading. Are you saved? All are washed in the blood of the lamb. God wants blood victim. Birth, hymen, martyr, war, foundation of a building, sacrifice, kidney burnt offering, druids’ alters. Elijah is coming. Dr John Alexander Dowie restorer of the church of Zion is coming.

Is coming! Is coming!! Is coming!!!

All heartily welcome.

Paying game. Torry and Alexander last year. Polygamy. His wife will put the stopper on that. . . . (8.5-18)

Bloom nearly mistakes himself for the “Blood of the Lamb,” the Christian promise of spiritual salvation, grace, and redemption that the American revivalist Dowie is

advertising to Ireland,²⁶ and this split-second mistake as he reads the throwaway introduces the first in an important series of linkages between Bloom and Dowie. Here, Bloom's mistaken identification with the throwaway establishes a metaphorical rivalry between the two figures that will see its way through to "Circe," where Bloom and Dowie ultimately compete against one another for the symbolic role of Elijah, for the role of true prophet and redeemer for Ireland. Mark Osteen suggests that this confusion on Bloom's part when he thinks he sees his name on the ad "confirms his role as host of the exchange between advertising and the divine" (124). Therefore, the manner in which the throwaway passage connects Bloom and Dowie "is used to comment on the possibility of a redeemer for Ireland and eventually becomes identified with Bloom's own recuperative powers" (Osteen 125). In effect, the throwaway is correct, Elijah *is* coming, yet it remains to be seen whether the true prophet will be Bloom or Dowie.

As Bloom contemplates the ad while he walks "riverward" where he will toss the throwaway, there is an implied parallel "between the circulation of his [Bloom's] blood and that of the throwaway" (Osteen 124). Bloom equates bloody, even violent sacrifice with redemption, and although he seems to be silently criticizing a deity or institution that demands a "blood victim" in exchange for everlasting grace, he nonetheless makes reference to his own participation in this Christian exchange of sacrifice for salvation with the mention of the "kidney burntoffering," which he 'performed,' so to speak, as he cooked breakfast that morning. Thus, Bloom has committed the requisite blood sacrifice, has been "washed in the blood of the lamb," as it were, when he cooked the breakfast

²⁶ It is unlikely that Dowie was in Dublin on Bloomsday, if ever at all. In fact, he seems to have been in France. He was, however, in London a few days before Bloomsday and endured a disastrous reception there from a hostile crowd of roughly a thousand people, which, as Voelker and Arnar point out, was documented in the Dublin *Daily Express*, potentially catching Joyce's eye.

kidneys, and, as the novel will bear out in “Circe,” this act, along with the significance of the recurring throwaway advertising Dowie’s evangelical mission in Ireland, put Bloom squarely in competition with the American revivalist as they each attempt to serve redemptive purposes for mankind. However, it should be noted that the first association of the kidney offering with salvation (the salvation being offered here by “Dr John Alexander Dowie restorer of the church of Zion,” i.e., Dowie’s compound in Zion City, Chicago, Illinois), occurs in “Calypso” when Bloom goes to Dlugacz’s to purchase the kidneys he will later cook for breakfast. There, he encounters his first advertisement of the day on the Zionist flyer for Agendath Netaim, a community in Israel that promises to serve a new Zion for the Jews upon their purchase of property. As Osteen points out, this advertisement functions as a precursor to the throwaway that announces Dowie’s arrival from America; as he puts it, the ad is “a scheme for restoration and renewal, it is a prototype for most of the ads that follow” (113). There is an obvious connection here between the Zion that is being advertised in the flyer for Agendath Netaim, a Jewish community, and the kind of Americanized, Protestant version of Zion that Dowie offers, both of which Bloom must spend the rest of the novel in pursuit of or in competition with.

In “Circe,” Dowie (or, Bloom’s imaginative incarnation of Dowie, that is) will have some choice words to hurl at Bloom as their rivalry peaks in a culminating moment of battle; however, it’s Bloom who passes initial judgment in “Lestrygonians” against this so-called false prophet. To his credit, Bloom knows the score. Dowie’s evangelism is nothing but a “paying game” to Bloom, which, as Voelker and Arner remind, is certainly not far off the mark when considering the economic corruption that marks Dowie’s

tainted historical legacy. This remark of Bloom's reflects his underlying mistrust of and skepticism for American religious practices, which he sees as swept up in the commerce, capitalism, and advertising culture of the modern marketplace—a place that, ideally, should be antithetical to the higher aims of spiritual fulfillment.

Furthermore, the mere presence of the advertisement, as Osteen points out, equates the religious figure with the advertising profession, further denigrating the institution of religion into the realm of commerce but also providing yet another link between Bloom and Dowie as they symbolically compete for the role of Ireland's redeemer. As Osteen writes, “. . . all evangelism advertises the Day of Judgment, and all preachers are ad men” (124), which harbors significance on two fronts: firstly, the presence of the throwaway suggests that Dowie is not just announcing his arrival but is literally advertising a commodity—the commodity of salvation—as he is, in effect, ‘selling’ grace to the Dublin masses, reinforcing Bloom's view that Dowie's evangelism is nothing more than a mere “paying game”; secondly, and perhaps more importantly to the manner in which Joyce chooses to make the association between Bloom and Dowie explicit, Bloom is also, literally, an ad man, just like Dowie. Bloom's position as an ad canvasser reinforces this parallel between the two figures not only because they both engage in advertising but also because the kind of ‘ad men’ both Bloom and Dowie are relegate them to the fringes of their respective professions.

As Jennifer Wicke points out, the very nature of Bloom's job as an advertising canvasser was a somewhat antiquated or “anachronistic” vocation (126), as she calls it, even in 1904.²⁷ According to Wicke, Bloom's professional duties (which include acting

²⁷ Wicke notes the political implications of Bloom's profession as she points out that Bloom's position is, for the most part, handled by ad agencies in London or “in rare instances, in America.” But, as a direct

as a liaison between publications seeking advertisers and the businesses or companies seeking to advertise) are located on the “periphery” of the advertising world, and he is “pursuing an outdated and very minor-league aspect of the career of advertising” (126-7). Similarly, Dowie is not a representative of the whole of religious leaders in America; he is an outrageous figure and an outcast among many of his peers who, like Bloom, exists on the periphery of his vocation; like Bloom, he is an outsider, both literally as an immigrant-turned-citizen and figuratively as the head of a radical, anti-mainstream religious group that is shunned and scoffed at by much of the American (and international) population. As Voelker and Arner describe him, Dowie’s legacy saw him “bankrupt and exposed as a speculator, a would-be fornicator, and a charlatan” (284). Thus, Bloom’s status as an outsider in the advertising world (and in many other aspects of his character) and Dowie’s presence on the fringes of mainstream religion in the United States further link the two characters as marginal figures set apart from their peers.

Oddly enough, the distinct “American-ness” of this as well as other Dowie passages in the novel has escaped analysis in previous critical works on Joyce. As discussed in my Introduction, Joyce’s references and allusions to America are often associated with matters of economy, wealth, opportunity, commerce, coupled with notions of adventure, danger, radicalism, and power. In all of his works, America is represented in a complex, dichotomous manner where the opportunity for success is just as likely as the opportunity for disaster. For Joyce, it is a country of Wall Street, cinema

result of the colonial relationship between England and Ireland, local needs for advertising “are supplied in an old-fashioned and often *personal* [her emphasis] ways by those, like Bloom, connected with advertising at its periphery” (126).

and song, and frontier lands, but it is also a country of scandal, disaster, corruption, and abuse of power. Dowie's affiliation with America is a prime example of Joyce's often disparaging representation of the country as a nation defined by profiteering where its sacred institutions exist as mere cogs in the wheel of capitalism, consumerism, and greed. Voelker and Arner describe Dowie's presence in *Ulysses* as "quintessentially American" (289), and his status as a racketeering charlatan out to sell faith and salvation to his "slavishly loyal followers" (284) promotes the notion of an American religious landscape that reflects the country's decidedly capitalist, consumer-based principles. This is confirmed in the passage in "Lestrygonians" when Bloom, after remarking to himself that it is all a "paying game," immediately thinks of two other traveling American evangelists, "Torry [sic] and Alexander last year," suggesting Bloom's criticism extends beyond Dowie to the whole of American evangelism. Rueben A. Torrey and Charles M. Alexander were a team of American revivalists who spent an extensive amount of time and efforts in the early 1900s ministering across Great Britain. In fact, in May of 1903 alone, they reportedly claimed up to 4,000 converts in Belfast alone (Robinson 77), only to follow that up with 3,000 conversions in Dublin (Lernout 155), which Bloom correctly recalls in this passage. And, as Lernout points out, many critics have come to acknowledge that much of "the rhetoric of the throwaway owes more to that team of American evangelicals" Torrey and Alexander, than to Dowie himself. However, despite the fact that Torrey and Alexander seem to have had a more welcome reception abroad, particularly in Ireland, than Dowie, Bloom nonetheless characterizes the American evangelical movement as profit-driven, corrupt, and little more than smoke and mirrors, "Pepper's ghost idea" (124). Voelker and Arner get it right when they ask, "Where does

one normally look for people with a faith in business and an instinct for the business of faith?" (290). Obviously Bloom (and Joyce) looks to America.

“Cyclops”

The final lines of the “Cyclops” episode, Osteen suggests, offer the next expression of Bloom’s symbolic competition with Dowie for the title role of Elijah—the true redeemer, prophet, and Christ-like savior for Ireland. If Dowie is caught up in the American “paying game” of religion, more in line with profit than prophet, so to speak, then Bloom’s transformation in the novel, particularly at the end of “Cyclops,” into an alternative Elijah figure that is counter to and in competition with Dowie’s, serves as a kind of thematic signpost that moves the Dowie/Bloom association closer to its climax in “Circe.”

Bloom’s association with Elijah in “Cyclops” becomes undeniable:

And there came a voice out of heaven, calling: *Elijah! Elijah!* And He answered with a main cry: *Abba! Adonai!*²⁸ And they beheld Him even Him, ben Bloom Elijah, amid clouds of angels ascend to the glory of the brightness at an angle of fortyfive degrees over Donohoe’s in Little Green street like a shot off a shovel. (12.1914-18)

According to Osteen, “it is Bloom who acts as the economic and moral conscience of Dublin” in the novel, and thus Bloom stands in direct contrast with “the throwaway’s spurious promise of redemption” (127). This contrast makes itself evident at the close of “Cyclops” when Bloom, after being scorned into the role of a “rank outsider” (Killeen 134)—like Throwaway, the racehorse of the same name as the advertisement—by the Citizen and the other pub-goers, emerges at the end of the episode in an albeit comical

²⁸ “Father! Lord!”

yet still symbolically triumphant manner of Elijah ascending into “heaven.” Throughout the episode, Bloom is himself a kind of throwaway, a longshot and outsider, yet he “still manages to rescue throwaway people [like Stephen or the Jews] and give them grace”; Osteen reminds us that although Bloom has endured perhaps the most outrageous humiliation and insults throughout “Cyclops,” at the end of the episode he nevertheless “eventually ascend[s] to greatness as ‘ben Bloom Elijah’” and here “Bloom falls only to rise” (127). As Terrence Killeen summarizes, the traditional critical approach to this episode promotes Bloom as the clear “moral victor” among the other Dubliners present, particularly the Citizen, and as the “apostle of universal love, whose enlightened virtues he embodies” (139). Killeen strays somewhat from this reading, suggesting instead that Bloom is simply “defending himself against attack” in a series of parodies that attest more to the linguistic and stylistic impressions the characters represent than their various discourse on ideologies (139-40). However, I see this parody of Bloom’s ascension into heaven as a modern-day Elijah figure as a precursor to the eventual ascension of Bloom as true redeemer and prophet for Ireland (and Stephen in particular) over that *other* Elijah, that *other* throwaway—the American Dowie—that will take place later in the novel.

“Oxen of the Sun”

In one of Joyce’s most frequently cited letters, he describes the final lines of “Oxen of the Sun” whereby Dowie wildly ushers in another second coming as “a frightful jumble of Pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel” (qtd. in Spoo 145). In general, the episode’s structure mimics the stage of embryonic development, which is simultaneously parodied through nine stylistic shifts (paralleling

the nine months of pregnancy) that chart the history of the English literary tradition from Anglo-Saxon prose to modernity. These final lines of the episode, as several critics have noted, have often been cited as the “afterbirth” in this schema, as the babel-like “omega of ‘chaos’” that represents “the world’s destruction in the livid final flame of Armageddon” (Spoo 145). Osteen describes Dowie’s role here “as an American frontier snake-oil peddler” who is, as Bloom suspected earlier in “Lestrygonians,” “more interested in saving profits than in saving souls” (124). Gilliver aptly points out also that “Oxen” is “a boozing episode,” in contrast with Dowie’s lifelong mission against alcohol—a subject that often appeared in his sermons and evangelical materials. Because of this, Janusko suggests, “it is fitting that Dowie appear [here] to berate the drunken ‘medical Dick [and] his comrade medical Davy [i.e., Stephen and Lynch],’ even if only in parody from a poster on the Merrion hall” (609). Thus, instead of Bloom, it is now Stephen and Lynch who notice the advertisement on Merrion hall foretelling Dowie’s impending arrival (an arrival which will, of course, occur, albeit in a rather outrageous, hallucinatory manner in Bloom’s mind in the next episode, “Circe”). Bloom’s notion in “Lestrygonians” upon being handed the throwaway that this American revivalist is little more than a racketeering swindler who makes a “paying game” out of eternal salvation is further brought to bear here as Stephen and Lynch act out “Joyce’s Americanese alter call parody” (Janusko 610):

Christcicle, who’s this excrement yellow gospeller on the Merrion hall?
 Elijah is coming! Washed in the blood of the Lamb. Come on you
 winefizzling, ginsizzling, booseguzzling existences! Come on, you dog-
 gone, bullnecked, beetle-browed, hog-jowled, peanutbrained, weaseleyed

fourflushers, false alarms and excess baggage! Come on, you triple extract of infamy! Alexander J Christ Dowie, that's my name, that's yanked to glory most half this planet from Frisco bech to Vladivostok. The diety ain't no nickel dime bumshow. I put it to you that He's on the square and a corking fine business proposition. He's the grandest thing yet and don't you forget it. Shout salvation in King Jesus. You'll need to rise precious early, you sinner there, if you want to diddle the Almighty God. Pflaaaap! Not half. He's got a coughmixture with a punch in it for you, my friend, in his back pocket. Just you try it on. (*U* 14.1579-91)

David Hayman points out that it is in these final lines of the episode, “punctuated by the apocalyptic jargon of the American Dowie,²⁹ that most of the action occurs” (85).

However, Hayman claims that the American stylistics in these final lines of the episode “pull up short,” and that instead, “what has occurred, if not precisely a riot, is an intellectual chaos appropriate to the drunken high spirits which bear psychic fruit in the next chapter” (85). In effect, Hayman believes that the manner of Stephen and Lynch's speech here is “the direct if fragmentary expression of animal spirits,” and is essentially

²⁹ In his article “Billy Sunday: A New Source for ‘Oxen of the Sun’,” Peter Gilliver makes a strong case that much of the rhetoric and wording from this passage was in fact taken not from Alexander Dowie but from another popular American evangelical preacher, William Ashley “Billy” Sunday (1862-1935). Gilliver suggests that these lines, in a break from the rest of the highly-parodied style of “Oxen,” are in fact not a parody “so much as an almost verbatim transcription of the sermonizing” of Billy Sunday. Gilliver cites several passages in Sunday's recorded sermons that closely parallel the final lines and pages of “Oxen”; one of particular note that was reprinted in several newspapers between 1915-1917 and reads quite similarly to the final lines of the episode: “Come on, you fores of iniquity; . . . come on, you traducers; come on, you triple extract of infamy; come on, you assassins of character; come on, you sponsors of harlotry; come on, you defamers of God and enemies of the church; come on, you bull-necked, beetle-browed [sic], hog-jowled, peanut-brained, weasel-eyed four-flushers, false alarms and excess baggage” (qtd. in Gilliver 134). The allusion to Billy Sunday is further evidenced in *Finnegans Wake* during Shaun's own sermonizing speech to the young girls before he journey's off, America bound, in his mock-immigrant flight around the world that I discuss in Chapter 1. Shaun warns Issy and her friends that “You'll pay for each bally sorraday night every billing sumday morning” (436.26-7).

“deprived of all narrational controls” (85); in this view, the passage would seem to hold significance as a kind of drunken, fragmented, denigrated precursor to “Circe.” Zack Bowen goes slightly further to suggest that one of the chief functions of style in this passage is as a “comic relief from the purgatory of narrative confusion” that reinforces the episode’s “comic prognostication that little meaning can ever come from either literature or language in general” (72), to which I would also add “religion.”

However, it seems to me that if this passage is considered alone with the other references to Dowie and America, specifically in relation to Bloom, a more meaningful pattern of style and theme begins to emerge. Indeed the ending of “Oxen” is significant to a study of American religion, rhetoric, and culture on two fronts: firstly, stylistic in its obvious American dialect and, secondly, thematic as Dowie’s appearance here prefigures in the final scene in “Circe” where Bloom and Dowie symbolically ‘square off’ for the role of genuine prophet or messiah for Ireland and, on a more immediate scale, for Stephen. In effect, this characterization of Dowie and the American diety at the end of “Oxen” foreshadows the conflagration of Dowie and Bloom into one symbolic Elijah figure in “Circe.” And in this flurry of evangelical Americanisms at the end of “Oxen,” the connection between Bloom and Dowie is now evidenced by outside parties, Lynch and Stephen. It is appropriate here that Stephen is aware of this connection since “Oxen” is the episode where Bloom decides to follow after Stephen, intimating Bloom’s attempts at fulfilling his prophecy as the novel’s true Elijah (instead of Dowie) who offers Stephen salvation, redemption, and grace on a larger scale and friendship, guidance, affection, and a place to spend the night.

Geert Lernout acknowledges that “it remains interesting that Joyce decided to end a chapter (“Oxen”) on the development both of an embryo and of English prose style, with this particular kind of American language, with its rich mixture of the vulgar and the elevated, the holy and the profane” (*Help My Unbelief* 172), although it remains debatable among critics as to specifically how and for what thematic or stylistic purposes this “remains interesting,” as Lernout puts it (dismissals of the passage by some critics attest to this). In addition to interpreting the passage in terms of its comic significance as Bowen does, Spoo sees this evangelical diatribe (most likely spoken by Stephen or Lynch as they mock the coming of Dowie, the “excrement yellow gosseller” as advertised on Merrion hall) as the final stage in the “alpha and omega of ‘chaos’” that represents “the world’s destruction in the livid final flame of Armageddon” (145). On a literal level, the distinctly American rhetorical style of the passage serves as a further indication that Dowie—the subject of the passage—is in fact wholeheartedly associated in the world of the novel (and perhaps in Joyce’s own world as well) with America and American religious ideals, i.e., profiteering evangelism and false prophets. America is, for Bloom, for Stephen and Lynch, and perhaps for Joyce, a place where deliverance, salvation, and grace are “degraded to the level of an advertising jingle” (Nolan 169). And, further, if the passage, as Spoo writes, represents a kind of apocalyptic, Armageddon-like scenario, then it’s poignant to note that this end-of-days speech hails from an American figure. Therefore, not only is it significant then that the final rhetorical style in a chapter that charts the history of English prose should end in a jumble of American slang and obfuscations, but that this kind of “Armageddon” of the novel should also be thought of as American in nature (Perhaps this is what Joyce thought of when he wrote

disapprovingly of the “universal Americanism” that seemed to be taking over the twentieth century globe?). The representations of the American language here reflect a similar sentiment spoken by another character, Tom Kernan, who smugly described America as the “sweepings of every country including our own” (10.735), suggesting the country as a place where what was once coherent—a people or a language—becomes, in America, “a jumble.” Simply put, America seems to be the representation of decline, of the end of it all: of religion, of literary history, of language, and of spiritual salvation. In effect, the combination of American slang and evangelical rhetoric create a carnivalesque atmosphere that denigrates the spiritual consciousness of an entire nation and comments on its lack of genuine prophecy or ability for salvation, particularly where Ireland seems to be concerned.

In one respect, one cannot help to attempt a reconciliation between this portrayal of America with the favorable manner in which Joyce wrote of Irish immigrants to America in “Saints and Sages” as he criticized his native country for failing its population both economically, spiritually, and artistically and all but pushing its sons and daughters across the Atlantic to so-called better opportunities and “better times”.³⁰ In this speech given early in his career, Joyce tends to emphasize the redemptive, ameliorative opportunities that America has to offer the Irish, and despite the fact that he finds this a sad reflection of his own country’s failings, he still sees Irish immigration to America as a positive alternative for the Irish native—a source of salvation, both economically and culturally, referring to the Irish immigrant community in the U.S. as a “rich, powerful,

³⁰ As Emer Nolan writes, this notion of “better times” to come is particularly emphasized in “Lestrygonians,” which interestingly enough is where the Dowie/Bloom connection is first made with the appearance of the throwaway. Nolan points out that this episode “is scattered with promises of ‘great times coming’ (U 8.517-19).

and industrious settlement” (172). He even goes so far as to suggest that the immigrant movement to America is a kind of modern-day version of the Irish Renaissance: “In America, they (Irish immigrants) found another native land. . . . Maybe this does not prove that the Irish dream of a revival is not entirely an illusion” (171-72). Interesting rhetoric from Joyce here as notions of “revival” and America take on negative connotations in *Ulysses* when it becomes associated with the profit-mongering revivalist Dowie and the kind of religious “coughmixture” of corruption, profiteering, and commercialization he offers and that comes to define the kind of salvation America represents in the novel.

Bloom’s earlier comment in “Lestrygonians” that Dowie’s enterprise (as well as those of other American religious figures, such as Torrey and Alexander) is nothing but a “paying game” therefore serves as a precursor to Stephen and Lynch’s similarly-minded interpretation of Dowie in “Oxen” as a money-hungry charlatan who has “yanked to glory”—obviously emphasizing here his Americanness, or Yankee associations—a gullible following in the U.S., Ireland, and abroad. Further, not only is the Americanized Dowie a target of Stephen and Lynch’s scorn, but it is also the American deity, the God of America, that is, just like his prophet/profit Elijah/Dowie, not to be trusted. In essence, God in this passage is represented by a decidedly negative, although comical, American persona that is characterized as (or, perhaps advertised as) a shrewd, streetwise wheeler and dealer, a con-artist. The God of America is “on the square and a corking fine business proposition” who has “a coughmixture with a punch in it for you . . . in his back pocket” (*U* 14.86-91).³¹ God’s authority is comically deflated in this passage, emptied of all

³¹ Janusko cites an editorial from the *New York Examiner* on October 22, 1903 that characterizes Dowie as “a conscious humbug, whose platform arts do not rise at all above those of the less ambitious and more

sanctity and sacredness as he is characterized more as a tough-talking mob boss from the Bowery than creator of the universe and giver of eternal salvation. “You’ll need to rise precious early, you sinner there if you want to diddle the Almighty God,” the poster, speaking in a highly stylized version of Dowie, warns the Dubliners. It seems even more appropriate here to think of the “bowery slang,” that Joyce described in his letter to Frank Budgen, that colors the rhetoric of these final lines of “Oxen” since, by the 1890s the Bowery section of Manhattan had virtually become the city’s center for prostitution, therefore serving as an appropriate rhetorical bridge that carries the group into the brothel-lined streets in the next episode, “Circe.” Indeed, the Bowery was known for the very “nickel dime bumshow[s]” that characterize Joyce’s degenerate version of the American deity, an apt figure to symbolize their descent into the red-light district of Nighttown.

“Circe”

As Osteen writes, “The Elijah throwaway is used to comment on the possibility of a redeemer for Ireland and eventually becomes identified with Bloom’s own recuperative powers” (125). The initial appearances of the throwaway, which has associations with the American Dowie and with Bloom, sets the tone for what’s to come later in the novel. In effect, as Dowie is represented as the American-sent redeemer set out to recuperate the souls of the Irish (and make a little money in the process), this parallel between Bloom and Dowie that we see throughout the novel creates a kind of antagonistic or competitive relationship between Dowie the symbol and Bloom the man.

sensitive fakirs who sell patent medicines at night under gasoline torches on the street corners of country towns.” As Janusko then points out, “perhaps God’s ‘coughmixture with a punch in it’ . . . is not that far off the mark” (610).

Dowie's first appearance in "Circe" functions as a direct challenger to Bloom, who in his hallucinatory state has declared his own establishment of "the new Bloomusalem in the Nova Hibernia of the future" (15.1544-5), a mock-version of Dowie's own utopian settlement at Zion City in Chicago. This scene, which Joyce referred to as the "Messianic Scene," contains a "vaudeville skit in which Bloom rises to Emperorship of The New Bloomusalem, betrays his public trust, alienates his supporters, and suffers impeachment and pratfall" (Voelker and Arner 283). Bloom's version of Zion City, his Bloomusalem, will be the "union of all, jew, moslem and gentile" populations with "three acres and a cow for all children of nature"—its motto: "free money, free rent, free love and a free lay church in a free lay state" (15.1686-93). As Lernout writes, Bloomusalem "closely resembles the megalomaniac cities of great [American] religious leaders like Joseph Smith and Alexander J. Dowie" (173). Thus, Bloom's self-aggrandizing ascension to glory here is in itself quite American in nature. Upon Bloom's declaration of his authority, the (imaginary) violent crowd begins to take up sides for or against "His Most Catholic Majesty," as Bloom has dubbed himself, and "It is Dowie's diatribe that climaxes the sequence and brings Bloom down" (Voelker and Arnar 289) in a symbolic fall from power that mimics the fall of Parnell, the fall of Dowie, and the Fall of man in the Christian tradition. The competition between Bloom and Dowie for the role of savior for his followers is heightened when Dowie's attempts to remove Bloom from power—even if it is only imaginary—and, what's more, to suggest that not only is Bloom *not* the true Elijah or redemptive Christ-figure fit to establish his own Zion City, but that he is in fact a harbinger of the anti-Christ and of the apocalypse:

ALEXANDER J DOWIE

(violently) Fellowchristians and antiBloomites, the man called Bloom is from the roots of hell, a disgrace to christian men. A fiendish libertine from his earliest years this stinking goat of Mendes gave precocious signs of infantile debauchery, recalling the cities of the plain, with a dissolute granddam. This vile hypocrite, bronzed with infamy, is the white bull mentioned in the Apocalypse. A worshipper of the Scarlet Woman, intrigue is the very breath of his nostrils. The stake faggots and the caldron of boiling oil are for him. Caliban! (15.1752-60)

Thus, Bloom's downfall "quickly becomes that of a religious figure," (Lernout 174), as his self-aggrandized hallucination enacts the very course of Dowie's own career in America. Voelker and Arnar point out the similarities between Dowie's own career and life and Bloom's fantasy in the events leading up to his downfall and claim that "the sequencing of Bloom's rise and fall in the 'Messianic Scene' copies the pattern of Dowie's career after the establishment of Zion" (284):

"Bloom . . . spoofs Dowie's hypocritical pretensions to being a civic reformer. . . . Like Dowie, Bloom establishes a theocratic community (Bloomusalem) . . . Bloom imitates Dowie's most outrageous act, the appropriation of Biblical identity. . . . As rulers, Bloom and Dowie abuse their flocks. . . . Bloom also parodies Dowie's efforts at polygamy. . . .

Finally, Bloom's fall from power imitates the destiny of Dowie." (287-89)

Yet, if we are to assert, as Osteen does, that Bloom's entanglement with Dowie ends with Bloom ultimately usurping the role as redeemer of Ireland and triumphing over the American Dowie, who comes to represent little more than

that false “paying game” of salvation, then we must acknowledge that Dowie’s tirade against Bloom, which first generates hostility among the hearers, eventually inspires sympathy for Bloom, even from American sources, and results in his redemption:

(General commotion and compassion. Women faint. A wealthy American³² makes a street collection for Bloom. Gold and silver coins, blank cheques, banknotes, jewels, treasury bonds, maturing bills of exchange, I. O. U’s wedding rings, watchchains, locket, necklaces and bracelets are rapidly collected.) (15.1811-15)

Bloom’s fall in this hallucinatory sequence is heralded by the American Dowie, only to be recovered by some “wealthy American” who makes a philanthropic “paying game” out of Bloom’s downfall. The juxtaposition of the two American figures—one a hostile enemy, the other a compassionate supporter—in this scene is certainly indicative of the dichotomous manner in which Joyce represents America throughout his fiction as a country that is just as often a source of contempt and destruction as it is an economic power and source of support.

Although not a part of this “Messianic Scene,” which occurs earlier in the episode, Dowie makes his final and pivotal appearance later in the novel when Bloom actually enters the brothel where Stephen and Lynch are, and “A rocket rushes up the sky and bursts. . . . proclaiming the consummation of all things and

³² Joyce’s references to “a wealthy American” may reflect his own personal experiences with wealthy Americans including his patron Mrs. Harold McCormick, formerly Edith Rockefeller, daughter of John D. Rockefeller, who in 1918 deposited 12,000 francs to Joyce’s account and provided him with a 1,000 franc monthly stipend (Ellmann 422), or John Quinn who also sent him a generous sum of money in 1917, also writing a positive review of *A Portrait* in *Vanity Fair* that same year (Ellmann 413).

the second coming of Elijah” (15.2174-6). This ushers in “a prolonged mini-apocalypse, in which Elijah, in the guise of Alexander J. Dowie, obtains repentance and promises of amendment” from the prostitutes in the room (Killeen 178). Again, as in the final lines of “Oxen,” America is represented in eschatological terms as the apocalyptic scene is undeniably American in nature, with the American flag waving in the background, not to mention the reference to several American songs, places, slang, and figures:

(. . . Elijah’s voice, harsh as a corncrake’s, jars on high. . . . he is seen . . . above a rostrum about which the banner of old glory is draped. He thumps the parapet.)

ELIJAH

No yapping, if you please, in this booth. Jake Crane, Creole Sue, . . . do your coughing with your mouths shut. . . . God’s time is 12:25. Tell mother you’ll be there. . . . Are you a god or a doggone clod? If the second advent came to Coney Island are we ready? . . . Be on the side of the angels. Be a prism. You have that something within, the higher self. You can rub shoulders with a Jesus, a Gautama, an Ingersoll. . . . It’s a lifebrightener, sure. Hottest stuff ever was. It’s the whole pie with jam in. It’s just the cutest snappiest line out. It is immense. . . . it restores. . . . Joking apart and, getting down to bedrock, A. J. Christ Dowie and the harmonial philosophy, have you got that? O. K. Seventyseven west sixtyninth street. Got me? That’s it. . . . *(he shouts)* Now then our glory song. . . . Jeru . . . (15.2183-2209)

“Old Glory,” the American flag, hangs in the background as this American incarnation of Elijah gives one last attempt in the novel to recover the prostituted souls of Ireland (in the form here of actual prostitutes, “the three whores,” Kitty-Kate, Zoe-Fanny, and Florry-Teresa). In the process, we have reference to two popular American songs: “Creole Sue” and “Tell Mother I’ll Be There”; two geographical references: Coney Island and “seventyseven west sixtyninth street”³³; and mention of Robert Ingersoll, an “American politician, lawyer, orator, and evangelical agnostic” (Gifford 490) who is known for his Darwinian rationalism.³⁴ The song that plays on the gramophone during Dowie’s final American tirade seems to suggest what Bloom has been thinking throughout the novel: “(*drowning his [Dowie’s] voice*) Whorusalaminyourhighhohhhh . . . (*the disc raps gratingly against the needle*)” (15.2211-12). The lines of the song are a reference to the song “The Holy City,” which was playing on a gramophone outside just before Dowie reappears in his final incarnation in this section of “Circe.” However, the play on words here and the spelling suggest an underlying slight against American themes that have dominated the scene so far. “Whorusalamin” [my emphasis] not only links the words Jerusalem and whore on the level of sound when spoken out loud but also whore and “usa,” i.e., the United States of America,” suggest the notion that America and its religious representatives—both players in this spiritual “paying game”—prostitute

³³ Gifford notes that although this street reference suggests a New York City address, and certainly would to Joyce’s readers, there has been no historical connection made between this literal address and Dowie. As Gifford suggests, “the address seems to have been fabricated for the dramatic occasion” (490). However for my purposes, the American nature of the address is no less significant despite the lack of historical accuracy.

³⁴ Lernout aptly points out that Dowie, “in his incarnation in *Ulysses*, . . . is not biblically correct,” and Dowie reveals his own theological fallacy here by citing Ingersoll in his evangelical speech to the prostitutes. In fact, “Ingersoll was the foremost American freethinker and as such one of Dowie’s chief antagonists” (176). All the more reason for Bloom, and us readers, not to take Dowie’s salvation at face value.

themselves in the name of a false salvation, which Kitty-Kate, Zoe-Fanny, and Florry-Teresa gullibly and unwittingly buy into when they repent their sins and sexually deviant ways to Dowie. Thus, Dowie's final appearance in the novel does result in the so-called salvation or redemption of "the three [Irish] whores," although this only emphasizes the exploitative, false nature of the American "savior" and prophet, Dowie. And, as we shall see in "Ithaca," Bloom is the one who finally proves the true prophet of the novel.

"Ithaca"

"Ithaca" is the novel's symbolic homecoming in keeping with its Homeric schemata, as Bloom brings Stephen back to spend the night at his house at Number 7 Eccles Street. It is "the point the story has been tending towards all day, the ultimate meeting of the father [Bloom] and the son [Stephen], their final commingling" (Killeen 221). Bloom, in this episode, usurps the role that Dowie, as the false American Elijah, has been attempting to assert ever since "Lestrygonians," and the rhetoric of prediction and prophecy rests, ultimately, solely in the hands of Bloom. Upon seeing two torn betting tickets on the dresser that belonged to Blazes Boylan and Molly, Bloom recalls "reminiscences of coincidences" that have occurred throughout the day—the incidents of the throwaway of Dowie and Throwaway the racehorse—which leads to a poignant contemplation of Bloom's power of prophecy. He considers the day's events that have been "preindicative of the result of the Gold Cup flat handicap, the official and definitive result of which he had read in the *Evening Telegraph* . . ." (17.323-5), and seeing the betting tickets on the dresser cause him to wonder "where had previous intimations of the result [of the horserace], effected or projected, been received by him?" (17.327-8). His answer reveals his role as the novel's prophet, even if it is little more than accidental:

. . . outside Graham Lemon's when a dark man had placed in his hand a throwaway (subsequently thrown away), advertising Elijah, restorer of the church of Zion: in Lincoln place . . . when Frederick M. (Bantam) Lyons had rapidly and successively requested, perused and restituted the copy of the current issue of the *Freeman's Journal* and *National Press* which he had been about to throw away (subsequently thrown away), he had proceeded . . . with the light of inspiration shining in his countenance and bearing in his arms the secret of the race, graven in the language of prediction. (17.331-41)

The result of the horserace was shown to Bloom throughout the day via a series of symbolic predictions, which he realizes only now. Bloom has become an accidental prophet, the everyday Elijah, who had “the light of inspiration shining in his countenance,” and Dowie's presence served as a prediction for the outcome of the Gold Cup race—a result that set Bloom apart from the others and eventually revealed to him the infidelity of his wife by the presence of the losing tickets. It's interesting to note, too, here that it is Bloom, not Blazes Boylan, who accurately predicted the outcome of the race (even if accidentally), and it is Bloom, not Blazes Boylan, who ends the day with Molly. Bloom has, through a series of accidents, coincidences, and haphazard predictions all concerning the throwaway triumphed at the end of the day, fulfilling all of the symbolic roles that both of the throwaways (Dowie and the racehorse) suggested. Specifically, Bloom, as opposed to Dowie and the false savior of American religion, has by the end of the day offered both literal and symbolic salvation to Stephen, redemption and grace to the unfaithful Molly, and restored order, peace, acceptance, and love to his

Irish home. Like the longshot, Throwaway, Bloom began the day with the odds against him, and, through a series of ominous prophecies, seems to have taken on the role of the “rank outsider” and outcast only to fulfill the prophecy of the modern-day Elijah, that of the Irish Everyman. If, as Bloom thinks in “Ithaca,” a career “in the church” had been possible for Bloom with “Dr Alexander J Dowie” as an “exemplar,” Bloom seems to have made out just fine on his own terms and avoided that “paying game” of American salvation, opting instead, simply enough, for home.

Chapter 4

“the secret of the race”: Mimicry, Minstrels, and Modernism

When American life is most American it is apt to be most theatrical. ... We wear the mask for purposes of aggression as well as for defense; when we are projecting the future and preserving the past. In short, the motives hidden behind the mask are as numerous as the ambiguities the mask conceals. –Ralph Ellison

Because he lacked firsthand experience with the continent, Joyce’s depiction of the United States in his works is defined in large part by his engagement with its popular culture, at least the materials, books, songs, performances, flyers, advertisements, or publications, that he could get his hands on. By the time Joyce was writing *Finnegans Wake* in the 1920s, however, the American population in Paris, where he was living, was flourishing, which seemed to have led to a somewhat more complex treatment of the country and its culture in his final work of fiction as his firsthand dealings with American expatriates abroad undoubtedly make their way into the pages of his longest, most complex novel. Therefore, when considering the manner in which Joyce depicts or employs issues and themes of race in America, which are numerous throughout his works—yet especially in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*—one must keep in mind that, as an author, it was almost impossible for Joyce to reflect any kind of real or authentic engagement with actual minority cultures, with actual Americans and their concerns, but instead with popular constructions of race that are being consumed and re-constructed by

the author in a decidedly transatlantic context, particularly in the form of the theatrical or performative. Indeed for Joyce, the *performance* of race or racial masquerade, particularly in the form of the theatrical here, such as the minstrel stage, takes the place in his fiction of any actual engagement with the authentic experience of a group of people. Specifically, this chapter asserts that the ways in which Joyce manipulates, imagines, and reproduces key references to race in America, specifically to Native and African Americans, have significant critical implications in his fiction, reveal the overall manner in which he represents the country itself and his own attitudes towards it, and, in a larger sense, help to define his own modernism. This line of inquiry situates America into the well-established conversation of Joyce's modernism and also postcolonialism by considering an aspect of this England/Ireland binary that has yet to be fully discussed in Joyce scholarship and which examines where America, both as a real geographical place but also as an idea, fits into this familiar colonizer/colonized binary that those like Vincent Cheng, Emer Nolan, Andrew Gibson, and Len Platt have paid close attention to. This chapter will attempt to introduce a series of new questions into the well-established discussion of Joyce's approach to colonialism: By mimicking black and native American racial stereotypes in his fiction, does Joyce depict America as a reasonable alternative and hopeful solution to Irish (or perhaps even global) colonialism, as some have suggested? Or, do his works position America as a colonial power in its own right with more in common with the British Empire than its reputation suggests? Finally, do these highly racialized instances of mimicry in Joyce's fiction serve to reinforce the dominant hegemonic power of England and/or America or do they instead offer the characters a

certain kind of masked agency, so to speak, by which they can speak back to or destabilize cultural, political, and ethnic norms?

Obviously, Joyce had no first-hand experience on American soil with both Native or African American cultures and thus no real, authentic understanding of either race relations in the U.S. As a result, American racial tropes in his fiction are based on the cultural productions of race that he would have had access to—i.e. newspapers, magazines, half-penny's, books, music, theater, and the like. In essence, Joyce would have drawn primarily on popular culture for insight into race in America.³⁵ Thus, it is of great significance yet of little surprise that *all* of the key references to either Native Americans or black Americans in Joyce come in the form of racial masquerade, parody, and performance, in particular, minstrelsy—the defining form of American entertainment in the 19th and early 20th centuries. As Len Platt says, Joyce's "fantasies of Otherness" or depictions of race "are more important to Joyce's reproduction of Western culture than to any notions of the real East or the real Africa," and black identities in Joyce "are specifically and emphatically removed from any pretense of the authentic or 'organic' by being placed almost without exception in the world of play-acting and make-believe" (121).

And, while foundational studies of a few of these instances have been influential (for example, Winston, Bowen, and Cheng), I contend that a comprehensive consideration of Joyce's racialized America is key to furthering understanding not only of issues of race in his works but also how and why he relied so frequently on America in

³⁵ See Cheryl Herr's foundational study on Joyce and popular culture, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (1986), for popular culture's connection to politics in Joyce. See also R. B. Kershner's *Joyce and Popular Culture* (1996).

particular—a country he never stepped foot in—for such weighty themes in his novels, in particular *Dubliners*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*.

In his article on Joyce's engagement with American minstrel shows, Zack Bowen concludes that "finding a moral, ethical, or logical meaning" in scenes of racial mimicry in Joyce "is as slippery and open-ended as discerning religious verities intended in minstrel entertainments" (818). Likewise, Greg Winston, who also writes of racial mimicry in Joyce but of the Irish as Native Americans, suggests that "ultimately . . . readers must decide what is truly at stake when Irishmen assume" the racial identity of an American minority such as Indians or, as Bowen writes, blacks. Indeed, Joyce relies most heavily on the racial mimicry—via minstrelsy—of black Americans in his works, yet Winston points to the key questions at stake in a study of racial masquerade of both blacks or Native Americans: "Does going primitive in Ireland signify a mocking racist gesture that perpetuates the two-dimensional stereotype of the the racialized 'Other'?" Or, instead, do these elements of Joyce's fiction "offer a symbolic show of post-colonial solidarity with another subject people thousands of miles away?" (166). In other words, Winston summarizes, "one must demand of each text and its context whether imitation suggests the highest show of praise or the lowest form of mockery" (167). For, as Winston points out, one of the key criticisms that could be levered against these moments of racial masquerade in Joyce's works is that it "exploits and misrepresents America's indigenous peoples in a way that is no better than the racist discourse of British colonial apologists and Anglo-Irish revivalists" (167). I would extend this notion further to suggest that Joyce's appropriation in his fiction of the overall culture, history, and people of the United States, not just its "subject people," is at least as slippery as

Bowen's and Winston's descriptions of racial masquerade in Joyce, and both these point to the larger ways that Joyce reconstructs America's racial landscape, indeed, America itself, in his works. In order to answer these questions, one must consider the complex nature of racial mimicry and the forms that it took when Joyce was constructing the novels, particularly *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, where these elements figure most heavily.

In *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask*, William Mahar offers one of the best, most comprehensive, definitions of blackface minstrelsy, which reached its zenith in the 1830s and 40s in America and continued as the nation's most popular (and familiar internationally) form of entertainment for nearly 100 years (and one with which Joyce was obviously very familiar and drew heavily on in his fiction):

The primary convention that identified the minstrel show as entertainment was burnt cork makeup. . . . [It] served as a *racial marker* announcing that a single actor ensemble offered what were selected aspects of (arguably) African American culture to audiences interested in how racial differences and enslavement reinforced distinctions between black and white Americans. The makeup was also a *disguise* for white performers who chose parody and burlesque as techniques to satirize majority values while still reinforcing widely held and fairly conservative beliefs. Minstrel performers made blackface a *vehicle* for the creation of an 'American' style of commercialized popular culture in what was essentially a postcolonialist entertainment environment. Finally, burnt cork was a *masking device* allowing professional and amateur entertainers to shield

themselves from any direct personal and psychological identification with the material they were performing. (1)

The minstrel show, then, was defined by the (comical) stage reproduction and exploitation of restrictive stereotypes of black Americans which “popularized and amplified the historically limited knowledge of the ‘negro’ and in doing so helped to crystallize particular stunted characterizations and recognitions of black people and cultural practices associated with them” (Pickering 2-3). Stock minstrel characters such as Jim Crow, Zip Coon, Sambo, and Tambo and Bones, each perpetuated his own myth on stage regarding black American identity, whether it is the happy slave, the musical entertainer, the sexual predator, the social upstart, or the lazy simpleton, to name a few. To be sure, one of the more difficult aspects of minstrelsy to consider is the fact that, at the same time in the 19th century that blackface performance was gaining the most acclaim on stages across the nation and around the world, “African Americans were being lynched by the hundreds and shamed by American mainstream society” (*Vaudeville* n.p.). Therefore, the country’s most marginalized, victimized group also became the subject of the most popular form of entertainment of the time. As such, it is no wonder that minstrel shows most often “depicted black life as free, careless, and non-threatening to anyone” (ibid). In order to empty the performance of any kind of truly subversive power, “whites were led to believe that [the minstrel’s] sole desire was to sing and dance for them” and that, rather than enslaved, disenfranchised, and subordinated, black Americans “were simple, happy creatures who loved to entertain and had plenty of time to do it” (ibid). As Pickering writes in *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain*, this kind of hollowing out of legitimate threats to white dominance in the minstrel show translated

across the Atlantic as well. He claims that minstrelsy specialized in “demeaning racial impersonation” with the blackface mask acting as “a ritualistic device for confronting and assimilating a black low-Other while also rendering that figure safe and harmless, and so enjoyable as an object of comic or sentimental regard” (110). Indeed, it is impossible to ignore the pejorative aspects of blackface minstrelsy—it was “one of the major sources of racist imagery during Victorian periods and onwards” (Pickering 109)—which is undoubtedly a disturbingly discriminatory performative act to our modern sensibilities. On a sociological level, the minstrel stage existed as a “gigantic mirror, reflecting America’s struggle and policies on issues of race, class, and gender” (Bean et al, xi), and in this manner, the minstrel stage has been described as “a sound track for this period of turmoil and transition” in American, indeed, the world’s history of race relations (Strausbaugh 92). One critic refers to it as a particularly “negative style of comedy; it was complaining, critical, skeptical, denigrating, misanthropic, misogynistic, and suggestive,” not to mention highly racist (Mahar 343). It affirmed conventional, traditional American values at the time which held strong to the white/black dominant/subordinate binary. And, however it may have questioned authority, it also upheld this binary “by insisting that its comic inversions never seriously threatened to upset the social order and by reinforcing existing political power relationships (ibid).

Yet, despite minstrelsy’s disturbing role in furthering racist ideology (or perhaps even because of it), this chapter also asserts that racial masquerade in the form of parodies of blackface entertainment and mock-black-American dialect plays a much bigger role than previously thought in the defining features of Joyce’s Modernism and that the way he represents black Americans in his fictions in face helps in part to define

his Modernism. And, it is with this line of inquiry that I believe some of Winston's questions are addressed. As Michael North states in *Dialect of Modernism*, the story "of becoming modern by acting black was to be retold over and over in the next decade. It is, in fact, the story that links the transatlantic modernism Eliot and Joyce inaugurated in 1922 with the Harlem Renaissance that began . . . at exactly the same time" (8). In fact, North points out, American culture of the 1920s was defined in large part by its relationship with the black community: as he puts it, "The new voice that American culture acquired in the 1920s, the decade of jazz, stage musicals, talking pictures, and aesthetic modernism, was very largely a black one" (7-8). For North, this new voice is in direct opposition to a conservative, more traditionalist anxiety in the early decades of the twentieth century for an increasingly modernizing world that was reflected in scholarly and cultural concerns over the 'purity', so to speak, of language and dialects. Local and minority dialects in America were thought by some to be "very serious obstacles to national progress, to the growth of a comprehensive and enlightened patriotism, to the creation of a popular literature, and to the diffusion of general culture" (qtd. in North 18), thus writing in dialect or mimicking dialect within fiction became a form of rebellion for many of the Moderns. As North points out, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, Gertrude Stein, E.E. Cummings, and Sherwood Anderson³⁶, among several others, all

³⁶ In particular, North points out that Pound frequently referred to Eliot as "de Possum" and used black dialect in many letters. Pound and Eliot in particular experimented with racial masquerade and black American dialect in their private correspondences, and it became "an intimate code, a language of in-jokes and secrets" between the two (77). Stein also employed the use of black American dialect by using words like "dey" and "dem." Wallace Stevens signed a letter to his fiancé identifying himself as "Sambo," while Eliot referred to himself as "Tar Baby." Incidentally, one of the original titles for *Sweeney Agonistes* was "Fragment of a Comic Minstrelsy," and North refers to Eliot as the best example of a modern writer who illustrated "the whole pattern of rebellion through racial ventriloquism." North, thusly, refers to Eliot as that "black comedian," while Clive Bell is quoted in 1921 as saying that Eliot's "agonizing labours seem to have been eased somewhat by the comfortable ministrations of a black and grinning muse" (9-10). These are only a few of the many examples North cites in his study of racial

adopted black American dialect at various points in their work and also personal correspondences for the purpose, North contends, of decentering linguistic convention and utilizing notions of black speech in order to (re)define the modern world. ‘Acting black,’ so to speak, became an act of political, cultural, and ideological rebellion for many modernists, especially since “black English had long been considered not just corrupt in itself but also the cause of corruption in others” (21). Black American dialect, therefore, represented a “language of rebellion” in the early twentieth century, and provided a vehicle for “the rebellion against stifling linguistic authoritarianism” and also “a much broader rebellion against repression and standardization of all kinds” (North 27). In their comprehensive study on minstrelsy and racial mimicry in popular culture and art, Taylor and Austen express similar opinions over the liberating possibilities within the art of minstrelsy, claiming that, “Despite the appearance of black minstrelsy as a servile tradition, there were elements of *liberation* in it from its very beginning, and these were instrumental to its popularity” (Taylor and Austen 27). Similarly, W.T. Lhamon Jr., one of the foremost scholars on blackface minstrelsy, agrees that, in particular, late-19th and early 20th-century minstrel performances can often “work also and simultaneously *against* racial stereotyping,” yet, he acknowledges, “the way minstrelsy saps racism from within has almost never been mentioned” and studies of this kind are the “remaining secrets among the phenomena of blackface performance” (6). Along these same lines of liberation, rebellion, and agency within blackface performance, North claims that the culture wars between the younger generation of modernist writers and older critics

mimicry in Modernism. I would add that, similarly, yet in a different context, in his 1929 essay “Dante...Bruno.Vico...Joyce,” Samuel Beckett refers to the disciplines of Philosophy and Philology as “a pair of nigger minstrels.”

“clustered” behind the walls of the academy “was fought over the body of a third figure, a black one,” whereby the free language of the modern artist” is aligned “with the despised dialect of African America” (ibid). Pound in particular “tied defiance of the standard language . . . as an essentially black habit” as black American dialect served as “a prototype of the literature that would break the hold of the iambic pentameter, an example of visceral freedom triumphing over dead convention” (78). Therefore, he writes, if the standardized language of American culture is ostensibly ‘white,’ artistic language, on the other hand, is “by virtue of its deviation from the standard, black” (27).

However, North is not blind to the inherent ironies and contradictions in this theory of the modernists’ engagement in racial mimicry. As he points out, the paradox of racial masquerade, including blackface minstrelsy or mimicry of black American dialect (both of which Joyce does in his fiction), is that while on one hand it takes one “out of the orbit of conventional white culture,” it “simultaneously show[s] how deeply implicated in it he remains” (83). Racial mimicry is a device that allows whites, especially in America, says North, to “rebel against English culture and simultaneously use it to solidify their dominance at home” (81). This is especially clear, North suggests, in the writings of Eliot and Pound, who “used the language of race to strike down restrictive linguistic boundaries and social conventions and simultaneously to solidify boundaries whose loss both Eliot and Pound deeply feared” (83). This fear is also apparent in the fact that one of the functions of blackface was partially to emphasize the underlying whiteness of the wearer of the mask. Decades before Eliot, Pound, or Joyce were engaging in their own modernist versions of blackface minstrelsy in their works, minstrel shows allowed whites—white Americans in particular—to experience this very paradoxical fear that North describes.

As Robert Toll puts it, the minstrel show “allowed white audiences to have it both ways, to mock tradition, aristocracy, European culture by comparing them to something earthier, more natural, more ‘American,’ while simultaneously distancing all these qualities in a figure to which even the commonest white audience could condescend” (qtd. in North 81). This kind of dual function of the minstrel show will be especially apparent in the “stump speech” given by Bloom/Eugene Stratton in the “Circe” episode of *Ulysses*, to be discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, despite the fact that, as North claims, “linguistic imitation and racial masquerade are so important to transatlantic modernism because they allow the writer to play at self-fashioning,” this kind of artistic rebellion and boundary-crossing was, for the most part, only available to whites and white artists. For black Americans, North points out, racial mimicry is not this kind of vehicle for rebellion or resistance but instead “is a constant reminder of the literal unfreedom of slavery and of the political and cultural repression that followed emancipation. Both symbol and actuality, it stands for a most intimate invasion whereby the dominant actually attempts to create the thoughts of the subordinate by providing it speech” (11). Joyce’s expressly Modern participation in racial mimicry of black Americans (as well as Native Americans in one *Dubliners* story) also bears out this paradox, and this chapter will attempt to explore the ways that racial mimicry via minstrelsy and black American dialect function in his works as destabilizing points of rebellion or resistance that also, in turn, are bound up with and confirm notions of dominance and authority via race.

For such a study, one must also consider the ways in which the Irish in particular have been historically aligned with black Americans (and even at times, Native

Americans) in both the English and American traditions of “Celtphobia.” Vincent Cheng provides a comprehensive discussion of the British “Negritization” of the Irish which gained fervor in the nineteenth century—especially the late-nineteenth century—when “the racializing of Irishness” as a form of blackness “meant that the Irish/Celtic race was repeatedly related to the black race not merely in terms of tropes, but insistently as *fact*, as literal and biological relatives, both Celtic and ‘Negro’ races being positioned lower on the hierarchical ladder of racial superiority” (26). Cheng asserts that this Negritization—both in popular culture but also in serious scientific pursuits—was a direct result of the colonial national “ego” that requires a colonizing “Self” defined by positive, dominant qualities to be contrasted with the colonized “Other,” who is the antithesis of the “Self,” characterized often as “subservient, disorderly, uncivilized, unenterprising, cowardly, indecorous, and so on” (20). Cheng frames this discussion within the concepts of the “Us/Them binary” established by Derrida wherein a universal primitivism and racialism “functions to reify the dominant Western culture’s sense of itself as civilized and rational by contrast – while repressing or occluding the knowledge that the qualities of primitive otherness are already contained (but repressed) within the self” (22-3). By equating the Irish—those “white negroes” (19)—with actual black Americans, who were themselves a colonized, marginalized, “Other” in 19th-century America, the English were able to “homogeniz[e] all ‘others’ and their specific differences within a universalized, all-encompassing essentialism of the ‘Other’ as primitive, barbaric, and uncivilized/uncivilizable” (21). Cheng points out that this image of the Irish as not only barbaric but specifically black—and black American—was pervasive and commonplace by the nineteenth century, as the racialization of the Irish was just as necessary to the

colonial enterprise as was the infantilizing of the black American to the white slaveholder. For, if the “uncivilized” Other possess such qualities that make it impossible to care for one’s own survival and community, than intervention from outside—from the colonial “Self”—is not only justified but necessary to ensure the survival of the Other. Thus, Cheng writes, the stereotyping of the Irish in much the same manner as black Americans “has a very direct effect on the political arena of Home Rule” since under these conditions “the Irish Celt is deemed unfit for self-government (they cannot rule themselves; they must be ruled)” (23). Joyce seems to speak directly against this racialization (and indirectly against colonialism) in “Saints and Sages” when he laments that Ireland has been fashioned into “the everlasting caricature of the serious world.”

Further, the connection between the Irish and the American minstrel show provides another layer of study in which the Irish are said not only to have contributed significantly to the formation of the minstrel show but also to have engaged with the tradition of American minstrelsy as a part of their assimilation into American culture and national identity. Firstly, on a musical level, scholars now believe that Irish fiddle tunes were initially adapted for minstrelsy, “with jigs, reels and hornpipes being common musical elements in the repertory and the fiddle figuring as a key minstrel instrument” (Pickering 1). In addition, many elements of the minstrel show included elements of Irish folk culture, such as songs, dance, or humor (Nowatzki 170). More importantly, though, is the way in which issues of race links the Irish to black Americans and minstrelsy is significant to consider, especially since one can safely assume, because of Joyce’s comprehensive use of the minstrel stage in his works, that he was aware of its roots and connections to the Irish. In the mid-1800s in New York—where minstrelsy was at its

zenith and Irish immigrants were also flooding into the city by the thousands—the Irish were initially pushed to the fringes of society and marginalized in much the same manner as African Americans, even being denied suffrage³⁷. As Garner writes in *Racism in the Irish Experience*, “In the eyes of WASP America, the two groups were perceived in racist discourse as being comparable if not interchangeable, as late as the 1870s. The simianization of Irish and black characters in later nineteenth-century pictorial representations created equivalence in their positions at the foot of the racial chain” (98). The tendency of ‘native’ Americans to equate blacks and the Irish was most always negative, reflecting the same anxieties, fears, and stereotypes that can be found in British caricatures of the Irish: “low-browed and savage, groveling and bestial, lazy and wild, simian and sensual—such were the adjectives use by many native-born Americans to describe the Catholic Irish ‘race’ in the years before the Civil War” (Roediger qtd. in Strausbaugh, 91-2). This, not surprisingly, led to tensions and resentments in large cities such as New York where Irish immigrants often entered into ‘race wars’ with black Americans in neighboring ghettos or slums. As Strausbaugh puts it, the Irish, after emigrating, had to decide which side of the racial line they would occupy in their new country: “Would they continue their long association with Blacks, or fight for their right to be accepted as White? Understandably, they chose the latter” (92). This, he describes, led to decades of violence, gang wars, and tension as many of the Irish in America began to adopt fiercely racist attitudes, becoming “rabidly anti-Black,” in order to distinguish themselves from African Americans and gain a higher, more ‘white’-identified status in

³⁷ Strausbaugh notes that in New York City in the mid-1820s, blacks were denied the vote because many whites claimed that they were incapable of informed, fair voting practices because they had been enslaved for so long. For the Irish, he adds that “A similar fear that the Catholic Irish were subject to a ‘foreign power’—the pope—was the excuse to try to bar them from voting as well” (91).

American society (ibid). And, scholars have now discovered that much of these tensions and race relations between the Irish and African Americans were played out on the minstrel stage, and Strausbaugh even claims that “for decades blackface minstrelsy was an entertainment dominated by young men of Irish descent” (92). Indeed, in his article “Paddy Jumps Jim Crow: Irish-Americans and Blackface Minstrelsy,” Robert Nowatzki states that “the presence of Irish-Americans left an indelible mark on the development of minstrelsy, which in turn shaped how Irish-Americans saw themselves (as well as their relations with native white Americans and African Americans) and were seen by other Americans” (163). As North points out in the *Dialect of Modernism*, blackface makeup does less to transmit a genuine representation of blackness and in fact underscores the fact that the wearer of the blackface makeup is, in fact, not black at all. Therefore, in this manner, donning the mask of blackface ironically emphasizes whiteness rather than blackness. Because of this, Irish-American performers³⁸ on the minstrel stage were essentially able to reverse the trend to equate them with blacks and instead emphasize their own whiteness by identifying and participating in a performative act that did just that. Thus, Nowatzki claims, “Irish-American performers became *more* ‘American’ by participating in minstrelsy and by using minstrelsy to transform their image from ludicrous stage Irishmen into white Irish-Americans” (165) (my emphasis). Therefore, the role that minstrelsy plays here in Irish-American life is as a kind of cultural tool of assimilation into the dominant culture, rather than an attempt to subvert it or overturn it as seen in other instances. The mask of blackface “paradoxically signaled their [Irish-

³⁸ Nowatzki cites the following Irish-American blackface performers as contributing significantly to this phenomenon: Dan Emmett, Joel Walker Sweeney, Dan Bryant, George Christy, Matt Campbell, Billy Emerson, Matt Peel, Stephen Foster, Ned Harrigan, and Jim Diamond.

Americans] whiteness and American-ness” (169); minstrelsy symbolically and literally distanced the Irish-American from the African-American and served as an important means by which they formed an American ethnic identity. As Nowatzki explains, the white, Irish wearer of the blackface mask was able to manipulate his status as the “Other” in American society, most often to his own advantage, and to cathartically and symbolically put on the black identity, the mask of blackness, if only to be able to have the power to remove it at the end of the performance:

While native-born white Americans often caricatured the Irish by presenting them with dark skin, thereby making them appear similar to Africans, the Irish were paradoxically able to conceal this racial Otherness by making this facial darkening literal with burnt cork. Alternatively, one might say that by being able to wipe off the burnt cork from their pale faces, Irish-American minstrel performers were metaphorically wiping off their racial Otherness. Minstrelsy enabled Irish-Americans to nullify their racial Otherness (though not necessarily their ethnicity) by helping to create a broader sense of whiteness that included them, and the fact that minstrelsy was seen as uniquely American made them more American.

(174).

Still, Nowatzki concedes that the Irish participation in American blackface performance did in fact “allow for moments of identification with African-Americans” (172) in a show of performative solidarity between two (racially and economically) marginalized groups who shared much the same status in American society for the better part of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the purposes and functions of this performative act of racial mimicry are

as varied and complex as the racial, social, economic, and political histories from which it grew.

Dubliners

In turn, the British tendency to racialize the Irish as black Americans or Africans is preceded by the similar tradition of aligning the native Irish with the Native Americans of the “New World,” “in terms of their relative primitiveness and savagery” (21)—a tradition that dates far back into Irish, American, and British history and literature. And Joyce’s earliest writings, from his essays to *Dubliners*, reflect his concern over this racially-charged marginalization of the Irish people.

Dubliners is an especially significant precursor to this discussion of minstrelsy because it introduces and establishes the manner in which Joyce will approach race in America in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. There are two references to American racial discourse in *Dubliners*, the first in “An Encounter” to Native Americans, and the other, albeit subtle, to black Americans in the final story “The Dead.” It is important to consider these two instances together not only because they are both defined by notions of racial masquerade and parody, but they also set a kind of precedent for the ways that Joyce will refer to both of these marginalized American demographics in the later works. These two stories, therefore, inaugurate Joyce’s approach to race in America as one defined by masquerade, mimicry, and parody, which, as this chapter addresses, has significant bearing on the underlying political discourse of colonial power versus colonial subject in his works.

Genevieve Abravanel describes “‘An Encounter’ as ‘Joyce’s most American story,’” one that tells not only of an encounter between two young boys and an older man,

but also “between Ireland and an imagined America” (159). Further, the story introduces the uniquely American theme of Native American masquerade and gives us a useful model for considering how Joyce continues to write this kind of American masquerade in his later works with both American Indians and black Americans. The beginning of the story marks the significance of this theme as the young narrator describes the “spirit of unruliness” and excitement that he and his friends experience each night as they acted out “Indian battles,” taking a cue from the “wild west” adventure stories that they read in secret. These tales of the American frontier and of its natives “become a metaphor for the freedom and lawlessness of the boys’ illicit escape from school” that serves as the central action of the story. The story begins with an admission from the narrator that “It was Joe Dillon who introduced the wild west to us” (11), and in fact Joe Dillon is the first of Joyce’s characters to act out the stereotype of an American minority. As the narrator describes Joe, “He looked like some kind of an Indian when he capered round the garden, old teacosy on his head, beating a tin with his fist and yelling: Ya! Yaka, yaka, yaka!” (12). In the course of this play-acting, Abravanel suggests that the young boys live out a kind of “fantasy of American freedom” (157). Even the narrator describes the wild west stories as inspiring “a spirit of unruliness” and “wild sensations” in him and providing him with a kind of imaginative “escape” from his life in Dublin (12-3). Abravanel aptly points out, though, that the boys’ play is in fact a bold act of racial masquerade and their “behavior seems less to recall actual American Indian practice and more to recall histories of whites pretending to be Indians” (158) – “mimic warfare,” as the narrator of the story refers to it (13). Similarly, Winston agrees that “it is necessary to keep in mind

what is being imitated: in this case, not Native Americans but popularized Anglo-American versions of Native Americans” (167).

Abravanel argues that this kind of racial masquerade that the boys enact throughout the story – later when Mahony and the narrator skip school, Mahony “began to play the Indian” again and “chased a crowd of ragged girls, brandishing his unloaded catapult” and “proposed that we should charge” another group of boys – clearly “presents the United States as a model of postcolonial existence for Ireland, as the site of imaginative identification with a nation freed from the constraints of the British Empire” (154). She suggests that because the United States was able to wrangle itself free from British colonial power, this particular racial masquerade symbolizes the young Irish boys’ identification with the native (with a lower-case “n”) Americans and their subsequent identification with a nation that “held a prized place in the Irish imagination” for achieving the very freedom from British colonialism that much of Ireland yearned for (156). For the boys in the story, she suggests, scenes of the American frontier and the “wild west” provide an exotic, captivating alternative to their own status as colonial subjects and allows them a symbolic escape from “the experience of growing up in a British colony (157). According to her, the symbolism reveals itself as the boys playfully adopt these Native American stereotypes which, in turn, actually belie “strategic acts of resistance” against the British presence in Ireland. By masquerading as these American natives, even in their play, the boys “identify with the violent resistance of a subject people” and are able to safely, and perhaps cathartically, act out scenes of resistance that might not otherwise be allowed either at home, in school, or in Dublin civic life. This creates what Abravanel describes as a kind of union or alliance between the Irish and the

American Indians wherein America becomes the site – real or imaginary – that makes this “fantasy of native rebellion against an occupying force” possible (158). For Abravanel, the presence of Native Americans in this story has a kind of “decentering” effect (159) on the entire system of Irish colonialism and gives these young Irishmen an opportunity to cloak themselves in the spirit of rebellion, perhaps practicing for a real rebellion (or immigration?) that awaits them in adulthood.

And Abravanel is certainly not on her own in her assessment of the role that Native American’s play in the story. In “‘Reluctant Indians’: Irish Identity and Racial Masquerade,” Greg Winston offers a similar view and suggests that by acting out this particular racial stereotype, the boys succeed in undermining the colonial model and even go so far as to challenge it through their imaginative play. In Winston’s view, “Ireland is Britain’s own Wild West, and the indigenous Irish its Indians” (154), and he asserts that by putting on the racial identity of Native Americans – essentially trading one subjected identity (Irish) for another (Native American) – the story’s characters “demonstrate the potential for marginalized subjects to appropriate and subvert a dominant colonial trope” (ibid). In his study on race and Irish history, Luke Gibbons addresses the historical tradition dating back to the 16th century that aligned the Irish with the Native Americans, both of whom had the “shared historical experience of being at the receiving end of the first systematic wave of colonial expansion” (97). This comparison between two perceived “common primitive culture[s]” recurred throughout history and to various colonial ends, Gibbons explains, which most often served “as a justification of conquest” (98-9). “An Encounter,” then, can be read as a kind of expression or fulfillment of this

relationship between two historically “primitive” groups, yet played out in a modern Dublin, among everyday children.

Because the standard rhetoric of some British publications that printed these Wild West stories like the ones mentioned in “An Encounter” ultimately “encourage(s) colonial subjects to accept their subordinate social and racial status”³⁹ and were little more than tools of propaganda in service of the British Empire, Winston suggests that the boys’ imaginative identification with another colonial subject “records an awareness of this subject position and doing so suggests perhaps the first important effort to think beyond its hegemony” (165-6).

These certainly seem like plausible critical theories, though, particularly when Joyce’s own views on the subject are considered. In “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages,” Joyce himself seems to subscribe to this same notion of America as a kind of postcolonial ideal, “an imaginative template for young Ireland,” as Abravanel calls it (156). In “Saints and Sages” Joyce encourages the Irish separatists in their cause by suggesting that “If the Irishmen at home have not been able to do what their *brothers* have done in America, it does not mean that they never will” (163) (my emphasis). In this speech-turned-essay, the young Joyce speaks of that “wonderful America” that has become another kind of “native land” for the millions of Irish immigrants who make up what Joyce calls “a rich, powerful, and industrious settlement” (168-72) there. Here, Joyce characterizes America

³⁹ In particular, Winston cites Paul Herring’s “Cochise the Apache Chief: The Perils and Adventures of Dudley Fraser and his Chum in the Wilds of Arizona,” as a possible source for Leo Dillon’s Wild West story. Herring’s story was published in the *Halfpenny Marvel*, volume 4, number 86, on June 25, 1895. Winston explains that Herring’s story “furnishes a literary structure in which to portray the colonized status of the young reader-subject” as it “divert[s] the energies and inodctrinat[es] the minds of its young consumer-subjects through their reading and recreation” (219). The story, Winston claims, shows the “colonizing effect the London media had on even the youngest Irish readers” (224) by presenting a “pro-British bias” to young readers (225).

as a free, independent nation that has found autonomy, economic success, power, and opportunity in its revolutionary history, to be contrasted with Ireland “where the double yoke wears another groove in the tamed neck” and “the rulers give orders” (172).

Certainly this kind of sentiment supports theses such as Abravanel’s and Winston’s that find instances in Joyce’s fiction where the United States serves as an imaginative model for Ireland’s own postcolonial pursuits.

Yet even Winston acknowledges that this kind of “ethnic cross-dressing” in Joyce’s works raises “some vexing questions” (167). For example, there is a key element of this racial masquerade in “An Encounter” that neither Abravanel nor Winston account for, yet it is a direct example of the duplicitous, ever-complex way Joyce represents the United States. Chiefly, most critical accounts on this subject, aside from Vincent Cheng’s foundational *Joyce, Race and Empire*, have failed to consider that not only does the “day’s minching” for the narrator and Mahoney end in a scene marked by fear and failure, even latent violence, but so too does the real-life historical plight of the masqueraded “Other” – Native Americans – result in defeat, violence, and disenfranchisement. Abravanel and Winston stop just short of recognizing the inherent failure of both projects – of the boys’ adventure and of the Native Americans to successfully challenge colonial forces, the American government. Cheng comes closest to unmasking, so to speak, this notion of an underlying sense of failure in the story. While he points out, like Abravanel and Winston, that a paralleling of Irish and Native American culture, particularly the latter’s stereotypical characterization as being “resistan(t) to civilizing,” certainly gives the boys in the story the opportunity to subvert colonial authority, it also results in their ultimately reinforcing their subject status by the

end of the story. As Cheng writes, the old man the boys encounter at the end of the story – that “queer old jossler” in the park – challenges the boys’ Native American “spirit of unruliness” and “instead seems aligned with the spirit of rule and conformity” (86). There is a hint of the rhetoric of the colonizer in the old man’s final words to the narrator: “He said that my friend was a very rough boy and asked did he get whipped often at school. . . . He began to speak on the subject of chastising boys. . . . He said that when boys were that kind they out to be whipped and well whipped. When a boy was rough and *unruly* there was nothing would do him any good but a good sound whipping” (19) (my emphasis). This unexpected encounter with perversion and violence inspires fear, agitation, almost panic in the boy, but it also causes him to respond in a passive, even timid manner as he tries to hide his fear with a poor attempt at “forced bravery” (20). A boy who was entranced by the racial masquerade of the Native American aggressor then becomes the frightened subject who calls out to his friend for aid, bringing home the ultimate realities of both groups as subject people. The story may begin with tales of the unruly American Wild West and masquerades of its “wild” inhabitants, but, as Cheng points out, it ends with the old jossler, who is an example

Of the eventual and seemingly inescapable stifling of imagination and the spirit of unruliness, a per-version of the spirit of carnivalesque liberality, turned around eventually into a sadistic version of authoritarian rule and conformity. As such, this man with green eyes and green clothes becomes almost a figure for Irish adulthood, perverting the rambunctious fancy and imagination of youth . . . into decadence and paralysis. (86)

As Cheng explains it, their disillusioning, disturbing encounter with this kind of corrupt presence of authority drives the narrator “back to the safety of the known and canonized” (87) and farther away from the influence of racial masquerade. Their search for “adventure and escape” (87) that inspired them to assume American identities results, by the end of the day, “in an encounter with a perverted version of authority,” causing the narrator to slough off his Native American masquerade and the spirit of resistance it embodies in favor of “the safe normalcy of his less sensitive, more conventional, more ‘normal,’ masculinist buddies” (88). As Cheng asserts, this kind of encoded conclusion marks “the first step towards becoming the adult Irishman we will see repeatedly in Joyce works, boxed in his corner and drowning out his sorrows and evading his problems in the male conviviality of drunkenness and braggadocio in the public house” (88). Therefore, at the beginning of the story, the boys were aligned with that aspect of Anglo-American stereotyping of Native Americans – wild, unruly, exotic and carrying with them the threat of violent resistance. However, frightened into submission, compliance, and retreat by the end of the day, the narrator symbolically becomes that *other* Native American stereotype that characterizes American’s Indians as weak, yoked into submission, and driven to drunkenness and unproductivity. Perhaps his paralysis lies, then, not in the abandonment of his Native American racial masquerade that emboldened the boys but in their ultimate fulfillment of the real history of failure it contains. As such, this story presents a vision for America that is, I believe, replicated in all of Joyce’s subsequent instances of Irishmen masquerading as either Native or African Americans in his works. America can never be the clear-cut postcolonial ideal for Joyce, as Abravanel and Winston would have it, because it is defined by a dual identity as *both* colonized and colonizer. It is a country

that contains and perpetuates *both* histories, *both* identities, as a nation that freed itself from England's rule yet in its success also embodied the failure of subsequently "colonizing" its minority populations, specifically blacks and Indians. Therefore, in this light, Joyce's ambivalence toward the country is never more powerful. On the one hand, racial masquerade – as we see in "An Encounter" but also in other instances I will examine in this chapter – of this kind shows a kind of empowering solidarity and imaginative alliance between the two disenfranchised groups, but it also contains a deep mistrust of the failures that America must own and its identity as a colonial power that cannot, and perhaps Joyce thought *should not*, be ignored. Thus, America can never be trusted as a clear ideal or alternative to postcolonial Ireland, and we will see this ambivalence toward the region throughout his fiction and even in his personal correspondences. Further, this subtle awareness of the dichotomous nature of the successes as well as the failures of such a globally significant presence for the 20th century is also reflected in the other ways that Joyce represents America in his work, which is always with a kind of sideways glance, ever aware of the powerful nation's capacity for greatness, profit, innovation, and freedom yet equally suspicious of the binary tendencies toward greed, consumption, corruption, and subjugation. Even Joyce's praise of America when he was young as a potential site for the long-awaited Irish revival and as a "wonderful" alternative paralytic Ireland is called into question in his fiction as immigration to America is often characterized by difficulty and comes at the expense of an ever-weakening Ireland. America is a double-edged sword for Joyce, and his fiction bears out both the mercy and the murder that its blade can wield.

A more subtle reference to America's troubled racial history begins in the final story in *Dubliners*, "The Dead," yet increases in thematic importance in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Racial masquerade takes the form of American minstrelsy in "The Dead" in a series of symbolic associations between Gabriel and his galoshes, through which, thanks to the critical attention this has received in recent decades, a clearer picture of the allusion has emerged. As Susan Adams points out, the word "galoshes"—which has a direct association with that "quintessentially American form of humor" (Bowen 813), minstrelsy—appears eight times in "The Dead." Gabriel first appears in the story "vigorously" wiping the snow off of his galoshes, which quickly become the topic of conversation among his aunts and his wife, Gretta, who gently tease Gabriel for the unusual fashion:

—And what are goloshes, Gabriel?

—Goloshes, Julia! Exclaimed her sister. Goodness me, don't you know what goloshes are? You wear them over your over your boots, Gretta, isn't it?

—Yes, said Mrs. Conroy. Guttapercha things. We both have a pair now. Gabriel says everyone wears them on the continent.

—O, on the continent, murmured aunt Julia, nodding her head slowly.

Gabriel knitted his brows and said, as if he were slightly angered:

—It's nothing very wonderful but Gretta thinks it very funny because she says the word reminds her of christy minstrels. (157)

On the most basic level, as Brendan O Hehir puts it, Gabriel's family view the galoshes "with the same suspicion as all things continental" and they serve as "an index of his alienation from the norms of the ambient culture" (4). Gabriel is an outsider at the dinner,

and the galoshes are one of the first indications of his status. However, the presence of the galoshes also introduces an important aspect of racial masquerade that Joyce will return to in greater detail and with more enthusiasm in his later works—minstrelsy, particularly of the American variety. Critics have so far agreed that Gretta associates galoshes with the Christy Minstrels—an American-born theatrical troupe who toured the world performing in blackface and pantomiming African American culture—because she most likely hears the word as “golly shoes,” which reminds her of “golliwog” (Adams 33-4). Margot Norris describes “golliwog” as, much like the Christy Minstrels, “another racial stereotype in the form of a grotesque, animated Negro doll” (157). More specifically, Susan Adams points out that the “Golliwogg” doll was created by British artist Florence K. Upton in the late 1890s and was inspired by a black rag doll she had while growing up in the United States. As Adams describes it, “the doll had a jet-black face, wild wooly hair, a large smile, bright eyes and formal minstrel attire” (34). According to Adams, the Golliwogg dolls were inspired by series of books published between 1895 and 1909 (the first of which was titled *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a Golliwog*) that were available both in the U.S. and in the U.K. but found their widest success in the British market (ibid). Therefore, Gretta seems to conflate these two images of African American racial mimicry—the minstrels and the Golliwogg character—when she hears the word galoshes, thus hinting at *two* forms of minstrelsy and pantomime.

Adams furthers this connection between Gabriel and minstrelsy by suggesting that the entire story is in fact a fictional representation of the traditional American minstrel show broken into its three main parts delineated in the text by the three dots: the

“opening,” the “olio” (a series of short theatrical acts), and the “afterpiece” (37). Adams offers a convincing reading of the story with this structural paradigm in mind with each character corresponding to a stock figure on the minstrel stage. When viewed in this light, Gabriel’s reference to the minstrels and to that particular American form of racial mimicry takes on added significance. Robert Spoo suggests, on the other hand, that Gabriel might be referring to blackface minstrels in general and not to the American tradition of minstrelsy, “for by this period the term no longer referred exclusively to the American troupe of that name” (“Uncanny Returns” 107). However, considering the decidedly American contexts that the minstrels occupy in Joyce’s other works, it does make sense to place this allusion within that same context. And, despite the European or British appropriation of blackface minstrel shows, it was a practice that, during Joyce’s time, “disseminated and promoted what most people regard as the only identifiably American forms of music and dance” (Bowen 813).

Interestingly enough, the galoshes are also Gabriel’s own kind of attempt at mimicry, not of African Americans but of people “on the continent,” so to speak. By putting on the galoshes, much in the same manner that the white performers put on their blackface, Gabriel himself enacts a kind of social performance and aligns himself, at least in the minds of his aunts, or his “audience,” with another culture, the culture of the European continent. The galoshes, Vincent Cheng writes, are a part of “Gabriel’s presumably continual attempts to impose a more ‘civilized’ continental culture on their own (by implication) wild and backward colonial Irish mentalities” (136). Cheng also points out that even the word “gutta-percha” suggests colonial overtones here as gutta-percha is a rubbery material from Malaysia and galoshes are made from Indian rubber.

This brings to light the “role (in a product economy) which India, Malaya (like India, an English colony), and other imperial colonies played in the service and material comfort of the European culture of their European masters,” and the raw materials that were “ripped out of colonial nations by the labor and sweat of colonized natives” (136). It’s no surprise to Cheng that Gretta thinks of the minstrels when she hears the word “galoshes” as the process of their physical production in India and their association with the Europeans who wear them suggest “a correlative for a more ‘civilized’ dominant European culture, whose very superiority and refinement depend on the exploitation of its colonies – in contrast to the more primitive, unrestrained, and still uncolonized Irish free spirit allied symbolically to the West of Ireland and Gretta’s roots in Galway” (Cheng 136-7). In this line of thought, however, Gabriel acts as a kind of reverse-minstrel, a black native in whiteface, as it were, whose galoshes represent his attempt to masquerade as a European, colonial power and, in turn, to distance himself from his “primitive” and “wild” Irish background.

Yet, one must also consider that when Gabriel quips that Gretta associates the shoes with the Christy Minstrels, he does so out of frustration, annoyance, and even embarrassment as he faces the judgment of his female family members. As the story progresses, Gabriel’s self-consciousness over his cosmopolitan, European status in the family becomes a sore spot among the guests and for Gabriel himself as he wrestles with his own Irish identity, distancing himself from it at nearly every turn only to seemingly come to terms with it in his moment of epiphany at the end of the story. Even Gretta sees the galoshes a point over which to needle Gabriel for his strange habits: “Goloshes! Said Mrs. Conroy. That’s the latest. Whenever it’s wet underfoot I must put on my galoshes.

Tonight even he wanted me to put them on but I wouldn't. The next thing he'll buy me will be a diving suit" (156). To which, Gabriel reacts with the usual hint of shame and self-consciousness: "Gabriel laughed nervously and patted his tie reassuringly while aunt Kate nearly doubled herself so heartily did she enjoy the joke" (156-7). Gabriel feels embarrassed and awkward upon being teased for his galoshes (not the first or the last time in the story that he will experience these emotions). He may be presented, as Cheng puts it, as "the well-meaning domestic tyrant imposing the Law of the Father" over Gretta, yet his nervousness here and elsewhere in the story suggests he is not wholly suited to or comfortable with the role (Cheng 136). Thus, when the aunts' gentle teasing becomes repressed judgment and resentment, this embarrassment becomes frustration: "Gabriel knitted his brows and said, as if he were slightly angered: —It's nothing very wonderful but Gretta thinks it very funny because she says the word reminds her of christy minstrels" (157). The context that belies this allusion to minstrelsy (a deeply racist, pejorative act of mimicry) is Gabriel's own humiliation, which, in a casual family situation such as a Christmas gathering, arouses mild irritation and even anger at being mocked and singled out for his differences and his attempt to distance himself from his own Irishness. As Adams writes, "Gabriel-as-Golliwogg is a tempting image," especially when one considers that the Golliwogg character was first introduced alongside two "penny dolls," which Adams suggests might refer to the Gabriel's two aunts. Indeed he even describes himself as their "penny boy" (35).

Nonetheless, what hasn't been considered here, by Cheng and others, and what seems significant particularly in Joyce's later use of minstrels in his fiction is the context out of which Gabriel makes this reference and attributes this seemingly comical gaffe to

Gretta, the context of humiliation and insecurity—Bloom will certainly bear this out in *Ulysses*. As we shall see, Joyce's references to African American mimicry often appears amid situations where his main character is suffering under these kind of conditions—humiliation, reproach, weakness, or shame—and this reference of Gabriel's provides the first example of this. Interestingly enough, this subtle exchange between Gabriel and his aunts and wife at the beginning of the story also introduce the notion of a kind of double-sense that Joyce seems to have had when it comes to representing issues of race and America. More specifically, if Gabriel is himself a kind of minstrel figure, his galoshes serving as his version of blackface and symbolizing his attempt to mimic the European ways of the continent, he is also and at the same time the story's alienated other, the one *being* mocked and teased as a party piece there for the entertainment of the guests. When seen in this way, Gabriel is the one doing the mimicking, the performing, but he also experiences ostracism and humiliation because of his differences from his Irish relatives, which is what the racialized other experiences once it becomes the subject of public mimicry and mockery (Bloom will experience much the same thing in *Ulysses*, particularly "Circe"). This sort of double-identity as both the one doing the mocking and the one being mocked seems fitting for the genre of minstrelsy which is defined as well by its duplicity: the blackface minstrel is invariably both white and black, both the active agent in control of the masquerade and the symbolic victim or other who inspires public mockery. Like America itself, which is both colonizer and colonized, friend and enemy, champion for freedom and agent of oppression, Joyce's instances of minstrelsy always seem to point to this troubling dichotomy inherent in this form of racial masquerade and wider connections between the act of imitation—be it Native American or African

American—and America begin to emerge. Nonetheless, Gabriel’s “performance” that entire night underscores the inherent aspects of humiliation and “othering” that accompany Joyce’s destabilizing instances of racial mimicry, from Gabriel and Bloom to Shaun and Shem, even perhaps HCE, and it reinforces Joyce’s tendency to draw parallels between his protagonists—Bloom in particular—and America’s disenfranchised minorities.

Ulysses

There are four key instances of racial mimicry in *Ulysses*, three of which are defined by their allusion to the American minstrel show. The first appearance of American minstrelsy occurs in Hades as the funeral carriage passes the Queen’s Theatre where an advertisement leads Bloom to think, among others, of Eugene Stratton, a well-known American blackface performer. In fact, Eugene Stratton did perform at the Theatre Royal on Hawking Street in Dublin on June 16, 1904 (Harrington 84), and this theater poster announcing his appearance is the first of several mentioned throughout the novel, providing readers “with several different Dubliner’s perspectives on Stratton’s ‘black’ image” (Cheng 178). Judith Harrington gives us a fairly comprehensive history of Eugene Stratton (1861-1918), and, although he is only explicitly mentioned a handful of times in the novel, his status as Joyce’s most frequently-named minstrel makes him more than a mere curiosity. Stratton was, as Harrington puts it, “one of music hall’s great stars,” and began his career as a blackface performer in his early teens before gradually working his way up to international celebrity, regularly touring both America and Europe. In particular, Harrington points out that Stratton became a “Dublin favourite,”

who also made quite a name for himself in London, so much so that upon his death in 1918 he was buried, not in America, but in England.

Bloom's line of thought here not only introduces the theme of blackface American minstrelsy that appears throughout the novel, but also his association of this uniquely American form of entertainment with female sexuality, in particular, with Molly's sexuality, that will recur later in the novel. The passage reads as such:

They went past the bleak pulpit of saint Mark's, under the railway bridge, past the Queen's theatre: in silence. Hoardings: Eugene Stratton, Mrs. Bandmann Palmer. Could I go see *Leah* tonight, I wonder. I said I. Or the *Lily of Killarney*? Elster Grimes Opera Company. Big powerful change. Wet bright bills for next week. *Fun on the Bristol*.⁴⁰ Martin Cunningham could work a pass for the Gaiety. Have to stand a drink or two. As broad as it's long.

He's coming in the afternoon. Her songs.

—How do you do? Martin Cunningham said, raising his palm to his brow in salute.

—He doesn't see us, Mr Power said. Yes, he does. How do you do?

—Who? Mr Dedalus asked.

—Blazes Boylan, Mr Power said. There he is airing his quaff.

Just that moment I was thinking. (*U* 5.183-97)

Immediately after passing the theater and noticing the advertisement, Bloom's thoughts turn to Molly and her infidelity with Blazes Boylan, who, oddly enough for Bloom, turns

⁴⁰ As Gifford explains, this is also a comical American play that was "enormously popular in the provinces in the late nineteenth century; together with Eugene Stratton's recital, it constituted the Theatre Royal's 'double-feature' for 16 June 1904" (88).

up “Just that moment I was thinking.” Perhaps Bloom’s train of thought from minstrelsy to his wife is logical considering Molly’s musical performance career, yet her own affinity with blackface performances—with “the exotic” as Bloom calls it in “Circe”—is not only apparent later in the novel but also bears a striking connection with Gretta in “The Dead,” who makes a rather obtuse association with the Christy Minstrels. Both references are undeniably connected to the two primary females in the works.

Interestingly enough, Bloom also thinks of Mrs Bandmann Palmer, an American actress whose real name was Millicent Palmer and who was performing *Leah the Forsaken* at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin 1904 (the advertisement for her performance appeared in the June 16th edition of the *Freeman’s Journal*). The play was an American adaptation of a German play, and, according to Gifford, the play’s “central theme involves an attack on anti-Semitism” (88). Minstrelsy and anti-Semitism will be further linked in “Cyclops” as Bloom is ostracized and ridiculed as a kind of jew/coon figure. In fact, later in “Hades,” when Bloom is out of earshot, the first reference to him as a “coon” is made by John Henry Menton when he asks, speaking of Bloom’s wife,: “In God’s name . . . what did she marry a coon like that for? She had plenty of game in her then” (6.704-5). These references suggest that, in addition to his Jewishness, Bloom is also compared to African Americans in order to emphasize his status as the subordinate, humiliated “Other” in the novel.

The advertisement for Stratton’s minstrel show resurfaces a second time in “Wandering Rocks,” this time viewed by Father Conmee, albeit accompanied by a much different perspective than Bloom:

From the hoardings Mr Eugene Stratton grimaced with thick niggerlips at Father Conmee.

Father Conmee thought of the souls of black and brown and yellow⁴¹ men and of his sermon on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African mission and of the propagation of the faith and of the millions of black and brown and yellow souls that had not received the baptism of water when their last hour came like a thief in the night. That book by the Belgian Jesuit, *Le Nombre des Elus*, seemed to Father Conmee a reasonable plea. Those were millions of human souls created by God in His Own likeness to whom the faith had not (D. V.) been brought. But they were God's souls, created by God. It seemed to Father Conmee a pity that they should all be lost, a waste, if one might say. (*U* 10.141-52)

Seeing the advertisement for the popular blackface singer prompts Father Conmee to point out a traditional colonial attitude, draped in the transparent disguise of religiosity. Here, the novel exposes that menacing aspect of blackface entertainment that, rather than providing a space for rebellion and the breaking down of racial conventions, exposes the colonial enterprise (both within and without the United States) and its requisite power structures. This white American with his face most probably darkened by burnt cork, leads Father Conmee to consider the colonial perspective wherein all disenfranchised minorities across the globe that were in need of white assistance, education, and religion in order to save their "lost" souls. His line of thought obviously points to one of the most

⁴¹ Although the racially-charged term "yellow" here could be Father Conmee's manner of referencing people of Asian descent, or of any number of racialized "others" that he feels need 'saving', it's interesting to note that in 19th-century America, the term "yellow" referred to a man or a woman born of African-American and white parents, essentially of mixed black and white races. This figure was also incorporated into the antebellum minstrel stage, and several minstrel songs of the time mention "yaller gals" as "desirable sexual partners" (Mahar 276).

cruel fallacies that colonialists of all kinds tell themselves during their ‘noble’ pursuit for power, influence, and economy. Vincent Cheng describes Father Conmee’s semi-colonial attitude here as one who is “unable to conceive the possibility that the natives might resent the incursion as hardly a favor – but rather an insult to their own religious beliefs, not to speak of their sovereignty” (179).⁴² Therefore, Cheng may be correct in assessing that the novel does not make a distinction between, particularly in Bloom’s thoughts, between black and blackface. As Cheng writes, because the “presentation of blackness in Ireland and England was purely a cultural construct feeding cultural desires for exoticism, the reified image of negritude [the blackface minstrel] becomes the dominant (perhaps even exclusive one,” and “No distinction is made between real blacks . . . and blackface negroes” (174). While Cheng makes a valid observation here about the characters’ interpretations of race (or lack thereof), I suggest that the various contexts of these references, while not pointing directly to the white man underneath the mask, nonetheless depict the problematic trope of the mask itself, which includes awareness of both black and white in the complex relationship of blackface.

⁴² Cheng also points out that, when Bloom thinks of the same sermon by Peter Claver S. J. that Father Conmee references when seeing the Stratton poster, he also has a much different reaction and perspective than the Father. This occurs earlier in the novel in “Lotus Eaters”: “Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee S. J. on Saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission. ... The protestants are the same. ... Convert China’s millions. Wonder how they explain it to the Chinees. Prefer an ounce of opium. Celestials. Rank heresy for them. Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. ... He’s not going out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptize blacks, is he?” (5.322-34). As Cheng says, this passage indicates Bloom’s willingness to imagine “the response of the Other(s)” and demonstrates his “ability to step outside the entrenched monologism of his culture allow[ing] him at least to *imagine* the Other’s perspective – here, the Chinese or Africans who may not wish to be converted” (179-80). So, just as Bloom and Father Conmee have different reactions to the Stratton poster, so too do they have near opposite reactions when thinking of Claver’s sermon, which isn’t directly related to minstrelsy per se, but still demonstrates Bloom’s tendency to identify with or at the very least sympathize with marginalized figures such as Africans or African Americans.

Father Conmee's thoughts upon seeing a poster for Stratton's minstrel show offer an interesting contrast to Bloom's reaction to the same ad in "Hades." When Bloom passes the poster, his thoughts are at first casual and passing as he considers billings on the theater's exterior and perhaps taking in a show at the Gaiety Theatre. Yet, this entertainment, perhaps thinking of the music, immediately puts thoughts of Blazes Boylan's affair with Molly into his mind: "He's coming in the afternoon. Her songs." The theater posters of Stratton and others remind Bloom of the current humiliation he is suffering at home, of his cuckoldry, which is then reinforced a short time later when Menton insults him by referring to him as a "coon" who is not good enough for his own wife. So, in Bloom's case, the image of Stratton, of a white minstrel entertainer mocking the plight of the African American, leads to a kind of subtle identification with the subjugated, humiliated "Other" who is being mocked by the crowd. The perspective that the novel gives on minstrelsy here, then, is somewhat from the viewpoint of the racialized, impoverished "Other"—Bloom in the form of an outsider in his own country, a source of humor, ridicule, and racism among his cohorts, not to mention a cuckold at home; and the African American figure as another kind of outsider in America who suffers humiliation, mockery, and racism in the form of the humor and comic parody of the minstrel show. This aligns Bloom with the figure of the minstrel, which will reveal itself best in "Circe," while Father Conmee has quite a different point of identification. If Bloom becomes a kind of minstrel figure symbolized by alienation and subjugation, Father Conmee's stream of consciousness exposes the colonial process of alienating the "Other." The mere sight of one black face (even if it's white underneath) leads him to define the colonial mission abroad. And, despite the fact that Father Conmee's personal

beliefs are somewhat moderate on the subject (attested by his sympathy with the “Belgian jesuit” who wrote about a ‘liberal’ version of salvation that included those who were not baptized as Catholics [Gifford 263]), the link between Stratton and colonialism is clear here. This colonial perspective would also make sense considering the overtly racist, derogatory description of Stratton’s visage on the poster as one who “grimaced with thick niggerlips” at Father Conmee. One recalls that, when Bloom sees the poster, there is no kind of racial identification or stereotyping in his thoughts. He simply thinks: “Eugene Stratton.”

Bloom undergoes further identification with Black Americans in “Cyclops,” and although there is only subtle mention of minstrelsy in particular here, in a way Bloom experiences his own kind of “blackface” performance as he is cast in the role of a “coon,” a “whiteyed kaffir”⁴³, or a “bloody dark horse” by various characters in the pub. Curiously, and not unrelated I think, the first of these references to black Americans and minstrelsy is one of violence, slavery, and American racism at its most extreme. A newspaper headline ignites the discussion:

*Black Beast Burned in Omaha, Ga*⁴⁴. A lot of deadwood dicks in slouch hats and they firing at a Sambo strung up in a tree with his tongue out and

⁴³ Cheng quotes Barbara Temple-Thurston’s “The Reader as Absentminded Beggar: Recovering South Africa in *Ulysses*” (p. 252) when she explains that the “kaffir” “refers to a traitorous black African who alerts the Boers to the British presence. By means of this insult (the equivalent of ‘nigger’), Joyce extends the Irish discrimination . . . to include not only anti-Semitism, but the black/white issue as well.”

⁴⁴ In his 1982 article “The ‘Black Beast’ Headline: The Key to an Allusion in *Ulysses*,” Timothy Weiss suggests that Joyce misrepresented an actual headline here that took place on September 28, 1919, in Omaha, Nebraska, not Georgia, as Joyce writes. Weiss describes the 1919 lynching in Omaha as “especially notorious,” even inspiring a Pulitzer-Prize winning editorial (184). The incident occurred when a black man was alleged to have raped a 19-year-old white woman, sparking a frenzy in the city. According to the newspaper account that Weiss cites, a mob of Omaha residents forcefully removed the suspect from the city’s jail, “stripped him of clothing, severely beat him, dragged him to the street, hanged him, riddled his body with bullets and burned it” (184).

a bonfire under him. Gob, they ought to drown him in the sea after and electrocute and crucify him to make sure of their job.

—But what about the fighting navy, says Ned, that keeps our foes at bay?

—I'll tell you what about it, says the citizen. Hell upon earth it is. . . .

Then he was telling us the master at arms comes along with a long cane and he draws out and he flogs the bloody backside of the poor lad till he yells meila murder.

—That's your glorious British navy, says the citizen, that bosses the earth.

The fellows that never will be slaves, . . . (12.1324-47).

The use of the word “Sambo” here is of particular interest since it is one of the several common figures popularized by the minstrel show (along with the likes of Jim Crow or Zip Coon), and it was a staple in American racial discourse for much of the 19th and early-20th centuries. Sambo is a stereotypical African American figure who is comical, often childlike in his qualities, lazy, content, and in need of white supervision—in short, a figure that by its very nature and characteristics justifies and legitimizes his own slavery, powerlessness, and domination by whites. As Louis Chude-Sokei quotes, “By constructing Sambo as the negation of responsibility, the slave master legitimated his own role as the responsible agent acting on behalf of the irresponsible minstrel” (qtd. in Johnson 115). Sambo was often the symbol for the so-called ‘happy slave’ who embodied the “negation of responsibility” and, because of this kind of infantilization, and thus supported the notion that “the ideology of paternalism [where the slavemaster is the paternal father] could then seem to be grounded on empirical fact” (Wynter 151). The use of the term Sambo here suggests that the Dubliners are engaging in a dialogue that is both

sympathetic to the, persecuted “Other” while also simultaneously participating in the divisive, racialized rhetoric. For example, the narrator seems to making a sarcastic quip about the incident—“they ought to drown him in the sea after and electrocute and crucify him to make sure of their job—which leads the citizen into a discussion on the corruption and violence in the British navy, those “fellows that never will be slaves,” slaves like the lynched Sambo in Georgia or slaves like the Irish under colonial rule. A further connection the novel makes between black Americans and the Irish. However, the citizen’s own brand of racism makes itself evident as his philosophy on the matter isn’t an end to unjust systems of power and slavery but instead a reversal of roles, where the Irish “put force against force” as he puts it, and become the very “masters” he criticizes. As Cheng points out, “The irony again lies in his invoking the racialized metaphors . . . at the same time as he is slurring the Jew in his midst as a ‘coon’ and racial Other” (211). In doing so, the Citizen “employ[s] the same mirrored logic of primitivizing racism which they [the British] had used to essentialize him as an Irish Caliban” (210). Bloom is the only voice of moderation: “—But, says Bloom, isn’t discipline the same everywhere. I mean wouldn’t it be the same here if you put force against force?” (12. 1360-1). Bloom’s reservations about the citizen’s virulent nationalism establishes him as an outsider among the group, one which manifests itself in terms of race whereby Bloom assumes the role of the Sambo, the persecuted Deadwood Dick, being verbally and metaphorically “lynched” by the group as they assert their dominance and his status as the dark “Other”.

—Is it that whiteeyed kaffir? says the citizen, that never backed a horse in anger in his life?

... I met Bantam Lyons going to back that horse only I put him off it and he told me Bloom gave him the tip. Bet you what you like he has a hundred shillings to five on. He's the only man in Dublin has it. A dark horse.

—He's a bloody dark horse himself, says Joe. (12.1552-58).

“A dark horse,” the “rank outsider” is how they view Bloom as the final epithet makes clear their association of Bloom with his racialized identity as an African American. The fury at Bloom builds (as does the citizen's drunkenness), and when Cunningham and Power try to get Bloom out of the pub to avoid a confrontation, a “loafer” chimes in with the final African-American-related racial slur: “Jack Power [tries] to get him to sit down on the car and hold his bloody jaw and loafer with a patch over his eye starts singing *If the man in the moon was a jew, jew, jew . . .*” (12.1799-1801). As Zack Bowen writes in *Musical Allusions*, this is a reference to popular music hall song “If the Man in the Moon Were a Coon” that “degrade[es] the Negro by poking fun at his color, image, and habits” (225).⁴⁵ By substituting the word “jew” for the original “coon,” thus combining both

⁴⁵ “If the Man in the Moon Were a Coon, Coon, Coon” (Bowen 225):

Stanza 1:

Say, Jasper, 'taint no use talking even though you talk from now till noon,
Don't try to tell me, Mister Know-it-all, a coon is up in the moon;
Why! A nigger, with his brown figure, cert'n'y darkens up the silv'ry moon;
Wake up! You're dreaming with your eyes aglare,
You great big foolish coon.

Stanza 2:

Most e'ry one has heard stories that a chicken is a coon's delight,
Just think the dangers to a hen roost with that good old moon out of sight;
'Deed! Chicken would be soft pickin' if that man up in the moon were
black;
Oh, my! the harvest for the darkey with
That big sack on his back.

Chorus:

If the man in the moon were a coon, coon, coon, what would you do?

racism and anti-Semitism, Bowen writes that “Joyce emphasizes the universal qualities of prejudice and bigotry” and presents “an extremely disparaging picture of Ireland’s ‘citizens’” (ibid). Cheng agrees when he writes that here “the Dubliners are doing to Bloom (racializing him as black in derogatory terms) precisely what the English had done to them: the dreadful irony of such a blind and mirrored binary of nationalistic ethnocentrism is precisely Joyce’s point” (181). Bloom’s identification with black Americans exposes this irony since it is the group, on the one hand, look unfavorably on the white “Deadwood Dicks” who lynched a black man in America yet end up persecuting and racially denigrating Bloom for his own ‘blackness.’

In “Circe,” Cheng writes, Bloom acts as a kind of “receptive repository” for “popular constructions of otherness,” and his “mind is an open receptacle of constructs, a dialogic site for the contact of a variety of Orientalized representations” (175). One of these “constructions of otherness” is that of the minstrel, or, in a larger sense, of the black American, for, as Cheng reminds us, the novel rarely makes the distinction between authentic experiences of blackness and the fictitious, culturally constructed stereotype of the black American that minstrelsy embodies. In his journey through Nighttown, Bloom is confronted by Mrs Breen who scolds him for being in the red-light district and threatens to expose him to Molly: “You down here in the haunts of sin! I caught you nicely! Scamp! . . . I know somebody won’t like that. O just wait till I see Molly! (*slyly*) Account for yourself this very minute or woe betide you! (15.395-405). Strangely

He would fade with his shade the silv’ry moon, moon, moon, away
 from you;
 No roaming ‘round the park at night,
 No spooning in the bright moonlight,
 If the man in the moon were a coon, coon, coon . . .

enough, though, Bloom may be in Nighttown cavorting with prostitutes, but it's Molly's fidelity at home that has been in question throughout the day. The thought of Molly leads Bloom to think of figures of the exotic other and then, fittingly, blackface minstrels:

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

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

TOM AND SAM

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

(They whisk black masks from raw babby faces: then, chuckling, chortling, trumming, twanging, they diddle diddle cakewalk dance away.)

(15.408-26)

There are several allusions to blackface minstrelsy in this passage: Stratton, the christies, the Bohee Brothers, Uncle Tom, Sambo, G.H. Girgwin—a blackface minstrel was known for drawing a distinctive white diamond over one eye (a “white kaffir”) while in blackface—or even chimney sweeps, whose sooty faces quite literally take on the appearance of blackface minstrels. According to Judith Harrington, James and George Bohee were Canadian-born African-Americans who got their start in minstrelsy in the United States, gathering much success abroad in Britain and Ireland in the late 1800s, due in part to the popularity of their banjo playing. As Harrington explains it, “[They] were the finest banjo players of their day,” even opening a studio in London where they established themselves as favorites among London’s elite. The song that Bloom imagines them singing here is also of significance. It seems Joyce substituted their first names with references to Uncle Tom and Sambo, “Tom and Sam” (Harrington 83), making further connections between black American stereotypes and Bloom’s own consciousness and identity as an outsider, both in Dublin and his own home. The original words to their song were in fact “Someone’s in the *kitchen* with Dinah” (my emphasis) (Bowen, *Musical Allusions* 257). By changing “kitchen” to the more suggestive “house” emphasizes Molly’s infidelity here as the minstrel song links Molly and Dinah. As Zack Bowen puts it, “The relatively harmless kitchen flirtations of Dinah in the song are replaced by the more ominous doings in the house” (ibid). Bowen believes that the song “is nothing other than an associative restatement of the Boylan-Molly assignation” (ibid). However, by putting this reference in the wider context of other instances of minstrelsy/blackface in the novel, one sees that Joyce relied on this particularly American cultural phenomenon at several points in the novel to frame Bloom’s own status as a

marginalized outsider. It is perhaps no accident, considering how familiar Joyce had to have been with typical minstrel tropes, that as Mahar writes, “male dominance and sentimentality were two of minstrelsy’s most common themes,” seen particularly in “display songs” that were meant to “flatter masculine egos, exalt manly behaviors, exploit male competitiveness, and project dominance over women through narratives about real or imagined sexual conquests” (5). Joyce seems to be playing with this common theme in the minstrel show by inverting it. Instead of expressing his dominance over Molly or his own sexual prowess, Bloom instead identifies his cuckoldry and humiliation with the minstrels, and it’s obvious from his first apprehension of the Stratton poster that in Bloom’s mind minstrelsy and blackface are connected with his relationship to Molly and to his own status as an emasculated, humiliated husband. On a surface level, this connection between minstrels and Molly occurs simply because of her affinity for the “exotic,” for minstrel shows and other Orientalized forms of entertainment and popular culture. However, Bloom imagines here that he is being found out, so to speak, by the minstrels who seem to be mocking his status as the cuckolded husband. In this sense, there is a double layer of mockery going on here. On the one hand, the overtly racist, “stereotyped construction,” as Cheng calls it, of the minstrels is innately mocking in nature—indeed it is one of the defining characteristics of the performance. Yet, these very figures that are themselves being mocked and parodied in minstrel form in turn seem to be mocking Bloom, another racialized outsider, who is also left marginalized and humiliated by their intimations of infidelity.

Bloom’s identification as a blackface minstrel figure culminates later in “Circe.” Zoe, one of the ladies of Nighttown, commands Bloom to “Talk away till you’re black in

the face” (15.1958), which is soon followed by a highly mimetic moment where Bloom assumes the identity not only of that other man from America, Reverend Dowie (a.k.a. Elijah), but also of Eugene Stratton himself come to bring about the end of the world amid a flood of references to the United States. Bloom, as the Jew/African-American “Antichrist” “stumps forward” (15.2146), making the infamous minstrel’s stump speech in mock-African-American dialect (a dialect that Joyce will come to rely on more heavily in *Finnegans Wake*):

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

Mr President here, or possibly God, could also be a reference to a stock figure in the minstrel show referred to as Mr. Interlocutor, who acted as the host of the show and would serve as a kind of comic figure of central authority against whom the Tambo and Bones characters, sitting at either end of the stage, would frequently rebel (Strausbaugh 104-5). The stump speech in particular was a regular part of the typical three-part minstrel show, usually opening the second part, or “olio,” of the show (Taylor and Austen 40). The American stump speech has its origins in politics, however, as it was the

“chief way politicians put their opinions and faces before the masses,” particularly before radio or television. So ubiquitous in American culture, the stump speech would draw enormous crowds—a crowd of 200,000 once turned out to hear Teddy Roosevelt “on the stump,” so to speak. The speeches themselves “tended to be long and grandiloquent—which made them excellent targets for parody” (Strausbaugh 114). The general function of the stump speech in minstrelsy was to lambast or parody the important issues of the day, which incidently not always included issues of race or black Americans, despite the fact that the speech was typically delivered in blackface and “delivered in a fake ‘darky’ dialect” (Taylor and Austen 40). Stump speech topics varied widely and targeted many groups, not just minorities, but often those in power or the upper classes. As Strausbaugh points out, the stump speech’s presentation was cloaked in racist mockery, yet its subject matter was often directed to issues of politics, the economy, or items in the news. It became a signature act of many of the most popular minstrels, “and the best could weave ripped-from-the-headlines commentary into a prepared script with dazzling wit” (Strausbaugh 115). Yet, despite the fact that the stump speech is given in full blackface and in a racist parody of black American dialect while at the same time not making one direct mention of black Americans, the blackface adds “another, unspoken layer of satire” to a show where contemporary issues are filtered through an undeniably offensive form of mimicry that reaffirms dividing lines of dominant (white) and subordinate (black).

In “Circe,” Bloom’s stump speech, while spoken in mock black American dialect, seems to address another issue entirely; Bloom, like other minstrel performers, uses the racialized dialect and appearance of blackface to make a stump speech about female virtue and eternal salvation. Bloom campaigns for Mr President to extend his salvation

and forgiveness to the debauched women of the red light district. Yet, his speech is not sincere and, like all good minstrel stump speeches, has a double meaning. After offering a half-hearted, comical show of support to Mr President—“Certainly, I sort of believe strong in you”—and imploring Mr President to “help me save our sisters dear,” Bloom as minstrel winks at the audience and makes a sarcastic aside to them criticizing Mr President’s lack of divine grace or intervention: “Our Mr President, he twig the whole lot and he aint saying nothing.” This kind of mocking of authority figures is, according to Strausbaugh, a common characteristic of the stump speech. He cites one popular minstrel performance in particular from 1914 that seems to do much the same thing as Bloom and suggests that Joyce was not only aware of the basic appearance and elements of a minstrel show but also was keenly tuned into the ways in which its common tropes functioned on stage. The Dockstader’s Minstrel group performed a stump speech entitled “Back from the Land of the Nut,” in which one minstrel donned blackface in a parody of Teddy Roosevelt, who had recently lost another shot at the presidency to Woodrow Wilson after which he embarked on an infamous big-game expedition in the Amazon that ended in disaster and nearly killed him. This stump speech, performed by the popular entertainer of the time Lou Dockstader, essentially lambasts Roosevelt, as well as other politicians, satirizing and criticizing his mission and his politics all from behind the “safe” mask of burnt cork (Strausbaugh 115-8). This tendency of the minstrel to subvert authority, to hood-wink it, or to parody it within the stump speech establishes it, then, not only as a tradition that reaffirms normalized ideas of race, however misguided and bigoted, but that it is also a space where entertainers—under the guise of blackface—could chip away at or destabilize a dominant ideology or authority. This kind of

clowning, he says, is one of the key elements in a minstrel show, and it allowed the clown/minstrel to use his mask in order to make controversial statements that he might not otherwise, without the mask of blackface, be allowed to express. As such, the mask of blackface is equivalent to the mask of a clown, whose social function is, Strausbaugh describes, “as an Outsider, an Other, a creator of difference.” And, he asks, who “was more of an Other than the Negro? What better mask than blackface?” For, from behind this racially charged disguise, “the clown was allowed to say and do things no one else could. As the court jester, he could satirize and make political comments, telling the king rude truths no one else dared utter. Satire and parody were central to minstrelsy” (68-9). Bloom is like other real-life minstrel performers of the 19th and early 20th centuries in that the mask of blackface allows him the kind of critical license of a clown or court jester as Strausbaugh describes it, so that he might, even for a moment, attempt to disrupt a centralized power or authority—in this instance, divine authority. By parodying the stump speech that is typical to the minstrel show, Bloom’s racial mimicry here gives him a kind of comic freedom to make a serious questioning of God’s role (or lack thereof) in the universe as one who simply sits back and watches or ‘twigs’ but does or says nothing to intervene on behalf of mankind or their salvation. Being in blackface and speaking with mock-black American dialect allows this expression of spiritual doubt to come off as comical, upbeat, and entertaining—as a clown might appear—rather than didactic or bitter, and masking himself in the cultural construct of a black American—twice removed, since Bloom is in fact imitating a white man (Stratton) imitating a black man—gives him a kind of freedom of expression to undermine the entire religious enterprise,

especially, it seems, since he's speaking indirectly to Dowie, if it's coming from America.

Finnegans Wake

As in *Ulysses*, the connection between performativity and theater, particularly the minstrel stage, and race relations in *Finnegans Wake* is undeniable. There are numerous, if not hundreds, of linguistic slippages, word-plays, allusions, songs, and parodies of the African Americans and African American mimicry in the book, too many in fact to mention in full here but which offer a significant opportunity for further study. According to Len Platt, there are perhaps more references to the American minstrel show in *Finnegans Wake* than perhaps any other version of musical theater, and, I would add, it is also the chief way that Joyce interprets and represents black American identity. Even the *Wake* itself becomes a minstrel show, “Funnycoon’s Week” at one point (105.21), or “Funnycoon’s Wick” (499.13), with Joyce’s main character, HCE, doubling as a kind of coon/minstrel figure here (and throughout the book). And while Joyce was living in Paris in the 1920s, no doubt encountering the craze of American emigrants and culture that was taking hold there at the time, Platt is right to point out that the sheer number of references to black American masquerade and the minstrel show in *Finnegans Wake* has less to do with its popularity as a modern performance piece—in fact, by the 20s, he says, minstrelsy was “already retro” and “well past its heyday in terms of popularity—and more to do with its function in American (and European) culture as a theoretical space where complex notions of race, gender, and identity were negotiated for nearly a century (138). In Joyce’s text, he asserts, the frequency of allusions to minstrelsy is “specifically

connected to wider social fears and fantasies,” in particular, the anxiety of a community to “assert itself against a perceived outside” (ibid).

One of the *Wake*'s most obvious outsiders or “Others” is Shem, the symbolic lower-half of his brother's, Shaun's, body. Shaun, while often associated with lightness, rationalism, conservatives, and, in general, the top half of the male body, Shem, by contrast, is frequently referred to in terms of his darkness, his filth, his sexuality and physicality, and his wickedness. Yet, interestingly enough, Shem—the creative half of the fraternal pair—holds the capacity for language, vocabulary, and linguistic expression while Shaun is depicted as “emotionally and artistically limited” (Epstein 85). Therefore, even though Shaun is often the one using the language of the minstrel stage in order to refer to Shem in racialized terms, he also must get much of this language from Shem in order use it against him (one immediately thinks here of the ways that North suggest Eliot, Pound, and the other high moderns “borrow” from black American dialect, that “Other” half of the white/black American body, in order to find a modern poetic voice). Throughout the text there is a play on words referring to Shem as a kind of coon, in particular the Zip Coon character of the minstrel stage: “Zip Cooney Candy” (176.14), “he [Shem] was namely coon at bringer at home two,” did ye hear, colt Cooney? (194.29), to name a few. Shaun's attacks on Shem are often racialized in terms of Shem's negritude, for example, when Shaun attacks him as “*Negas, negasti*—negertop, negertoe, negertoby, negerunter!” (423.33-4). Shaun, who himself admits in a performative moment that he “mightif beam maircanny” (408.16) [might have been American] but was born too late, refers immediately to his brother, Shem, in the racialized terms of Derrida, Bhaba, or Said, that “dark” lower half of his body, as “my *other*” and “that *other* of

mine,” although Shaun also admits that “I ought not to laugh with him on this stage” (408.17-28) (my emphasis). Incidentally, Shem is often associated with his dancing ability, another performative act that is crucial to the minstrel stage, as well as his singing ability. And, still, there is an element of American performativity about Shem’s showmanship: “You should pree him prance the polcat, you whould sniff him wops around, you should hear his piedigrotts schraying as his skimpies skirp a . . . —Chrashedefar Corumbas!” (513.12-16). Platt also suggests that Shuan’s racializing of Shem as a black American or minstrel figure is an attempt to create a kind of scapegoat figure out of Shem, the racialized other, who will serve a site for collective punishment, much in the same manner that HCE is racialized.

HCE, who several times is referred to as “Massa” or “Baas” is also characterized in racial terms by the minstrel stage, and usually, Platt points out, “these are sarcastic and serve to mock and undermine HCE’s authority ([and] usually Shaun is implicated as the originator of the slurs)”, just as he is with Shem (142). Throughout the book, HCE is repeatedly (at least 11 times) asked in various ways to “Take off that white hat,”⁴⁶ a catchphrase from the Moore and Burgess minstrel group that often meant for one not to think too highly of themselves—in other words, “don’t think you’re so special.” Here, in addition to the minstrel connection with HCE, the sentiment could reinforce the notion that HCE is actually “black”/“Other” underneath, for if “white” means “special” or is a “privileged identity,” he is obviously being instructed throughout the novel to take off

⁴⁶ “*few nutties! and Take off that white hat!*” (32.23); “(flick off that hvide aske, big head!)” (322.01); “Take off thatch whitehat” (322.01); “Tick off that whitehot, you scum of a botch” (322.05); “Tape oaf that saw foull and sew wrong, welsher” (322.08); “*Why coif that weird hood?*” (342.11); “in haute white toff’s hoyt of our formed reflections” (536.14); “which he said, lads, a taking low his Whitby hat” (587.11); “Facst. Teak off that wise head!” (607.03); “Tuck upp those wide shorts” (614.14); “Remember to take off your white hat, ech?” (623.09).

this identity, this “white hat”, perhaps in favor of the black underneath? For the most part, then, representations of minstrelsy in association with HCE typically place him, like Shem, squarely in the position of the racialized “Other,” and connects him with the identity of the black subordinate figure who is being condemned, humiliated, or emasculated because of “this racialization of power relations” (Platt 142). Black identity, then, Platt asserts, “is invariably connected to servitude” for HCE and Shem (ibid). However, there are instances in the text where, like in *Ulysess*, Joyce is able to capture and represent the dual nature of racial mimicry, and the element that seems to define it for modernist purposes, whereby this performative exists not only to maintain a racially divided power binary that marginalizes the black “Other” but also serves as a kind of liberating device through which this marginalized voice can speak the ‘truth’. Perhaps one of the better examples of this in *Finnegans Wake* is when HCE is called by Four Old Men to an inquest where Yawn must testify as to HCE’s scandalous behavior, with the whole enterprise taking on the air of a minstrel performance of sorts:

. . . I want you, witness of this epic struggle, as yours so mine, to reconstruct for us, as briefly as you can . . . how these funeral games . . . took place.

— Which? Sure I told you that afoul. I was drunk all lost life.

— Well, tell it to me befair, the whole plan of campaign, in that bamboozelem mincethrill voice of yours. Let’s have it, christie! The Dublin own, the thrice familiar.

— Ah, sure, I eyewitless foggus. ‘Tis all around me bebattersbid hat.

— Ah, go on now, Masta Bones, a gig for a gag, with your impendements and your perroqtriques! Blank memory of hatless darky in blued suit. . . . Be nice about it, Bones Minor! Look chairful! Come, delicacy! Got to the end, thou slackerd! Once upon a grass and a hopping high grass it was. (515.19-516.2).

Much in the same manner that the blackface disguise gave Bloom the license to question the theory of divine intervention, so too does the minstrel stage seem to suggest a kind of freedom of speech or permission to reveal the truth. As Platt puts it, “Through the assumption of his black mask, the hope is that Jaun [Yawn] will find the dispensation to tell everything – how it was from the beginning” (139). Here, black American masquerade provides, in North’s terms, a subversive voice for a modern figure to speak out against the backdrop authority, establishment, convention, or even, in this Yawn’s, the law. By assuming a black American identity, one might be authorized to break free of prescribed norms of social expectation.

And, finally, one can’t ignore the novel’s infamous first page, which introduces the Fall of HCE in decidedly American terms, characterizing the entire book, indeed the entire course of human history, as one long, continuous, “commodious” minstrel performance:

Sir Tristram . . . had passencore rearrived from North Armoriga . . . nor had topsawyer’s rocks by the stream Oconee exaggerated themself to Laurens County’s gorgios while they went doublin their mumper all the time . . . The fall . . . of a once wallstrait oldparr is retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy. (3.16-30)

Here we have reference to North America, Tom Sawyer, Dublin, Georgia, Wall Street, and, of course, the Christy Minstrels. Not only does this passage suggest that America—both as a literal space but also as an idea and seemingly endless source of cultural inspiration for Joyce—will play a critical role in the book. By characterizing the course of history as a minstrel show, Joyce introduces the especially modern notion that changing or fluid identities, like those created and acted out on the minstrel stage in blackface, is not only an integral part of the structure and themes at work in *Finnegans Wake* but it is also a defining feature of the modern world. And, by exploring the complexities that this historical minstrel tradition has to offer—with its all of its convention, xenophobia, and prejudice combined with contrary elements of license, liberation, and empowerment—Joyce uses this unequivocal American phenomena to lay bare the intricate web of racial history.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The nature of Joyce's modernism is explicitly international in focus, particularly in his largest and most ambitious works, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, continuously showing that boundaries of language, identity, race, religion, class, and even the nation are always shifting and reworking themselves in an ever-increasing global context. As this dissertation has attempted to establish, America rests firmly at the core of this global perspective for Joyce, offering at times a kind of post-colonial model for Ireland and Irish immigrants, while at others serving as an example of the kind of twentieth century monolith that Joyce feared, mistrusted, and rejected. Joyce's "international spirit" (Kintzele 75) can be defined by a modernist tendency, on a global scale, to pursue "personal freedom and a deeply individualist culture devoted to 'self-realization, the situation and process of consciousness, [and] the inner divisions of the self,'" in order to transcend, scrutinize, or at the very least call attention to the racial, social, political, religious, and linguistic demarcations of the 19th century. By turning to America as a space that allows one to question these conventions in his works, the region becomes a unique aspect of his modernist project against which he raises issues of Irish identity, religion, nationalism, and race. America as a theme in the novels gives the characters an opportunity to actualize this modernist "self-realization" by either aligning themselves with the aspects of the country that symbolize freedom, progress, opportunity, success, and power or by identifying with those contrary elements of American history and society that belie a capacity for corruption, colonialism, or disaster. America is a unique location in the imaginary consciousness of Joyce's fiction in that it offers a dual

identity—perfect for Joyce’s kaleidoscope mind—as both powerful and weak, as both colonizer and colonized, as perpetrator and victim, as rich and poor, or as faith-full or faith-less. It is a region that contains multitudes and is defined by contradictions inherent in its cultures, histories, and even laws. As Joyce’s works prove, the author was drawn to these contradictions, re-working them and situating them in his sphere of international modernism.

However, one of the difficulties of a comprehensive study of Joyce’s treatment of America is that out of the hundreds of reference to the United States in Joyce’s works, it is nearly impossible to include all in a study of this length. As such, I conclude my study by proposing additional American motifs that are especially significant for further examination. One of the most notable of these (and the only one to have been well-documented in scholarship until this point) is Joyce’s incorporation of the rhetoric of the American South, specifically as it appears in the fictional works of Mark Twain. The two works by Twain relied on most heavily in *Finnegans Wake* are *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. According to Anthony Burgess in his short article “Mark Twain and James Joyce,” Joyce’s interest in Twain’s works was “mainly verbal,” with *Huck Finn* occupying a significant dream-space in the unconscious mind of the novel’s “hero,” Earwicker (1). Indeed, Burgess claims that “without the touch stitching of the names of Mark Twain and his major creations into the dream fabric of the *Wake*, much of the flavor of repetition and resurrection would be lacking” (2). However, the linguistic use of Twain’s stories, rather than the thematic connections which are quite strong and complex, permeate *Finnegans Wake* and further study of Twain’s heavy appearance in the novel would prove interesting, particularly as some critics are now beginning to

question the long-held notion that Joyce had in fact never personally read *Huckleberry Finn* in its entirety. Therefore an analysis of the allusive, literary, and thematic relationship between Joyce's fictions and Twain's would surely build on the notion that Joyce (or Joyce's characters for that matter) were at times identified in a Southern American context, particularly a black American context.

Secondly, Joyce's earliest expressed intentions concerning his fiction was to write the "moral history of my country," and indeed the practice of turning to the past in order to represent, fictionalize, or comprehend the future is a trademark of Joycean fiction. However, just as much as Joyce turned to historical meaning for material from which to examine the present, his characters and works most often express a troubled relationship with the past that inhibit, paralyze, or mark them in some way. As Stephen Dedalus says, "history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake," and it seems that it is precisely this historical "nightmare" that Joyce attempts to capture in his fiction as he writes not only the moral history of his own country but, by the end of his career, of the world at large. A secondary aspect of future studies that would consider Joyce in an American context would benefit from a comprehensive examination of all of Joyce's significant historical references to the United States in his major works—a study which, to date, has yet to exist in Joyce scholarship. There are many categories of American historical references that Joyce draws from: political history, war references, literary history, news items, economics, musical and theatrical history, geography, popular culture items, the history of key American figures (particularly U.S. presidents), and the founding of the country. *Finnegans Wake* contains a number of references to Abraham Lincoln, for example, as well as quite a few Civil War generals and colonels. In addition to discussing

specific passages where Joyce refers to moments in American history, a study of this sort would also attempt to determine how Joyce represents the United States through its historical references, how this representation reflects his overall attitude toward and characterization of the U.S., and in what ways these historical references contribute to the overall thematic project of each work.

In order to include instances of American elements that are *not* otherwise mentioned in the dissertation, I have provided a comprehensive Appendix for both *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, which catalogue all of the allusions to American people, places, events, and objects that appear in both of those works. I have not included an Appendix on *Dubliners*, because all of the references to America are mentioned at some point in the dissertation. For rather different reasons, however, I also have also not included a comprehensive Appendix of all American allusions or references in *Finnegans Wake*: the sheer breadth and length of such a list would necessitate an entire book-length project in itself as there are hundreds (at least) of instances throughout the book where America is incorporated into either just one word, a phrase, an entire sentence, or larger themes and motifs. As such, I have provided only a brief partial listing of references for *Finnegans Wake* that include entries I have personally found to be particularly “American” in nature, references that align with some of the issues discussed in the dissertation, or instances where the word America is used outright or corrupted.

Appendix A: American References in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

- p. 13: “He opened the geography to study the lesson; but could not learn the names of places in America.”
- p. 33: Fenian movement, denounced by Bishops, but active in the United States in the 1850s.
- p. 53: American apples (also appear on the dinner table in “The Dead.”)
- p. 146-7: Clouds traveling from Europe to the West, suggestive of immigration to America.
- p. 221: “O Willie, we have missed you,” American songwriter Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864).

Appendix B: American References in *Ulysses*

- 1.167: “Break the news to her gently.” American song about a son killed in battle, originally titled “Break the News to Mother.”
- 1.517: “Do I contradict . . . contradict myself.” From Walt Whitman’s “Song of Myself.”
- 3.247: Richard Burke, Irish-American colonel in the United States Army and Fenian leader
- 5.195 and 6.185: Millicent Palmer, American actress.
- 5.326: “the heathen Chinee.” Reference to American Bret Harte song.
- 6.187: “Fun on the Bristol.” New York musical version of HHenry C. Jarret’s “American Eccentric Comedy-Oddithy.”
- 6.236: “on his last legs.” Possible reference to American play titled “His Last Legs.”
- 7.94: “Pat and Bull.” Irish-American comic characters, Pat and Mike.
- 7.363-68: “In Ohio!” State of Ohio in the United States.
- 7.464: “calumet.” Native Ameircan peace pipe.
- 7.483: “The grandeur that was Rome.” From Edgar Allen Poe’s “To Helen.”
- 7.636: American newspaper, *The New York World*.
- 7.688: Blumenfeld, American editor.
- 7.732: Edmund Burk, advocated reconciliation among England, Ireland, and America.
- 7.733: “American Cousin.” *Our American Cousin* play by Tom Taylor; Lincoln was watching while he was assassinated. Also, Joseph Pulitzer, the American publisher.
- 7.739: “Irish volunteers.” Formed after regular troops had been transferred to America.

- 8.154: “barbed wire.” American invention.
- 8.173: American elder flower soap.
- 8.513: “Mad Fanny.” Frances Parnell, ended up in self-exile in United States where she wrote poetry.
- 8.570: “total eclipse.” September 9, 1904 eclipse was visible in United States but not in Dublin.
- 8.601: Dion Boucicault, Irish-American playwright and actor.
- 9.65 and 9.67: William Q. Judge, Irish-American theosophist.
- 9.139: “yankee yawp.” Walt Whitman’s “Song of Myself,” Section 52, line 2-3.
- 9.410-11: “Cypherjugglers”: American Ignatius Donnelly proposed theory that Francis Bacon authored Shakespeare’s plays.
- 9.492: Johann Most, German-American anarchist who supported Phoenix Park murders.
- 9.626: Walt Whitman
- 10.1002 and 15.1570: Henry Clay, cigar named after American politician, orator, and statesman
- 10.831-32: Famous boxing match between an American and a Brit (the American won), which marked the end of old-style boxing. Further American boxing references on 10.146 and 10.1148.
- 10.1216: Henry James
- 11.789: American song: “We never speak as we pass by.”
- 11.972: American folk song: “My wife and your wife.”
- 12.184-5: *Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper
- 12.187: Benjamin Franklin

- 12.188: Sir Thomas Lipton, attempted to win America's Cup for England
- 12.196: Boss Coker, Irish-American politician.
- 12.199: Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa: Irishman with ties to the United States.
- 12.308: "honest injun." American slang.
- 12.1165: *The Police Gazette*, New York weekly that epitomized the age of yellow journalism.
- 12.1170 and 12.1499: Tupper, a wealthy Chicago man who had an affair with Officer Taylor's wife.
- 12.1290: American song, "Woodman, spare that tree."
- 12.1525: "white chief woman, the great squaw Victoria," Native American reference.
- 13.35: Flora MacFlimsy, an American character in an American poem who is mocked for her love of clothes.
- 12.895: "up like a rocket, down like a stick." The way Thomas Paine described Edmund Burke's turn of sympathy from the American Revolution to the French Revolution.
- 13.953-54: American nonsense song, "and papa's pants will soon fit willy."
- 13.1154: American Civil War song, "When Johnny comes marching home again."
- 14.1236: Lusk, famous American obstetrician
- 14.1458-9: American Civil War song, "Tramp . . . parching." And, American song, "Stopped . . . old."
- 14.1482-3: "your corporosity sagaciating ok?" American slang, possibly American Southern dialect.
- 14.1494: American song "Desperado," "Bold bad girl from the town of Mullingar."

- 14.1546 and 15.1864-5: Dusty Rhodes, American comic book character and tramp
- 14.1546: “whattentunkets.” American slang for “what in thunder.”
- 14.1552-3: “Walking Mackintosh.” Parody of titles of American Western dime-novels.
- 14.1554: “passed in his checks.” American slang for passed out or died.
- 14.1586: “bumshow.” American slang for a carnival or peepshow.
- 15.270: “Waterbury keyless watch.” Watch made in the United States.
- 15.797-98: line from American ballad on the death of a Mississippi river boat captain,
 “Jim Bludso, Hold her nozzle again the bank.”
- 15.1273, 13.110, 13.1178, and 15.3803: “Yummyumm,” from the popular American
 song, “under the yum yum tree.”
- 15.1356-7: “Sir Walter brought the potato,” theory that potato was brought from the
 United States to the British Isles in the 16th century
- 15.2242: American circus man and celebrity figure, P.T. Barnum
- 15.2745: Minnie Hauck, American soprano
- 15.2867: American saying “I’ll bet Kentucky cocktails all around.”
- 15.3154: “in sleepy hollow your night of 20 years,” Washington Irving story titles.
- 15.3158, 16.426, and 15.1847: “Rip Van Winkle.” Irving story title.
- 15.3398: “quassia.” Drug made from tropical American trees.
- 15.3422: “Ware Sitting Bull.” Souix Indian Chief who defeated General Custer at the
 Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876.
- 15.3803-6: “you could hear them in Paris and New York.”
- 15.4355: Miss Dubedatandshedidbedad.” American slang.

- 15.4453: “ancient and honorable artillery company of Massachusetts.” Oldest military organization in America.
- 16.653: “the Rover.” Name of ship that wrecked after departure from New York.
- 16.404-5: “Buffalo Bill shoots to kill, never missed nor he never will.”
- 16.434: American song, “rocked in the cradle of the deep.”
- 16.1698: “the last of the Mohicans.” Novel by Cooper.
- 17.1308: “Madam Antoinette Sterling.” American singer.
- 17.1749: Wealthy American families, the Morgans and the Rockefellers.
- 17.1985: Wall Street
- 17.1987-8: Niagra Falls
- 17.1988: “land of the Eskimos.” Possible reference to Alaska.
- 18.130: “American that had the squirrel talking stamps with father.” Person unknown.
- 18.681-3: “when Gen. Ulysses S. Grant . . . landed off the ship.”
- 18.839: “the new woman bloomers.” Designed by American.
- 18.1282: American song, “Bill Bailey won’t you please come home.”
- 18.1322: “standing up like a red Indian.” Possible reference to Native Americans.
- 18.871-2: “that derelict ship . . . the Marie whatyoucallit.” Ship that left New York but found floating off the coast of Portugal completely empty. A famous sea mystery.

Appendix C: Partial Listing of American References in *Finnegans Wake*

- 16.10: Mutt and Jeff, American comic-strip characters
- 25.04: “the madison man.” Madison Ave. in New York City, synonymous with the advertising industry.
- 29.05: “Phineas Barnum.” P.T. Barnum.
- 33.24: “the Juke and Kellikek.” Juke and Kallikak, American families of supposed degenerates.
- 52.01: “Anny Oakley deadlines.” Annie Oakley, American sharpshooter.
- 60.19: “Sankya Moondy played.” American evangelists Sankey and Moody.
- 62.34: Lotta Crabtree, famous 19th century American entertainer
- 64.33: Noah Beery, American film star.
- 65.26: “peaches number two so that if he could only canoodle the two.” Reference to American scandal where 16-year-old “Peaches” married fifty-one-year-old “Daddy” Browning.
- 71.21: “Burnham and Bailey”: P.T. Barnum and his circus.
- 72.14: “Woolworth’s Worst.” Woolworth’s American chain store.
- 78.11: “our Uppercrust Sideria of Utilitarios.” United States of America.
- 94.30: “beetyrossy,” Betsy Ross, made American flag.
- 105.36: “riss in the Unique Estates of Amessian.” United States of America.
- 129.31: “Colombo found.” Columbus found Americas.
- 130.28: “cousins germinating in the United States of America.”
- 133.02: “you rope Amrique.” You roam America.
- 191.04: “Europasianised Afferyank!” Europe, Asia, Africa, America.

- 221.02: "coldporters." Cole Porter, American song writer (1893-1964).
- 228.19: "care of Pencylmania, Bretish Armerica." Pennsylvania and America.
- 258.28: "camp meeting over." From *Huckleberry Finn*, camp meeting is a religious revival.
- 318.15: "Through sampling years where the lowcasts have aten of amilikan." American.
- 355.22: "and from the Amelakins off to date." Americans up to date.
- 359.19: "cries to singaloo sweecheeriode." American song, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot."
- 387.02: "Noord Amrikaans." North Americans.
- 388.30: "hello, Hibernia!" Hello America! (VI.B.1.036)
- 427.23: "Amiracles where the toll stories grow proudest, more is the pity." America.
- 447.06: "Anglia's and touch Armourican's iron core." America.
- 497.11: "from American Afenuue."
- 517.06: "went himself to a medicis?" America.
- 562.31: "parents, to wend him to Amorica to quest a cashy job."

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