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# Allusion, Aesthetics, and Nationalism in James Joyce's Dubliners

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Abstract

Allusion, Aesthetics, and Nationalism
in Joyce's Dubliners

Christopher Armstrong, MA

Joyce's Dubliners is complex work responding to the political and social realities of post-Parnell Ireland. Centring on middle class Ireland, Dubliners scrutinizes the culture of a decayed Anglo-Ireland, and a resurgent Catholic middle-class nationalism, and finds a complex formation of related ideologies: aesthetic, political, and religious. Responding to the thematics of these discourses, Joyce judges the nationalist mythology of cultural revival, preserving and replicating the structure of the very culture its seeks to displace, unsuited to modernity.

Allusions are a central component of Joyce's critique of these institutional structures. The act of alluding, Joyce recognizes, is a means of cultural production and of social and political control. Dubliners is not merely mimetic; Joyce's stories are radically intertextual. This practice serves a comprehensive genealogical project outlining those cultural forms and institutions.

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I would like to thank Professor Laszlo Géfin for guiding me through this project.

For my parents, who knew not to ask.
For Maureen, who gave me love and support.

# Introduction: Allusion, Cultural Production, and Intertextuality in Dubliners

An understanding of Joyce's writing practice is central to any appraisal of his work. This study proposes to examine this practice in Dubliners with the intention of showing that Joyce's 'realism,' as Stephen Heath asserts, "is not [merely] the mirroring of some 'Reality' but an attention to the forms of intelligibility in which the real is produced" (quoted in McCabe, 37). Situating itself in parodic relation to a Western cultural tradition which Joyce recognises as obsessed with the attainment of a transcendent knowledge or gnosis, Dubliners explores a range of self-representations for the artist and his fellow citizens, while at the same time providing a genealogy of the cultural forms and the institutional structures that make those representations possible.

This study is situated among such works as Colin McCabe's James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word and Cheryl Herr's Joyce's Anatomy of Culture, studies which attempt to examine Joyce's attention to the structures that produce meaning. It shares with the former work a concern for the 'textual paralysis' of Dubliners: the denial of a privileged position from which the reader may complacently consume the literary text; a strategy in which the "reading subject must follow the positions taken up by the writing subject and in the split thus instituted...begin to read its own discourses" (McCabe,

37).

Taking its lead from Cheryl Herr's cultural approach, specifically her intention of attempting "to understand the relationship among allusion, narrative form and cultural operations" (3), this study is concerned with the author's attention to the allusive activity that effects cultural production.

Joyce's textual practice subverts the grounds upon which institutions construct their fictions; as well, it exposes the means by which allusions effect cultural production. Joyce recognizes that as the sites of racial, political, aesthetic, and theological fictions, institutional structures rely on "texts" to which allusions provide access; for these institutions alluding to "sacred texts" is a means of maintaining authority. Moreover, as sites of privileged knowledge, allusions both allow and prohibit access. In this regard, the allusion becomes the badge of such privileged knowledge and thus one of the many devices of aesthetic insulation, cultural accreditation, or metaphysical escape: for the Symbolist, the desire to find a mediator "for an unseen reality apprehended by the consciousness" (Symons, 1); for the Irish cultural nationalist, the desire for a return to a pure and unadulterated past. Arguing that the central tension in Joyce's early career is that between art and nationalism, this thesis proposes to explore Joyce's intertextuality as a response to the prevailing turn-of-the-

century aesthetic of symbolism and Irish cultural nationalism.

Post-structuralist theories of textuality provide the critic with powerful tools for understanding the nature and purpose of Joyce's work: both the radical intertextuality of his writing and the end to which that practice is directed. For Joyce the literary word is "an intersection of textual surfaces rather than a point (a fixed meaning)...a dialogue among several writings: that of the writer, the addressee (or the character), and the contemporary or earlier cultural context (Kristeva, 65)." As Kristeva points out, "[t]he poetic word, polyvalent and multidetermined, adheres to a logic exceeding that of codified discourse and fully comes into being only in the margins of a recognized culture."

André Topia's observations on intertextuality in Ulysses are also apposite. Joyce's indirect free style is the textual space in which discourses are pitted one against the other. Topia writes:

> The disappearance of quotation marks and the systematic use of indirect free speech (style indirect libre) were decisive in the exchange between levels of discourse. Indeed, indirect free speech establishes an unstable intermediary zone allowing the narrator to operate on two levels of discourse foreign to the text, while not actually doing so, and leaves a margin of hesitation as to its origin (104).

As a result:

> The text - which one then hesitates to call original, parody or quotation - becomes a place where the author pits discourses against one another, always distorting them slightly (104).

Clearly, indirect free speech opens texts to analysis in terms of ideological and cultural formations. As Julia Kristeva explains: "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations: any text is the absorption and transformation of another.... The word as minimal textual unit thus turns out to occupy the status of mediator, linking structural models to cultural (historical) environment..." (66). It is this intertextual strategy of Joyce's writing, operating beneath the institutional activity of alluding that I propose to examine, while at the same time placing the work within the context of turn-of-the-century Irish culture. Joyce's intertexts make substantive many of the ideological formations which are brought out only in symbolical, suggestive or associative fashion in the stories.

While not focusing on Dubliners in detail, nor dealing specifically with allusions, McCabe's James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word has shown how Joyce's indirect free speech creates a textual paralysis. Joyce's text destroys the concept of narrative meta-language of the classic realistic text. In such a text, authorial comment "functions as a window on reality" (15), yet "Joyce's texts refuse the very category of a meta-language" (14), providing the reader no finally authoritative interpretative position. As I hope to show, Joyce's textual practice is directed at the competing discourses of turn-of-the-century Dublin. Thus, I attempt to contextualize McCabe's claim that "paralysis...will be

produced by the reader who will thus find himself in the situation of reading his own discourses" (36).

The motif of discipleship, so prominent throughout the stories and in the work's many intertexts, is functionally analogous to McCabe's meta-language. Tutors represent the authority of institutions; they are the principle of limitation, the authors of a transparent discourse which lets the reality of its object language shine forth: Father Flynn, Father Butler, the old josser, as well as the priests, teachers and sages of Dubliners' numerous sub-texts make gestures intended to censor texts, to limit meaning, or to initiate their young disciples. All represent the gnomon as standard, as value - ironically, one which the young protagonists recognize as incomplete and which therefore must be displaced by writing their own texts.

The radically intertextual nature of Joyce's text can be grasped in miniature in the allusions that open the collection. Paralysis, gnomon, and simony are commonly seen as the main thematic openings on the entire collection: the very emblems of what Hugh Kenner calls the novelistic unity of the collection (48). The latter two are explicit allusions: "the gnomon in the Euclid and simony in the Catechism" (9); consequently, their precise definitions have been uncovered by critics and applied to the stories. As defined in the Euclid as an incomplete geometrical figure, the gnomon has been seen by critics as an emblem of the incomplete or stunted growth of

the represented Dubliners[1], or as an heuristic device with which to explore ellipses in the narrative, and to restore repressed or censored pieces to the text.[2] Simony, defined as a trafficking in spiritual goods, has been shown to stand for the bargaining away of ideals, the prostitution of art, or the betrayal of spirituality, prompting the view among some critics that Joyce employed a set of Dantean correspondences or parallels to expose the moral vacuity of contemporary Dublin.[3] Finally, the word paralysis, not located in any

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1 Critics who maintain that the gnomon has some relevance to the entire collection frequently invoke it as a figure of incomplete or stunted growth. See for example Edward Brandabur: "like most of the Dubliners, the priest is a 'gnomon'; he has not fulfilled himself as a person" (40-1). See also Thomas E. Connolly, 195; Florence L. Walzl, "Joyce's 'The Sisters': A Development", 397); Gerhard Friedrich, "The Gnomonic Clue to James Joyce's Dubliners, 422).

2 Many critics have seen this principle of incompleteness operating in the language and the form of the text. Marilyn French argues that Joyce uses "masking language and gaps" to convey Dubliners' incomplete way of thinking: "The masking language and the ellipses prevent readers from seeing, from knowing what they want to know, from apprehending the reality they feel behind the text" ("Missing Pieces in Dubliners", 445). Philip F. Herring also sees the operation of censorship in language as gnomonic (4); he associates these absences with the process of critical production, arguing that "[w]ith gnomon...Joyce introduced his uncertainty principle, a strategy designed to create mystery" (x); Herring assigns the reader a role in the creation of these absences: "Gnomon signalled his creation of absences that readers must speak if they are to gain insight into character, structure and narrative technique...[gnomon] means 'judge' or 'interpreter,' which might provide a fanciful etymological link between the reader as interpreter in Dubliners and that which is to be discovered - significant but suppressed meaning" (4).

3 Florence L. Walzl argues that simony stands for Joyce's condemnation of the church and of the many Dubliners who "sell themselves and each other" ("Joyce's 'The Sisters':

borrowed text, has seemed endemic as a moral or spiritual paralysis which prevents the Dubliners from acting according to their desires.[4]

The gnomon is also the emblem of the duplicity of all textual allusions, functioning both as a seemingly transparent heuristic with which to interpret the text and as a principle of structuration of the collection, entering materially into diverse themes in the stories.[5] Indeed, as much as criticism has asserted the validity of the thematics of paralysis,

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A Development, " 389). Warren Carrier suggests that simony and paralysis are the theme of Dubliners, while gnomon represents its technique (211); invoking the gnomon as a moral standard, he argues that the Dubliners are "guilty of a betrayal of exemplary values, and, having sold out, they become paralysed. In Joyce's Dantean scheme of things, 'simony' leads to 'paralysis'" (212).

[4] Following Joyce's letter of 5 May, 1906 (Letters, II, 134), almost all interpretations of the paralysis motif apply it to the entire collection in this fashion.

[5] For example, the gnomon, in its more traditional associations, contributes to the unity of the collection - that developmental scheme moving from childhood to maturity. For Aristotle the gnomon symbolized growth or accretion, for it retained its fundamental form though its magnitude increased. For Hero of Alexander, the gnomon was "any figure which, when added to an original figure, leaves the resultant figure similar to the original" (Quoted in Lawlor, 65). The gnomon is also the fundamental symbol in the work's epistemology, and its allusive structure. Knowledge is always incomplete (gnosis=gnomon). Interpretation likewise becomes shallow with time and continued meditation, and like the process of making allusions in which some form of interpretation is always implicit, it is a potentially self-defeating activity. Any possibility of transcendental knowledge, of a knowledge of things-in-themselves, is therefore illusory. Instead of offering any firm position from which to interpret the buried sub-text, Joyce's attention to these allusions attempts to construct "a typology of texts in terms of the positions they offer to the reader" (McCabe, 8).

gnomon and simony across the fifteen stories, individual studies have shown the heterodox associations and motifs accruing to these allusions.[6]

Dubliners is targeted at an audience of its contemporaries, at the competing discourses of the church, of Unionism, and of various factions of an unbridled nationalism, all of whom are engaged in the project of creating the conscience of an emerging nation. Joyce's text, his "finely polished looking-glass," is the intertextual space in which these discourses are reflected, where they are scrutinized, compared and pitted against one another in a vicious comedy of interpretation, accusation, polemic, and betrayal.

Like the young protagonists of the stories of childhood, we have not been initiated into this world of competing institutions, of internecine factions: the antagonism of old Cotter and Father Flynn, the diatribe of Father Butler, the paranoia of the old josser, the cynicism of Mr. Duffy. Yet we, like them, are in search of its meaning; we, like them "long to look upon its deadly work." An understanding of the context in which these stories are written, of the content of allusions, of oblique and insinuating references made by

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[6] See Gerhard Friedrich, "The Gnomonic Clue to James Joyce's Dubliners" (1957); Marvin Magalaner, Time of Apprenticeship: The Fiction of Young James Joyce (1959); Thomas E. Connolly, "Joyce's 'The Sisters': A Pennyworth of Snuff" (1965); David R. Fabian, "Joyce's 'The Sisters': Gnomon, Gnomic, Gnome" (1968); Florence L. Walzl, "Joyce's 'The Sisters': A Development"(1973); Donald T. Torchiana, Backgrounds for Joyce's 'Dubliners' (1986).

Joyce's Dubliners is therefore essential.

Though mostly unaided, we are provided with some clues, some sources of elucidation. The objects of this progress of interpretation are numerous: place names and institutions; a web of references deployed by the boy's elders: literary allusions, references to popular songs, ideas, opinions, bits of gossip. In the stories that open the collection, both the protagonist and the reader must try to read these texts in order to become initiated into the symbolic order of Dublin life. Part of that symbolic order is generated in the discourses which attempt to give shape to this reality, to produce meaning in an apparently vacuous text.

Joyce's artistic project is in direct competition with the discourses of art and nationalism in turn-of-the-century Ireland. It is a comprehensive view of Dublin life, embodying all its active and vital institutions, but more importantly, it is coeval with, and deeply critical of, the creation of a national conscience already in progress. Much of this project of cultural nationalism Joyce finds a fruitless, hardly legitimate means by which to construct a national consciousness. Writing in 1907 while working on "The Dead," Joyce's essay on Ireland both exemplifies his reaction to Irish nationalism and suggests the controlling the metaphor for his intertextual practice:

> Our civilization is a vast fabric, in which the most diverse elements are mingled, in which nordic aggressiveness and Roman law, the new bourgeois conventions and the remnant of a Syriac religion are

> reconciled. In such a fabric, it is useless to look for a thread that may have remained pure and virgin without having undergone the influence of a neighbouring thread. What race, or what language...can boast of being pure today ? And no race has less right to utter such a boast than the race now living in Ireland (CW, 165-6).

Chapter One of the thesis examines the themes and controversies of post-Parnell Ireland, and attempts to connect of the commonplace lives of Joyce's Dubliners with these issues. Chapter Two discusses the deployment of the central themes of Dubliners. It adumbrates in the stories of childhood and in "Eveline," the major recurrent motifs and a number of constellated ideological formations which Joyce's intertexts make substantive, each situated in a genealogical structure. Chapter Three identifies specific nationalist issues woven into the fabric of "After the Race," "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," "A Mother," and "Grace." Chapter Four examines issues central to aesthetic discourse among the artist protagonists in "A Little Cloud," "A Painful Case," and "The Dead." The aesthetic practice of these mature artist protagonists is rooted in the young questers, and these stories depict the solitary and socially-insulated lives into which pure, idealistic imagination leads.

## Chapter One: "It Was Vacation Time": After Parnell

As Florence Walzl has noted, Dubliners is framed by dates of an intensely symbolic nature. It opens with the death of a harmless old priest, seemingly demented, on July 1st, 1895, and closes with the Misses Morkan's Christmas celebration, which probably occurred on or before January 6th, 1904.[1] In the historical calendar, July 1st is the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne (1690), the victory of English colonial powers and the symbol of the Protestant Ascendancy. In the Catholic liturgical calendar, July 1st is the Feast of Christ's Precious Blood; the latter date, January 6th, the Feast of Epiphany. Such symbolic or allegorical expectations are not sustained by the text, however; they seem to exist in potentiality, like the glimmers of political allegory suggested in the opposition of "Great Britain Street" and "Irishtown" in "The Sisters" (Walzl, "Joyce's 'The Sisters': A Development", 404).

The theme of all of the stories of Dubliners may be seen to be this very moment: that moment of epiphany, of recognition, or that of the frustration of such symbolic, allegorizing desires. The situation is the same for protagonist and critic alike. For many of the characters of Dubliners a similar range of expectations are raised and then frustrated: imaginative and spiritual nourishment appear to

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[1] See also Gifford, 110.

them absent from Dublin. It is ironic then that the period of Irish history in which the Dubliners stories are set is recognized as a time of cultural self-recognition and spiritual awakening.

When, in 1891, Parnellism collapsed amid scandal and betrayal, the explosive rival forces of Irish political life - its conservative unionists, its revolutionary separatists, and its constitutional reformers - which Parnell's political machine had held in equilibrium, were free to pursue their respective goals. The failure of politics to end a century of forced union, financial abuses, economic decline, and religious discrimination prompted nationalists, both lay and clerical, to consider new options for the project of independence.

Poets, journalist and scholars shared a recognition of the inadequacy of politics to effect change in Irish society, and moreover, to support a national conscience. Consequently, many declared their desire to create out of the ruins of Parnellism the conscience of the Irish nation, one which would be augmented by a much needed cultural and spiritual infusion. W.B. Yeats, who observed a "disillusioned and embittered Ireland [which had] turned from parliamentary politics" (quoted in Lyons, 27), gave voice to the common desire of his coterie to mould "anew and without any thought of the politics of the hour, some utterance of the national life" (Ideals in Ireland, 90). George Russell (AE) heralded the emergence of

the national being: "the synthesis of many heroic and beautiful moments...divine in their origin" (Ideals in Ireland, 17). D.P. Moran, editor of the popular journal The Leader, intoned that Ireland must fall back on its language and traditions by creating "what does not exist now, what mere political independence, a parliament in College Green, or humiliation of British arms, will not necessarily bestow - to create a nation" (Ideals in Ireland, 39). A political solution now seemed to have been a petty ideal, in the words of one historian, "a piece of shoddy pragmatism, offering nothing to ambitious imagination, starved idealism or messianic fervour" (O'Farrell, 206).

The dawn of a new nationalist project did not result solely from the destruction of Parnellism or a radically redirected Irish psyche; the shift of British government policy from that of coercion to conciliation resulted in the establishment of numerous nationalist newspapers at the turn of the century; a freer exchange of ideas was the immediate result. The relative confusion and the apparent political vacuum in the post-Parnell interregnum prompted editors to take the place of Ireland's political leaders (Glandon, 1-2).

The popular shift away from the enterprise of Home Rule can be read in the redefinition of the term 'nationalist' by the beginning of the century. To be a 'Nationalist' had meant support for Parnell's Irish Party at Westminster, but now nationalism no longer denoted an exclusively political

activity; for some the equation of nationalism solely with politics had failed Ireland. The new nationalism, reviving the romantic ideas of the generation of Thomas Davis and Young Ireland, demanded greater political autonomy; it asserted its cultural distinctiveness from its Anglo-Saxon oppressor; and it actively supported a revival of native culture, language, and industries.

The ideas of the "scholar revolutionary," Eoin Mac Neill, co-founder of the Gaelic League, later Professor of Early Irish History at University College, Dublin, and Minister of Education in the Irish Free State, were representative of this romantic view of nationalism. Mac Neill made a distinction between "nationalism" and "nationality." The former he equated with political doctrine or a localized statism; the latter, he defined as "the type of civilization which a people [have] developed, which has become that people's tradition, and is distinctive of that people" (quoted in Cronin, 100). Like many clerics, he believed the Roman Empire, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution to have been great secular evils (Cronin, 99). The Irish nation, he argued, derived exclusively from the blending of Gaelic and Christian cultures in the 5th and 6th centuries (Cronin, 100).

The rhetoric of this new nationalist project in Ireland took part in the persistent antagonism of materialist, utilitarian philosophy and idealism in 19th century culture,

a trend identified by Wendell Harris in The Omnipresent Debate. In Ireland, the Catholic church was one source of this idealist stream. Fear that Irish Catholicism might degenerate to the level of what Archbishop Walsh referred to as the "so called 'Catholic' countries" - France, Italy and others - forced the clergy to realize that it must recapture Ireland from the politicians (O'Farrell, 198). Members of the clergy took an active role in the promotion of a return to the values of Christian idealism (Garvin, 69). The Literary revival and revolutionary nationalism partook of that stream, and thus survived an otherwise repressive authority (O'Farrell, 276). George Russell (AE), for example, editor of the Irish Homestead and pioneer in the Irish co-operative movement, inveighed against the materialism of Saxon England from idealist heights befitting a rueful clergyman:

> for that myriad humanity which throngs the cities of England I feel a profound pity; for it seems to me that in factory, in mine, in warehouse, the life they have chosen to live in the past, the lives those born into that country must inevitably lead now, is farther off from beauty, more alien from deity, than that lead by any people hitherto in the memory of the world (Ideals in Ireland, 20).

This new cultural nationalism was inaugurated by Douglas Hyde of Connacht, a Protestant clergyman's son, who, in 1892, delivered a lecture entitled "The necessity for de-Anglicizing Ireland," virtually the manifesto of the Gaelic League. Hyde argued that the Irish race had fallen away from its cultural traditions "ceasing to be Irish without becoming English" (Hepburn, 61). Those who desired to define Irishness and

build an exclusively Irish-Ireland, such as D.P. Moran, later echoed such statements; however, Hyde's assertion that the Irish race had become a culturally "hideous race" and that it must, therefore, recover its heritage was markedly different than what would be formulated by those later cultural nationalists. Hyde saw Ireland's recovering its Gaelic past in an imperialist light:

> I believe it is our Gaelic past which, though the Irish race does not it just at present, is really at the bottom of the Irish heart, and prevents us becoming citizens of the empire, as, I think, can be easily proved (Hepburn, 61).

Hyde's lecture also issued a stern warning that Ireland must avoid the temptation to exchange its sacred birth right, its nationality, for material progress. Ireland, he argued, must maintain its cultural ideals in the face of the intrusion of the modern world with its materialistic values. In Hyde's view, it was such cultural idealism which distinguished the Gael from the Saxon:

> How many Irishmen are there who would purchase material prosperity at such a price? It is exactly such a question as this and the answer to it that shows the difference between the English and the Irish race. Nine Englishmen out of ten would jump to make the exchange, and I as firmly believe that nine Irish men would indignantly refuse it (Hepburn, 61).

An impulse toward a nostalgic retreat into the past was also implicit in Hyde's views. Hyde urged that Ireland never forget its being descended from a glorious past, that the nation had been in the 7th century "the school of Europe and the torch of learning" (Hepburn, 61). Some effort, he said,

must be made to recapture that glory.

The leadership gestures of men like Hyde, nationalists of Anglo-Irish stock, however well aligned with Christian idealism, were either naïve or impotent in the face of the new nationalism which, ideologically welded to the church and often fuelled by the violent undercurrents of Irish life, fostered a desire to create an exclusively Catholic nation. Hyde wanted only to revive the vanishing language and promote indigenous culture. Hyde claimed the League to be an apolitical institution; it was, however, a school for revolutionaries. As early as 1901, Hyde had recognized the drift of the League toward revolutionary and exclusively Catholic political ambitions. He wrote to Lady Gregory:

> The fact is that we cannot turn our back on the Davis ideal of every person in Ireland being an Irishman, no matter what their blood and politics, for the moment we cease to profess that, we land ourselves in an intolerable position. It is equally true, thought (sic), that the Gaelic League and the Leader aim at stimulating the old peasant, Papist aboriginal population, and we care very little about the others, though I would not let this be seen as Moran has done (Hepburn, 64).

By 1902, the original 'non-political' membership of the League had been dislodged by militant elements (Garvin, 74).

Hyde's call for the de-Anglicization of Ireland was amplified in the writings of D.P. Moran, the central figure in the growth of Irish-Ireland cultural nationalism. He had worked on liberal newspapers in London, before returning to Ireland at the turn of the century. In September of 1900, he launched <u>The Leader</u>, a journal which achieved the largest

circulation of all of the advanced nationalist papers, being widely read in university circles and among the Roman Catholic clergy (Glandon, 29). In it, Moran lead a vituperative attack on the Anglo-Irish establishment on all levels. He was prominent in his exposure of a class of Irishman who imitated English customs and manners, and who adopted English fashions. He called them shoneens, Irish for little John [Bull] (Wall, 31), or West Britons. Journalists and politicians, especially, were singled out as an intemperate and irreligious lot. He vociferously supported Hyde's call for the de-Anglicizing of Ireland, and he declared the need to recover a disappearing Gaelic culture.

Moran's early writings (1898 to 1900), collected in The Philosophy of Irish Ireland (1905), mark a decisive break with a tradition of reform in Ireland under the aegis of Ascendancy Protestants. In general, his Irish-Ireland platform may be regarded as a declaration of the insufficiency of purely material or constitutional gains, and an announcement of the need for a cultural and spiritual infusion in national life. The traditional avenues of political reform - especially Home Rule nationalism - had for Moran "missed the essential marks of nationality." He viewed a movement like Michael Davitt's Land League, "though a great and necessary agitation," as "an utter delusion; for, while it imposed itself on the people as an outburst of patriotism, it was, in its essence, only a material movement." For Moran, "the real national life [was

left]...asleep or else gliding away" (4).

Like many of the new generation of nationalists, culture and language were for Moran the distinguishing characteristics of a nation:

> if we regard countries as several collections of human energies, then one is differentiated from another by certain general characteristics affecting the manner in which these energies are put forth. A characteristic way of expressing thought, distinct language, is usually the most prominent mark of a nation. Then there will be found a native colour in arts, industries, literature, social habits, points of view, music amusements, and so on, throughout all phases of human activity (Moran, 1).

Like Douglas Hyde, Moran argued that those distinguishing characteristics had all but vanished from Ireland: Ireland possessed no distinctive art; its literature and language were borrowed from England (2). Echoing Hyde, he lamented, "We are now neither good English nor good Irish" (8).

For Moran, as for Yeats and Lady Gregory, Douglas Hyde, and the Roman Catholic clergy, the Irish peasant represented the true spirit of the Gaelic nation:

> The ignorant peasants are the most interesting portion of the population. In them are yet to seen, undeveloped and clouded perhaps, the marks of the Gaelic race....They still possess the unspoiled raw material for the making of a vigorous and a real Irish character (4).

There were other important features distinguishing the new nationalism from the constitutional nationalism that had dominated the Parnell years. The generation of nationalists that grew up after Parnell, many having priests as their mentors, were often virulently anti-modern. They were ascetic

in their lifestyle and moralistic in their philosophy (Garvin, 67). That ascetic temper was in part nurtured in the atmosphere of a religious revival in the late 1880's. Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus had been established in Ireland in the early 19th century; it was revived by James A. Cullen, who launched a devotional paper, The Messenger of the Sacred Heart in 1888. The paper experienced a phenomenal growth in the following 20 years. Cullen was a temperance crusader, who advocated discipline, and self-sacrifice in a combination of "militant Catholicism and aggressive emotional nationalism." This temperance campaign was inserted into the discourse of the new nationalists, who claimed strong drink had been a deliberate contrivance of the English to weaken the resolve of the Irish (O'Farrell, 224-5). Indeed, as we have seen, for Hyde, the rhetoric of a resurgent Gaelic Ireland, coloured by anti-materialist thought, religious and moral values, the abandonment of cultural traditions was a kind of simony. But other aspects of a resurgent Catholicism were injected into the new nationalism.

Popular religious nationalism inspired its own literary activity, and many of the ideas advocated in these texts found their way into language of the new revolutionaries. The novels of Canon P.A. Sheehan were widely read from the 1890's until the 1920's. He frequently lectured to the Gaelic League and other patriotic audiences on national, as well as ethical, social, and cultural themes (Garvin, 69). Sheehan's works

expressed a set of religious-nationalist ideals inculcating self-denial and purification. In literature, he advocated Christian idealism as the counter to English 'post-Christian' thought. Moreover, Sheehan's novels depicted England as the source of modern evil and materialistic values. In his Geoffrey Austin: Student, for example, Sheehan likened London to the vestibule of Hell in Dante's Inferno (O'Farrell, 230). In his later work he began to see the necessity for some kind of blood sacrifice as a means of combating the pervasive neo-pagan materialism he saw emerging throughout Europe (Garvin, 69).

Attention was thus shifted from the cities as the centres of commerce and political administration to the rural districts and to the life of the peasant. The new-found power of the clergy after the collapse of Parnellism meant a return to such rural values. The contrast of rural and city life was presented in such important texts as Father Peter O'Leary's Mo sceal fein (My Story), which was widely used in the Gaelic League as a language primer. Here, the familiar evil/city and good/country dichotomy was articulated: England, English manners and society were equated with evil, and Ireland and Irish ways with goodness and virtue. Such propaganda promoted Gaelic culture as the natural ally of Catholicism. In 1891, Eoin Mac Neill had urged that the clergy take up the language to "preserve an Irish identity and bolster Irish catholicism" (Garvin, 74), and the idea that the English language was a

corrupting influence was common. One of O'Leary's articles asked "Is the English language poisonous?" For some, the study of Irish was the cure for "'drunkenness, gambling, music halls, suggestive plays and immoral literature'" (Garvin, 75).

The rhetoric of nationalists like Hyde and Moran was strident for several reasons. The Anglo-Irish school system was openly hostile to Gaelic speakers, and imported or native Anglo-Irish teachers actively sought to discourage the use of the language among students. Further, academics at the university level refused to acknowledge Gaelic civilization as a subject worthy of study. In 1899 Hyde became involved in a series of bitter exchanges with members of the faculty of Trinity College, of which he was a graduate. Two Trinity College professors testified before a commission investigating the status of the Irish language in secondary schools that ancient Irish literature was either "silly or indecent or else religious" (Lyons, 44-5).

These prejudices against Irish culture were not confined to Anglo-Irish relations only. Irish nationalism received little sympathy in the nineteenth century because few continental nations recognized Ireland as a culturally distinct civilization. In fact, numerous nationalist movements on the continent esteemed Ireland lucky to be under the stewardship of England. The research of German scholars such as H. Zimmer on Irish culture was therefore greeted with great excitement by Irish nationalists at the turn-of-the-

century. The contribution of Ireland to European culture had, he argued, received little attention from English and continental historians. Moreover, English historians had perpetuated the lie that Ireland was "a half savage country" at the time of its invasion by England. In The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture (1891) Zimmer argued that Irish culture had been virtually eradicated by English conquest; Ireland had derived no benefit from the higher culture with which it had become united (1-2).

Despite such voices of sympathy with the Irish cause, Irish nationalism struggled to find its place among the nationalist movements on the continent during the nineteenth century. The romantic nationalism rife in Europe offered little hope for the Irish struggle. Mazzini, the founder of Young Italy, omitted Ireland from his list of nations with historical destinies because Ireland possessed no distinct national character apart from England. Cavour esteemed the Irish to be fortunate to be under English stewardship; the reason for such a view stemmed from the fact that he looked to England for aid in overthrowing the dominance of Austria (Costigan, 145). A delegation of Young Irelanders in the court of the second Republic were snubbed by French government; the French, it was believed, would invade Ireland as revenge for Waterloo. But the Romantic poet Alphonse Lamartine, listing Poland and Italy among the oppressed nations of Europe, declared Ireland not to be a nation but a

political party (147).

Many European nationalists saw parallels between the fate of Ireland and Poland; Poland was sometimes spoken of as 'the Ireland of the East' and Ireland, 'the Poland of the West' (Costigan, 147). The nationalist Young Irelanders of the 1840's showed great interest in the fate of Poland; at the turn of the century Arthur Griffith revived that interest, printing Mickiewicz's Book of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrim (148). Yet like previous European nationalists, Polish nationalists did not reciprocate; rather, they showed their reverence for progressive English political institutions, and placed their faith in the prospect of English intervention in their struggles at home (148). The efforts of Czech cultural nationalists to liberate Bohemia from Austrian sovereignty also afforded significant parallels - both were literary and language-based revivals like Douglas Hyde's Gaelic League, yet the Czech leader Frantisek Palacky, educated on English history and philosophy, appears not to have considered the Irish parallel (Costigan, 149). In an age of fervent nationalisms, Ireland stood alone, unrecognized.

But the Protestant Ascendancy also played its part in the rise of the new cultural nationalism. One irony of its rise was its link with, its dependence on, English intellectuals and members of the Protestant Ascendancy. Edmund Burke and Matthew Arnold were important figures in the growth of cultural nationalism. Burke had identified the Protestant

Ascendancy as the major source of Irish grievances, and, as a consequence, inspired the Liberal policy of atonement (Deane, 27), Gladstone's policy of extirpating the institutions of the Protestant Ascendancy. Arnold introduced the term 'Celtic' into the vocabulary of the Literary Revival, distinguishing in racial and linguistic terms the differences between the Irish and the English, thereby giving "fresh emphasis to the sectarian features which were part of the Irish political situation...." (Deane, 27).

For members of the Protestant aristocracy, the post-Parnell interregnum saw the continued erosion of their traditional leadership role. Yet for some members of the Ascendancy committed to the grail of Irish sovereignty, the connection with England seemed promising, and the prospect of a constitutional solution still a meaningful endeavour. The dream of Ascendancy nationalists such as Douglas Hyde, A.E., W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, Sir Horace Plunkett, and Standish O'Grady was inspired by the prospect of a cultural fusion; however, they failed to judge the volatile nature of those who wanted to build an exclusively catholic Irish-Ireland. More than ever before, culture and language were to become the means of division and sectarian strife in Ireland (Lyons, 27).

Standish O'Grady, a powerful spokesman for the landlords of Ireland, believed the Anglo-Irish aristocracy were most suited to this leadership role. As F.S.L. Lyons has explained, the many members of the Ascendancy believed that as

an educated and leisured class, they were suited to take the lead; that much common ground existed between them and Catholic "Irish-Ireland"; and that a cultural fusion and national regeneration could take place if political differences were laid aside (Lyons, 57).

O'Grady was fiercely critical of English policy in Ireland; however, the strife-torn, sectarian character of Irish politics drove him to ever more radical positions. O'Grady criticized the financial injustices that England had perpetuated on Ireland under the Union, calling the English system of administration the "Imperial plutocracy." But while he favoured continued union with England, and was a principal leader writer for the Daily Express, an ultra-Conservative sheet, O'Grady's often radical ideas earned him the epithet "Fenian Unionist" from those in his immediate circle. Lamenting the failure of the Ascendancy to take the lead in Irish political life, O'Grady's writings represented the voice of a desperate and isolated aristocracy.

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At first glance, the lives of Joyce's middle-class Dubliners seem remote from the controversies of this age of cultural revival. What do the commonplace lives of these characters have to do with the decline of the aristocracy, the revival of romantic nationalism, the intellectual worship of the peasant, or the promotion of Christian idealism? While

some are indeed remote from these issues, many of Joyce's characters are representatives of historical forces that were shaping Ireland, or are the objects of those shaping forces. For the young protagonists of the first three stories, for example, the activities of the everyday world - their play, their reading material - are interdicted and interrogated by forces above, of which they are unaware. Many of the mature characters of Dubliners are the representatives of a new, emerging class in Irish society: an educated body of lay catholics, the fruit of the 1878 Intermediate Education Act, some of rural origin, who made their way to the cities becoming journalists, school teachers, clerks, or civil servants (Garvin, 68); Jimmy Doyle, Bob Doran, Little Chandler, Ignatius Gallaher, Farrington, Mr. Duffy, Joe Hynes, Gabriel Conroy, and Molly Ivors are representatives of this class.

Members of the clergy and lay nationalists who dissented from the orthodoxy of Home Rule saw the need for controlling and directing the course of this new generation. Lecturing to an assembly of Maynooth seminarians in 1903, Canon P.A. Sheehan suggested that this class of educated laity posed the greatest internal threat to Irish society. He cautioned that these men and women would become frustrated with the offerings of the church and rebel against the values of Irish society, embracing the secular culture of England and the continent (Garvin, 70). One thinks immediately of Jimmy Doyle, who

matriculates at Cambridge "to see a little life," and who flirts with the elegant, genteel life of the continent (43); Bob Doran who "boasted of his free-thinking and denied the existence of God" (66); Ignatius Gallaher, now a journalist in London, who has seen the corruption and "immorality" rife on the continent; Mr. Duffy, who has embraced socialism; or Gabriel Conroy, who spends his summers on the continent because he is sick of his native land.

The characters of Dubliners, in fact, provide us with a range of responses to the rising star of this new nationalist force in Irish society. Gabriel Conroy, who writes reviews for the conservative, Unionist Daily Express, believes that literature is above politics. Such insulated aestheticism is the height of naïveté in a revolutionary era; for men like Farrington of "Counterparts" exemplify the explosive violence directed toward the north of Ireland, personified in Mr. Alleyne, and the deep resentment of England and English culture. Little Chandler of "A Little Cloud" and Mrs. Kearney of "A Mother" represent another response to the rise of a new cultural nationalism: that of acquiescence and capitalization. Chandler, who is an aspiring poet, wishes his name looked more Irish, and contemplates inserting his mother's name, Malone, before his patronymic. Mrs. Kearney attempts to capitalize on her daughter's name and its association with Yeats' play Cathleen Ni Houlihan and the emblematic figure of Ireland. All are, however, by the

standards of cultural nationalists, cultural apostates, West Britons.

Joyce's stories reflect other aspects of this period of revivalism. The coloured print of promises made to the blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, who crusaded for public devotion to the Sacred Heart, one conjunction of Irish Catholicism and nationalism, presides over Eveline Hill's paralysis; indirectly related to this social crusade are the numerous stories attesting to the habits of intemperance. The Irish-Ireland propaganda of D.P. Moran and the issue of the unresolved University question lie beneath Molly Ivors ardent nationalism. Joyce's Dubliners, then, represent an apostate class, whose hearts and minds are the battle-ground of an ideological warfare.

## Chapter Two: "He Goes in for Games": The Structure of Heroism

### i. "The Sisters": "That Rosicrucian There"

The three stories of childhood, "The Sisters," "An Encounter," and "Araby," demonstrate a development of basic tendencies and drives to be seen throughout the collection. These young protagonists share a common desire to lead heroic, adventurous lives; they all are inquisitive and sensitive, and tend, however timorously, toward rebellion from authority. They adjust themselves to the social prohibitions they observe around them but nevertheless are obsessed in quests for pure, unmediated knowledge[1]. Suspended in these narratives are many of the central themes and recurrent motifs of the entire collection and its genealogical project: the motif of discipleship, issues of gender in a revolutionary era, a set of anti-materialist, metaphysical aesthetics, and the valorization of self-sacrifice, all comprising a structure of heroism.

Amid the conflicting and competing discourses of his elders, the young protagonist of "The Sisters," on the verge of his entry into the symbolic order of Dublin life, attempts to fashion himself. His disenchantment with Dublin, as well as his yearning for escape and adventure are conditioned by

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[1] Several critics have seen in "The Sisters" and the other stories of childhood a quest for transcendent or ideal knowledge. See Walzl, "A Development," 403; Leatherwood, 73; Ghiselin, 59-61; Herring, 1-34.

recurrent motifs: the persistent absence of meaning, the banality of the everyday world, and his encountering of figures of authority.

The gnomon is, on some pre-verbal level, an emblem of the protagonist's recognition of that absence of meaning and that incompleteness. This much is discernable from the boy's allusion to the "gnomon in the Euclid" (9), his unintended punning on the word vacation - "it was vacation time" (9), and his frequent perception of figures of absence, incompleteness, and rhetorical ellipses throughout the story: Old Cotter's unfinished sentences (11), and the unassuming shop registered under the vague name of drapery" (11).

The boy is inquisitive and meditative and has a thirst for knowledge. He desires to interpret, to complete what is incomplete in the language of his elders and in the world around him. But vexed by the failure of his reasoning to make sense of the world, or by the disappointment of his own fancies, he comes to be discouraged by the banality of the real world. Following the episode in which Old Cotter and his uncle ridicule him, the young boy attempts such a completion of the gnomonic puzzle: "Though I was angry with old Cotter for alluding to me as a child I puzzled my head to extract meaning from his unfinished sentences" (11). The next day, the boy goes to visit the shop where he used to meet the priest; discouraged by the death notice, he proceeds to imaginatively relive a typical visit (12). He comes to depend

more and more on his imagination for completion of the gnomonic vacancies. At the house of mourning, the boy, unable to see into the coffin "fan[cies]...that the old priest was smiling as he lay there" (14). But this fancy, like others, is disappointed.

The boy's perception of the vacancy and banality of his surroundings is compensated for in his tending to employ over-determined language; in his tendency to adopt a gnomic, allusive, worldly, adult tone of voice; and in a maturing narrative virtuosity, recognizably literary. The young protagonist of "The Sisters" employs overdetermined language - often coordinated Latinate adjectives, and a plural, indefinite pronoun. Phrases such as "some maleficent and sinful being" (9); "I felt my soul receding into some pleasant and vicious region" (11); and "there he lay, solemn and copious, vested for the altar" (14) manifest this tendency. This overdetermined language grows; it accretes new associations, like the very developmental schema in which the narratives of the collection are arranged. For example, at the opening of the story the young boy confesses that the word paralysis once sounded strangely in his ears; now it possesses a demonic life of its own, a visage he longs to see: "[now] it filled me with fear, and yet I longed to be nearer to it and to look upon its deadly work" (9).

Unable to sustain or fulfil that imaginative, metaphysical desire in the drab, commonplace reality of his

surroundings, the boy's language-generated desire is transferred to other quest objects in the following stories. For example, in "An Encounter," the protagonist confesses that the literature of the wild west holds for him only a passing interest; his real desire, expressed in overdetermined language, echoes this formulaic phrase of "The Sisters," and anticipates the transfer of his desire to Mangan's sister in "Araby": "I liked better some American detective stories which were traversed from time to time by unkempt fierce and beautiful girls" (20).

Figures of authority also shape the growth of the young protagonist. Despite his initial sympathy for the old priest, the young boy of "The Sisters" comes to regard Father Flynn as the symbol of a paralysing authority, an authority that he must reject. Thus the boy feels a sense of freedom at the priest's death and a vague recognition of the priest's being guilty of some sin (12). A companion and mentor to the boy, the priest, we learn from the narrative, had attempted to initiate him into a world of intricate and esoteric theological questions underlying the daily rituals of the church. The great mysteries of the ritual and the complexities of the institutions of the church are the means by which the old priest established his authority. These concepts inspire fear and a sense of the absolute impossibility of living up to those rituals in the young boy: "His questions showed me how complex and mysterious were

certain institutions of the Church which I had always regarded as the simplest acts" (13). The priest, like other tutors in Joyce's intertexts, represents a tradition predicated upon its ostensible position outside the quotidian. That esoteric, theological complexity is likened by the priest to a vast textual labyrinth, "as thick as the Post Office Directory and as closely printed as the law notices in the newspaper" (13).

The boy's decision to reject the priest's authority, indeed, his becoming the very confessor of the sinning priest, is one of the great interpretative ellipses in the story. The opening of "The Sisters" introduces us to the word simony which, along with the words paralysis and gnomon, the young boy confesses sound "strangely" in his ears. These words are only loosely associated with the priest. However, by the middle of the story, after the boy has reflected on his relationship with the old priest and confessed a strange sensation of freedom at his death, there emerges a very different interpretation of Father Flynn. The "heavy grey face of the paralytic" comes to the boy immediately following his attempt to interpret old Cotter's words. The boy appears to become the confessor to the priest who now is overtly referred to as a simoniac[2]:

> It began to confess to me in a murmuring voice and I wondered why it smiled continually and why the lips were so moist with spittle. But then I remembered that it had died of paralysis and I felt

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[2] See Walzl's discussion of the dream in "'The Sisters': A Development," 391-2.

> that I too was smiling feebly as if to absolve the simoniac of his sin (11).

Although the boy throws off the influence of the priest, the relationship imprints a set of metaphysical desires on him, a set of desires that are replicated in subsequent stories. For example, despite his appealing to the authority of the institutions of the church, the priest amuses himself by putting difficult questions to the young boy: "Sometimes he had amused himself by putting difficult questions to me, asking me what one should do in certain circumstances or whether such and such sins were mortal or venial or only imperfections" (13): the young boy is the means by which the old priest teases new meanings out of the old text. Implicit in this conduct is the priest's metaphysical desire for escape. The boy's innocence, his virginity of the deep moral problems of the church, is motivation for the priest's seemingly playful interrogation, which has at its core the desire for an answer that has descended from above, rather than one that is enwrapped in the horizontal, woven texture of everyday life.

The boy has already dismissed the tiresome, inane world of his elders; however, his uncle and old Cotter, do shape his conduct and his desires, and the social weight of their admonitions is born out by subsequent stories. The boy's elders decry the influence of the old priest on the young boy; they call the priest "queer," "uncanny," and "peculiar" (10). They encourage the boy to take exercise, to play with boys his

own age, and to take cold baths:

> -I wouldn't like children of mine, [Cotter] said, to have too much to say to a man like that...it's bad for children...let a young lad run about and play with young lads of his own age (10).

Perceived as dreamy and meditative, the boy is called a brooding "Rosicrucian" by his uncle (11). Such a denigrating epithet and its prescribed "cure" suggest the familiar scriptural allegory of the active and contemplative lives, which Hugh Kenner has suggested is encoded in the story's title ("Signs on a White Field", 209-10).

These motifs, this set of values and social dicta are made substantive by a number of allusions, deployed here, but spread out across the quest narratives, and recurrent in the genealogical structure of Dubliners. Donald Torchiana has suggested that the young protagonist of "The Sisters" is the inheritor of the priestly aesthetics of the Celtic-symbolist school headed by W.B. Yeats, and, adducing the elders's reference to boy as a "Rosicrucian," has drawn attention to Yeats' 1895 essay "The Body of Father Rosencrux" in his Ideas of Good and Evil as a context. The legend evoked in the essay has obvious similarities to the narrative of "Araby": a young knight travels to the east and learns great secrets which have the potential to renovate the existing order of things. But Yeats' manifesto is situated squarely in the idealistic, anti-Enlightenment, anti-materialist ideology of many Ascendancy nationalists, as well as clerical advocates of Christian idealism. The essay provides an appropriate sub-text for the

metaphysical desires of these young Dubliners, and is, for all the artist figures of the collection - Little Chandler, James Duffy, and Gabriel Conroy - the starting place of a set of socially and politically insulating aesthetic values.

For Yeats the artistic imagination, like the body of the legendary Father Christian Rosencrux, has in the last two hundred years been "laid in a great tomb of criticism" (196). However, Yeats says, the age of reason and criticism is over. Now is the advent of

> an age of imagination, of emotion, of moods, of revelation, about to come in its place; for certainly belief in a supersensual world is at hand again ... and when the external world is no more the standard of reality, we will learn again that the great Passions are angels of God (Ideas of Good and Evil, 205).

In Yeats's project, Rosicrucian lore symbolizes his major preoccupation: the merging of his own esoterism with the peasant and mytho-heroic traditions of the Irish Celt in a renovation of a philistine Irish and English middle class. For Yeats the poetry of the coterie, in this case, his own band of mystics and theosophists, is naturally allied with that of the peasant, against the popular poetry of the middle class - Longfellow, Macauley and, though elsewhere for Yeats an exemplar of the Celtic spirit, Scott:

> There is only one kind of good poetry, for the poetry of the coteries, which presupposes the written tradition, does not differ in kind from the true poetry of the people, which presupposes the unwritten tradition. Both are alike strange and obscure, and unreal to all who have not understanding, and both, instead of that manifest logic, that clear rhetoric of the "popular poetry,"

> glimmer with thoughts and images whose 'ancestors were stout and wise,''anigh to Paradise''ere yet men knew the gift of corn' ("What is Popular Poetry?" Ideas, 8)

The art of the peasant Yeats connects directly with esoteric lore and the coteries of poets, a gesture of an intellectual aristocracy, possessed of esoteric wisdom, to the peasant, who, though embattled by the intrusion of a philistine middle class without tradition or pedigree, still harbours the secrets of the soil:

> I learned from the people themselves, before I learned it from any book, that they cannot separate the idea of an art or a craft from the idea of a cult with ancient technicalities and mysteries. They can hardly separate mere learning from witchcraft, and are fond of words and verses that keep half their secret to themselves. Indeed, it is certain that before the counting-house had created a new class and a new art without breeding and without ancestry, and set this art and this class between the hut and the castle, and between the hut and the cloister, the art of the people was as closely mingled with the art of the coteries as was the speech that delighted in rhythmical animation, in idiom, in images, in words full of far-off suggestion, with the unchanging speech of the poets ("What is Popular Poetry?" 10-11).

Yeats' 1895 collection of poems, The Rose, also takes up the Rosicrucian symbolism. Its opening poem "To the Rose Upon the Rood of Time" clearly announces this intention to merge the heroic mythological and peasant traditions - "to sing the ancient ways" - with his own esoterism - "to learn to chaunt a tongue men do not know." Moreover, poems such as "Fergus and the Druid" contrast the active and contemplative lives, as Fergus, a deposed hero-king, seeks druid wisdom. Yeats' chivalric tale "Out of the Rose" from The Secret Rose (1897)

also replicates this aristocrat-peasant rapprochement.

In merely suggestive fashion, Rosicrucian imagery connoted for Yeats a revolutionary project. With Maud Gonne, herself a symbol of Irish sovereignty for Yeats, and to whom the "The Rose" is dedicated, Yeats hoped to create a coterie of artists and intellectuals modelled on the Masonic orders in the north of Ireland, which, many believed, were working against Irish autonomy (Ellmann, Yeats: The Man and the Masks, 125). But Yeats's coterie esoterism put him outside the ken of practical Gaelic nationalists. D.P. Moran launched a vicious attack on Yeats, not only for his esoterism, but his desire to create an Irish literature in English:

> A number of writers then arose, headed by Mr. W.B. Yeats, who, for the purposes they set themselves to accomplish, lacked every attribute of genius but perseverance ....Practically no one in Ireland understands Mr. Yeats or his school; and one could not, I suggest, say anything harder of literary men (Moran, 102-3).

The Rosicrucian allusion cited by Torchiana, coupled with the quest-initiation pattern as well as with many of the motifs of the first three stories of Dubliners, suggests further literary and historical allusions: Bulwer-Lytton's occult romance Zanoni (1842) and its anti-democratic, anti-revolutionary ethos. The arguments presented in Lytton's novel distil many of the arguments of a reactionary conservatism, which, predicated on a similar metaphysical aestheticism, are ideologically united for Joyce in the heroic ideology of Christian idealists and the aristocracy. Joyce's

allusive technique provides an entry on those muted or repressed ideological tensions which the coterie's mythology brings with it.

Although Lytton is invoked by the old josser of "An Encounter" with the warning there were certain of his books that boys should not read, he figures prominently in Dubliners for numerous reasons. On the level of narrational validity, the novels of Lord Lytton provide ideological support to the privileges and position of the moribund aristocratic class represented by the old josser of "An Encounter." Moreover, as an expression of the kind of 'great men' theory of politics upon which Standish O'Grady's lament of the decayed aristocracy was based, or the Yeats' myth of a privileged class of leaders in touch with the true spirit of the nation, it serves well.

Although Lytton began his political career with the label of being a Radical, he supported the land-owning classes, and the preservation of English institutions. In 1844, Lytton inherited his mother's estate, Knebworth, and began, as was the fashion, Gothicising it (Girouard, 69-70). His politics shifted abruptly when he confronted the fierce reform movements of the mid-century. He lapsed from "Benthamite and reforming Whig to Young England Tory Radical," and while he sympathized with such movements as Chartism, he, like many of England's landed classes, was fearful of unbridled democracy (Wolff, 148).

Though early works like Pelham extended the rebellious poses of Byronism (Wolff, 146), Lytton wrote historical novels on traditional national subjects, which he believed rivalled those of Sir Walter Scott. Unlike Scott, however, Lytton wrote "heroic biographies" of the great figures of history, men of chivalric passion and noblesse, dragged down by uncomprehending multitudes (Saunders, 52).

Bulwer's meditations on history and historical change bred a peculiar form of heroic melancholy. Many of his novels were a series of nostalgic "Lasts" (Saunders, 53): The Last Days of Pompeii (1834), Rienzi, The Last of the Roman Tribunes (1835), The Last of the Barons (1843), and Harold, The Last of the Saxon Kings (1848). In short, Lytton's temperament may be said to have been split between the old world of history and tradition and the new one of progress and change: he "admired reactionaries and romanticized feudal relationships, but conceded the desirability of progress and reluctantly saluted the engine he disliked" (Wolff, 148).

Throughout his life Lytton had a profound interest in the occult. In fact, Lytton was an enigmatic, Victorian magus. He was a Rosicrucian himself, a Grand Patron of the Order (Wolff, 158). The great French occultist Abbé Alphonse Louis Constant, better known as Eliphas Lévi, claimed Lytton as one of his followers (Butler, 243). Lytton attended seances, meddled in alchemy, and cultivated arcane circles all his life, but was always rather hesitant to commit himself in

writing to any of the doctrines in which he showed such interest. His novels, along with the occult treatises of Lévi, would inspire the London Theosophical Society of Madame Petrovna Blavatsky (Butler, 245).

The predominant motifs of the quest narratives of Dubliners - the theme of discipleship as well as a set of metaphysical aesthetics - are central to Lytton's novel.[3] Interestingly, in the Preface to the 1853 edition of the work, Lytton, ranking Zanoni his highest imaginative work, directs the reader to his chivalric epic poem King Arthur, written in an "analogous design, in contemplation of our positive life through a spiritual medium." The Arthurian theme, he believes, is particularly suited to his project of unifying the dual nature of man - the active and the contemplative.

Zanoni begins with a fictional Introduction explaining how the author came to possess the novel, of which he is the translator. An unnamed protagonist, an aspiring writer, eager to learn of the wisdom of the Rosicrucians, frequents a Covent Garden bookstore which stocks arcane texts. There he meets an old gentleman who seems to know much esoteric lore and who

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[3] Recently, R.B. Kershner has shown the centrality of the discipular relationship in The Last Days of Pompeii to the narratives of "The Sisters" and "An Encounter":

> Transposed into a melodramatic key, the situation is exactly parallel to that in "The Sisters" and "An Encounter": a boy is tempted by an old, somehow disreputable priest figure who offers initiation into mysteries that combine arcane learning and an undefined element of dark sensuality and that are not accessible to ordinary humanity (41).

seems to know intimately of the Rosicrucians; the old gentleman suggests that if they ever meet again, he might direct the youth's researches. They do meet again of course and a friendship is formed.

The old sage dies, bequeathing the youth a large inheritance and several precious manuscripts, the latter of which the narrator attributes to a conversation he remembers having had with the sage in which he had promised to undertake a novel "intended to depict the effects of enthusiasm upon different modifications of character" (xvii). The sage had launched into long and recondite lecture on the subject and read to the boy Plato's definitions of the four kinds of Manias.

The manuscript, a bulky tome written in a strange cipher, is incomprehensible to the boy, but he finds a key to the script and spends years on a translation of the text. Set in Naples and Paris amid the turmoil of the French Revolution and dealing with the love triangle of Glyndon, a young, aspiring English painter; Viola, a singer and daughter of a brilliant, but obscure violinist and composer; and the mysterious Zanoni, the romance is permeated with the metaphysical aesthetics and heroic ideology which Joyce traces in the artist protagonists of subsequent stories. Frequent narrative intrusions in the novel exalt the ideal over the real:

> As some injudicious master lowers and vitiates the taste of the student by fixing his attention to what he falsely calls the Natural, but which, in reality, is the Commonplace, and understands not that beauty

> in art is created by what Raffaele so well describes - viz., the idea of beauty in the painter's own mind...the servile imitation of nature is the work of journeymen and tyros (110).

Glyndon disdains the art of Jean Nicot, the fierce French Republican, a painter of scenes from history inspiring "liberty and valour." Nicot's art, Glyndon argues, debases "the imagination itself to mechanism" (127). Moreover, in the realm of action, of heroic deeds, the work of artists like Nicot vitiates lofty ideals, reducing the divinity of self-sacrifice to a mere commodity:

> You must have a feeling - a faith in whatever is self-sacrificing and divine - whether in art, in glory or in love - or Common-sense will reason you out of the sacrifice, and a syllogism will debase The Divine to an article in the market (110-1).

Finally scorning his romantic attachments, Glyndon quests for preternatural knowledge. Initially, ambivalent and desultory, Glyndon finally commits himself to a life of discipline and self-denial, and is apprenticed to the monk-like Mejnour. He is determined to pass beyond the worldly:

> "A fiercer desire than that of love burns in my veins - the desire not to resemble but to surpass my kind - the desire to penetrate and to share the secret of your own existence - the desire of a preternatural knowledge and unearthly power ....Instruct me; school me; make me thine" (164)

The novel strongly valorizes self-denial and self-sacrifice, and the genealogy of the hero, Zanoni, reinforces this at the mythic level. At the height of the Reign of Terror, Zanoni sacrifices himself for Viola and her child, imprisoned and awaiting execution. Lytton makes clear

Zanoni's origin, his name deriving from the Chaldean word for the sun, etymologically linked to 'Adonis' (99): Zanoni is one of a series of mythical, sacrificial heroes who die for the benefit of humanity.

The use of the quest-initiation motif is central to the political message of Zanoni, to the quest narratives of Dubliners, and to Joyce's project of exposing the repressed tensions of Yeats' coterie esoterism. Discipular relationships broken before the neophyte has attained maturity are dangerous to the social order; moreover, knowledge must be guarded by the initiated. At one stage of Glyndon's apprenticeship to Mejnour, the old sage tells him of the necessity of keeping the wisdom of their order from the mainstream of humanity:

> Suppose we were to impart all our knowledge to all mankind, indiscriminately, alike to the vicious and the virtuous - should we be benefactors or scourges? Imagine the tyrant, the sensualist, the evil and corrupt being possessed of the tremendous powers; would he not be a demon let loose on earth? (218)

Lytton believed a careful and controlled program of reform could prevent social upheaval. Indeed, like Lytton, the old sage of Zanoni expresses contempt for liberal rationalizations of the Revolution:

> he did not regard the crimes of that stormy period with the philosophical leniency which enlightened writers (their heads safe upon their shoulders) are, in the present day, inclined to treat the massacres of the past (xvi).

Zanoni, linking art, occult learning, and revolution pushes Lytton's anti-democratic ideas forcefully (Wolff, 224).

Glyndon fails his own initiation and entertains the revolutionary enthusiasms of democracy and republicanism, which Zanoni so much despises and works to extirpate. This is surely the message that Glyndon wants to pass on, for we learn eventually that he is the old sage first met by the narrator in the Covent Garden bookstore; Zanoni recounts his experience of the French Revolution.

In Joyce's ontology of allusion, the textual motif symbolizes institutions and cultural traditions. Political or religious authority is predicated on a labyrinthine complexity to which the disciple must remain faithful. Whether occult texts or the doctrinal works of the church, they inspire a deep conservatism, among a class of initiates, a class of supermen, who, like Father Flynn, are thoroughly insulated from the everyday. Zanoni dramatizes the failure of the disciple to attend to tradition, as well as the consequences of premature breaking of his instruction. Like the penitential gestures of the young questers of Joyce's stories, Glyndon's romance attempts to recover something of his failed quest.

Ironically, the labyrinthine complexity of Glyndon's romance is suggestive of Joyce's text, which, not serving a single tradition or institution, deploys a web of allusions, analogues, and correspondences, showing the similarity of their operation, and exposing their muted ideological tensions.

ii. "An Encounter": "The Aristocracies are Supplanted"

The second quest narrative, "An Encounter" duplicates many of the main elements of "The Sisters." Oppressed by another figure of authority, Father Butler, the young protagonist seeks escape from the dull routine of school. Detached and meditative, and possessing nascent class prejudices, he distances himself from his fellow adventurer, only to encounter another figure of authority in the old josser.

The quest of the young boy of "An Encounter," like that of the protagonist of "The Sisters," is oriented toward the accumulation of knowledge - a theme encoded in the etymological root of gnomon meaning "to know" (Walzl, "A Development", 399). He is inquisitive, professing a liking for "detective stories" (28). But the detachment and reticence exhibited in the young protagonist of "The Sisters" have developed into a more assured but pretentious style, where such narrative virtuosity parades as self-knowledge. For example, he dignifies Joe Dillon's library of pulp magazines with the appellation "the literature of the Wild West" and pretends to have evolved a mature view of his own tastes in such "literature": "The adventures related in the literature of the Wild West were remote from my nature but, at least, they opened the doors of escape" (20). Just prior to the approach of the old josser the boy refers gnomonically to his chewing on "one of those green stems on which girls tell

fortunes"(24): a periphrastic framing of speech intended to lend to his narrative a sense of his possessing worldly knowledge.

The boy's knowledge includes a limited perception of class and religious differences, as well as a perception of his own frailty compared with the other boys. He euphemistically refers to these as "differences of culture and constitution" (20). Describing his fellow adventurer, Mahony, he admits rather apologetically his frequent use of slang (22). The young protagonist notes the differences of class in "the squalid streets where the families of the fishermen live" (24). Moreover, despite some undefined dislike for the old josser, the boy notices that the strange man has a good accent (24). When the two are shouted at for Mahony's chasing "a crowd of ragged girls" and are called 'swaddlers' by a group of rescuers, he reasons that they mistook Mahony for a Protestant (22).

The social weight of being active, of not being a brooding "Rosicrucian," preached by old Cotter, is also reinforced by his peers; he confesses that he was among those who banded together in their rebellion against the discipline of school "out of fear" of the rougher boys - he not wanting "to seem studious or lacking in robustness" (20). The old josser also insinuates the allegory of the active and meditative lives: "-Ah, I can see you are a bookworm like myself. Now, he added, pointing to Mahony who was regarding

us with open eyes, he is different; he goes in for games" (25).

The young protagonist responds sympathetically to the old man because his knowledge of books represents a refinement that the rough and tumble Mahony does not possess. The boy's snobbish attitude is organised around the binarism of esoteric and common knowledge, a pattern imprinted on the protagonist of "The Sisters" by Father Flynn. Indeed, the boy tries to determine whether the things the old man is says are common knowledge or whether they are secrets: "At times he spoke as if he were simply alluding to some fact that everyone knew, and at times he lowered his voice and spoke mysteriously as if he were telling us something secret which he did not wish others to overhear" (26).

Initially, the boy worries that his ignorance of real the content of the old josser's allusions will be found out, and he will be revealed to be "as stupid" as his companion, Mahony (25). The boy discovers that allusions are cultural shibboleths, badges of culture, fragments of larger texts of which a thorough knowledge is assumed. They are gestures of snobbery, of exclusion from that privileged culture that the old josser seems to represent, and to which the boy, disdaining his companion, pretends to desire access.

The young boy also exhibits his desire to show off his knowledge, yet such endeavours frequently meet with failure. He attempts to decipher the legend of the Norwegian

threemaster, but this fails; then, after checking to see if the sailors have green eyes, he trivializes his attempt to show off his erudition with the confession that he had held "some confused notion" (23). The boy finds only the clownish dockworker, inane and vacuous, like the Dublin reality he will come to reject in favour of his imagination.

The epiphany with which the story closes enacts a familiar pattern of failure and humiliation, of interpretation and frustrated desire recurring throughout Dubliners. Inanity and failure are veiled by language. Here the style rises into a pseudo-heroic mode in a bogus assertion of comradery. Language attempts to recover in a penitential gesture the self-hood invested in the failed quest: "How my heart beat as he came running across the field to me! He ran as if to bring me aid. And I was penitent; for in my heart I had always despised him a little" (28).

The narrative of "An Encounter" evokes the political disorder of the post-Parnell era. Invoking martial metaphors and words with etymologies derived from warfare, the story is punctuated repeatedly with word play on ideas of discipline and rule, disorder and chaos: phrases like "the restraining influence of school" (20) and "a spirit of unruliness"(19). "chronicles of disorder" (20-1); the old josser, described as "strangely liberal" (25), and who utters "liberalisms" (27), the Leonine imagery of Leo Dillon, evoking pope Leo XIII, who preached against Irish nationalism (Gifford, 105), as well as

the Monarchical iconography of England.

The disorder of the period, its factionalism as well as the decline of the leadership role of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy were lamented in the political writings of Standish O'Grady. The old josser is the representative of that decayed aristocratic tradition, overborne by a hostile, democratic mob. In O'Grady's view, the aristocracy was the only class capable of instituting reform. Men of honour and education, of inherited right and leisure, they had, like their counterparts in England, "surrendered to a hungry, greedy, and anarchic canaille" (165-6).

O'Grady's writings were explicit on the roïe of the aristocracy. His ideal of such leadership was embodied in Swift, who "laboured all his life to teach an aristocracy the right course, and in vain; for the right course involved self-sacrifice, heavy labour - a martyr-like suppression of self" (168). Despite his pessimism, O'Grady saw some hope for a united Ireland in the model of Tory democracy, advocated by Charles Kingsley:

> The English aristocracy - the most intelligent of them - do at least perceive whither this democratic movement is travelling. Time and events are bringing them face to face, not with plutocratic interests now, but with the manual toiler of the country. The dream of Charles Kingsley's life, the alliance of the gentlemen of England with the workingmen of England seems destined in the remote future to assume some shape of reality (170).

Like previous Ascendancy nationalists, men like Sir Samuel Ferguson and Isaac Butt, O'Grady greatly feared a

Catholic mob unbridled. He argued that political democracy was unsuited to unite Ireland against England, that politicians, "the new quasi-sovereign power," were "no more than an exhalation and steam of the unloosed democracy" (166). Politicians, unlike the aristocracy, O'Grady argued, had "no capacity for ruling in them", for "[r]ule implies, as one essential element, force - the power and the will to chastise" (166). The political and social conditions of Ireland consisted of numerous "sections and classes, each pursuing its own interests" (168), which must be bridled by strong rule.

The old josser, who indulges the boys, who promotes the heroic romance literature of Scott and Lytton, but who also intones the need to "chastise" them, to rule and control their vigour, is an epitome of O'Grady's anti-democratic political philosophy. Ironically, O'Grady, too, was guilty of indulging Ireland; his histories of heroic Ireland had introduced to Anglo-Ireland "a world of ferocious yet chivalrous heroism" (O'Farrell, 239). The old josser is also suggestive of the ascetic and disciplined nationalist movements like the Gaelic Athletic Association, and its English counterpart, Kingsley's Muscular Christianity movements which, as we shall see, share similar ideological roots.

The issues raised in O'Grady's political writings are also woven into "The Sisters" and to "Araby." O'Grady's <u>All Ireland Review</u> featured a regular series of articles which attempted to define and propose some solutions to the

political problems of Ireland since the Union. He dubbed the peculiar malaise of 19th century Irish politics "The Great Enchantment." Like other nationalists, especially the coterie of imaginative writers, O'Grady frequently employed mythical allusions and parallels as a rhetorical strategy. He likened Ireland's political strife to the 'The Stupefaction of the Ultonians' and the enchantment of Finn Mac Cumal, a wasting sickness deep in Ireland's mythological past[4] which had rendered its heroes helpless:

> In primitive literatures we read much about enchantment; in our own instance those who come readily to mind are "The Stupefaction of the Ultonians," and the enchantment of Finn and his Fianna in the weird place of the Quicken Boughs. I always thought such tales to be mere exercises of imagination, but it is not so...Nations, too, like individuals, may, as the punishment of their crimes and follies, find themselves flung into such an

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[4] The variations and name changes, as well as the figural character of the mythic heroes of Celtic myth and their counterparts in Welsh, British, and French romances, are confusing. Alfred Nutt, Irish Celtic scholar, in his Studies in the Legends of the Holy Grail (1888), divided the Celtic and Arthurian literature centring on the Grail quest into two motifs: the feud quest and the unspelling quest, which in the vast Celtic and Arthurian literature, exchanged elements; new motifs were added, others were suppressed to suit the needs of the writer, whether Christian or pagan or apologist for both. The unspelling motif of O'Grady's allusion to Finn and the Ulster heroes effectively glosses the quest of the young protagonists of Dubliners. Nutt describes it as

> the hero's search for riches, power, or knowledge, in prosecution of which he penetrates to the otherworld. This is figured in the Grail romances by Brons' or Alains'(who here answers to Fionn) catching the wonderful fish, and by Peredur-Perceval coming to the house of Brons, the Fisher King (who here answers to Finn-eges), winning from him the mysterious vessel of increase, and learning the secret words which put an end to the enchantments of Britain (210).

> enchanted condition, and suffer that worst loss of all, the loss of reason.
>
> The political understanding of Ireland to-day is under a spell and its will paralysed (174).

O'Grady argued that the paralysis in Irish politics was a permanent spell from which Ireland could not awake, and his characterization of that spell echoes the words of the protagonist of "The Sisters," who is haunted by "some maleficent and sinful being":

> We worship phantoms, and phantoms powerless per se once worshipped...become endowed with a terrible and malignant vitality and activity. We know that is so with regard to idols, in themselves only sticks and stones. Did not own ancestors slay their poor little children in honour of Crom, a shapeless hulk of stone? (178-9).

O'Grady's political essays are also addressed the issue of the commercial and financial exploitation of Ireland, a concern central in the writings of nationalists like Arthur Griffith and D.P. Moran. He attacked England's financial abuses in Ireland and its mercantilism, a wasting enchantment emanating from a greed "en-Throned and wearing Sceptre and Crown" (176)

In the last years of the 1890's, O'Grady championed the All-Ireland movement, a project which attempted to fuse the varied classes and sects of Irish society in a single movement to protest English financial abuses. The Report of the Childers Commission (1896), headed by Hugh Childers, former Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Gladstone adminstration and later Irish Home Secretary, had inspired the movement. The Childers report, which investigated the financial relations of

England and Ireland during the past century, determined that Ireland had been consistently over-taxed during the Union (A Dictionary of Irish History Since 1800, 67). Such evidence, O'Grady argued, was powerful in Ireland's bid to win greater constitutional powers from England. Practically, it suggested that the interests of both nations would be best served if administration and taxation were in the control of local government (Mansergh, 246). But the Great Enchantment, inexplicably prevented Ireland from gaining anything from this opportunity: "With such a document in our possession as the Report of the Childers Commission, with such a preponderating political power as is ours, and with such hosts of good British friends, why can we do nothing?" (179). The All Ireland came to nothing, and O'Grady lamented its collapse.

O'Grady's essay "The Veiled Player," also from his All Ireland Review series, imaged the constitutional struggle for autonomy as the playing of a game of chess. An author and translator of the Irish heroic cycles, O'Grady would have been familiar with the motif of chess playing as it figures in Irish legend, as well as the Norman tradition of financial accounting being conducted on the squares of a chess board. Through the use of such culturally rich allusions he achieves great rhetorical force; he writes,

> [w]e must habituate ourselves to thought [sic] that politics are an art, like the art of war, and governed by much the same kind of laws; or a game, like chess, with move and counter-move (Selected Essays and Passages, 188).

Once again O'Grady lamented the disunity of the Irish players for constitutional autonomy; the rules of politics, like the rules of war or chess, he intoned, could not be applied to a mob, and "this our mob of Irish factions is slowly, steadily, inevitably resolving itself into a host" (189).

Joyce invokes O'Grady's political allegory of an impoverished, exploited nation in "The Sisters" via theme, verbal echo and etymology, and temporal setting. The theme of simony is linked via the chess motif and its tradition association of accounting with O'Grady's attack on the imperial plutocracy. The young boy of "The Sisters" finds himself "at check" when he reads the death notice of father Flynn, a word etymologically related to both "chess" and "exchequer." Moreover, July 1st, the date of Father Flynn's death, is the anniversary of the amalgamation of the exchequers of Great Britain and Ireland under the Consolidated Funds Act of 1816.[5]

Many of the motifs of "Araby" are theme and variation of those deployed in "The Sisters"; the paralysis theme is reiterated as an "eastern enchantment," which at the political level amounts to the enchantment of Ireland by the forces of mercantilism protested by O'Grady. The Eastern enchantment lays "waste" the boy's days and nights - a phrase evocative of

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[5] On the theme of financial exploitation in "Two Gallants" and the dubious finances of another Chancellor of the Exchequer in pre-Union Ireland, see Torchiana, 91-108. Walzl suggests allusions to Swift's Drapier's Letters in "The Sisters"; see "A Development," 405.

the wasteland theme invoked in O'Grady's vision of a paralysed Ireland - and his teachers worry that he has begun to "idle" (32), as we shall, phrases echoed in other sub-texts.

Other important issues of this period of disorder and cultural revival are woven into "An Encounter." With the nationalist goal of cultural autonomy, the de-Anglicizing of Ireland, and the promotion of a set of Gaelic, Catholic values, censorship became the bulwark against the intrusion of values perceived as hostile to these goals. The issue of censorship was one in which virtually all manifestations of cultural nationalism - the coterie, journalists, the clergy, and lay people were united. In the essays of Yeats, AE, and Douglas Hyde, and in the journalism of Arthur Griffith and D.P. Moran, the necessity of stemming the tide of popular magazines was paramount. For the church, the issue at stake was the intrusion of "'daily and weekly journals, the reviews, and all lighter literature,'" all of which "'preach[ed] Protestantism with a hundred tongues'" (O'Farrell, 228).

For the literary idealists and the cultural nationalists, it was the intrusion of materialistic, Saxon values. AE writes: "We see everywhere a moral leprosy, a vulgarity of mind creeping over them [our children]. The police gazettes, the penny novels, the hideous comic journals replace the once familiar poems and the beautiful and moving memories of classic Ireland" (Ideals in Ireland, 19). Yeats writes of opposing "the vulgar books and vulgarer songs that come to us

from England" (Ideals in Ireland, 90). In his "The Battle of Two Civilizations," D.P. Moran writes:

> Then the great rise of cheap periodicals came about in England, and the market was flooded with them. Ireland being a poor country, the cheapest class of periodicals only is within the popular resources, and it soon became evident that a grave evil was threatening us, and that Ireland was largely feeding on a questionable type of reading matter (Moran, 102).

The issue of censorship is important in two episodes of "An Encounter." Thematically as well as ontologically, allusions are of central importance: they are recognized as fragments of a larger cultural matrix, as representative of a set of cultural, religious and moral values to which access is either prohibited or encouraged. The literature of the "Wild West" in Joe Dillon's penny magazines, Pluck, The Union Jack, and The Half-Penny Marvel, circulated secretly at school, are discovered by Father Butler. The priest's deprecations typify the views held by members of the clergy and many cultural nationalists:

> -What is this rubbish? he said. The Apache Chief! Is this what you read instead of studying your Roman History? Let me not find any more of this wretched stuff in this college. The man who wrote it, I suppose, was some wretched scribbler that writes these things for a drink. I'm surprised at boys like you, educated, reading such stuff. I could understand it if you were...National School boys (20).

The association of the writer of such pulp magazines with intemperance is a common response of a clergy promoting both a religious revival and a temperance crusade. Father Butler also insinuates an anti-Protestant message by attempting to

elevate his pupils above the National School boys, products of a school system modelled on the English system, which itself was widely suspected of subverting Irish religious, political and economic life (Gifford, 36-7). Clearly, Joe Dillon's penny magazines are representative of a culture and a set of values seen as hostile. Not surprisingly, Father Butler would rather ground the boys in a thorough knowledge of Roman history.

However, there is substantial irony in the use of these allusions and in Father Butler's diatribe. Gifford suggests that the boys' reading from Roman history may be Caesar's Commentarii de Bello Gallico, a tract in which the unruliness and ferocity of the Gallic Celts is chronicled (36). Joe Dillon's penny "dreadfuls" were in fact "reform magazines" brought out by Dublin-born publisher Alfred C. Harmsworth and designed to counter the sensational pulp magazines coming in from England (Gifford, 36). The historical text, as much as the "sensationalism" of the penny magazines, condones the "spirit of unruliness" which Father Butler's dogmatic censure attempts to interdict. Whether Harmsworth's magazines, with titles like The Union Jack, would have satisfied cultural nationalists is doubtful, however. The interests of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the landed aristocracy in Ireland, both conservative in their social philosophy, are also linked in "An Encounter," for the old josser warns the boys away from certain reading material.

iii. "Araby": "Honour is the Elder Sister"

In "Araby," the final narrative of the stories of childhood, the young protagonist appropriates a literary persona that will bridge the socially imposed polarities of active and passive lives with their respective virtues and stigmata; he also realizes his desire for the experience of the "fierce and unkempt beautiful girls" of "An Encounter." As later stories will show, this desire, here finding its expression in a pseudo-chivalric literary mode, begins the tendency of the men to idealize women, to project their own self-serving values on them. As well, the chivalric mode is the frame for a vast matrix of related ideological formations, which Joyce's subversive intertextual practice captures in its metaphoric, metonymic nets.

On the level of narrative, the romance mode also offers the class-sensitive, snobbish protagonist a more refined version of the heroic quest. The concept of chivalrous conduct is, in fact, already embedded in the consciousness of young boy of "An Encounter." When the rude, aggressive Mahony chases a crowd of girls, the protagonist assumes that the boys who came to their rescue acted "out of chivalry" (22).

Further, the merging of heroic sentiment and religious devotion, of active and contemplative lives, allows the boy to aestheticize, to reconcile an otherwise irreconcilable and hostile reality. In the crowded, squalid streets through which he imagines himself heroically carrying his chalice,

drunken men, bargaining women, cursing labourers, the cries of shop-boys and the street ballads "about troubles in our native land" are merged "into a single sensation of life" (31). Aestheticization collapses the social and political complexities of everyday life.

The injunction of the elders of "The Sisters" and "An Encounter" to take exercise and play with boys of his own age finds expression in an heroic language that effects a compromise between the boy's introspective nature and the demands of society that he be active:

> The cold air stung us and we played until our bodies glowed. Our shouts echoed in the silent street. The career of our play brought us through the dark muddy lanes behind the houses where we ran the gantlet of the rough tribes from the cottages, to the back doors of the dark odorous stables where a coachman smoothed and combed the horse or shook music from the buckled harness (30).

The magic suggestiveness of language, its power to evoke images, is transferred to Mangan's sister, and he confesses that the "syllables of the word Araby were called to me through the silence in which my soul luxuriated and cast an Eastern enchantment over me" (32). Language becomes the medium of his adoration of her, of lofty sentiment, as well as his valorization of his own sensitive and heroic nature: "Her name sprang to my lips at moments in strange prayers and praises which I myself did not understand. My eyes were often full of tears (I could not tell why) and at times a flood from my heart seemed to pour itself out into my bosom" (31).

As the authorizer of the quest, Mangan's sister becomes

the receptacle of his overdetermined, adoring lyricism. She is an empty chalice in which his heroic self is consecrated. In return, she offers no check to his quest, no esoteric, constraining theology, no taint of perversion or evil. She, like many of the women of Dubliners, becomes an imaginative oasis in a banal Dublin wasteland.

The boy's fiction of a chivalric quest, his retreat into the life of the heroic imagination, forces a template of literary meaning on the everyday, reinforcing his separation from it. Waiting for his uncle to return home, the boy retires to the "high cold empty gloomy rooms" which he says made him feel liberated (31); here again overdetermined language veils separation and inanity. His sense of hearing and his perception of the passing of time are diminished are confused; the image of the "brown-clad figure" obfuscates his vision: "All my senses seemed to desire to veil themselves and, feeling that I was about to slip from them, I pressed the palms of my hands together until they trembled, murmuring: O love! O love! many times" (31):

> Their cries reached me weakened and indistinct and, leaning my forehead against the cool glass, I looked over at the dark house where she lived. I may have stood there for an hour, seeing nothing but the brown-clad figure cast by my imagination, touched discreetly by the lamplight at the curved neck, at the hand upon the railings and at the border below the dress (33).

The boy's uncle is less a paralysing figure of authority than are the elders of "The Sisters," nor is the priest-mentor figure to be found here. Many of the motifs of the

frustration of the quest are transferred from such figures of authority to the dreary, inefficient, and tawdry world around him, which can not respond adequately to his imaginative, heroic desires. School becomes tedious and uninteresting for him: "I wished to annihilate the tedious intervening days" (32). On the night of the bazaar, the boy's uncle is late. The train to the bazaar is intolerably delayed (34). He arrives too late and the hall is in darkness, the bazaar nearly over. The episode is one of humiliation: for not only does the folly of his desire seem so transparent to him that he confesses that he forgot why he had come (35), but he, like the protagonist of "An Encounter," finds the end of the quest is banal and vacuous. At the source of his "encnantment" he finds a young woman engaged in a seemingly vacuous conversation with two young English men. To add to his humiliation, she keeps an eye on him in the suspicion that he might steal a trinket (35). Again, the scene is one of debasement and subsequent penitence: "Gazing up into the darkness I saw myself as creature driven and derided by vanity; and my eyes burned with anguish and anger" (35).

"Araby," with its medieval romance fiction, serves as a frame for a matrix of related ideologies and cultural forms. The debased chivalric codes manifested on the social level point to the more deeply buried heroic ideology Joyce sees permeating Irish life. As Seamus Deane has argued, many of the traits which distinguished the 19th century revival of

chivalry were duplicated in the strong separatist current of Irish nationalism (Deane, "Masked with Matthew Arnold's Face: Joyce and Liberalism", 12). Modern English chivalry and Celtic civilization, as many cultural historians - Matthew Arnold among them - had suggested, were rooted in a shared Celtic ideal of hero worship and gallantry. Moreover, the kind of Christian idealism advocated by the clergy in Ireland had much in common with the anti-materialistic, virtue-loving ideals of the English movement, and even with the aristocratic postures of occultists like Bulwer-Lytton. As one Irish priest suggested, the deeds of the mythic Irish hero Cuchulain were worthy of emulation; they were not, however, of greater merit than the heroes of Christian chivalry (O'Farrell,239).

The revival of the codes of chivalry in the Victorian era is treated in broad scope in Mark Girouard's The Return to Camelot. Chivalry was, for the most part, dead when Milton rejected it as an epic theme. Hume dismissed it in the 18th century (19). However, with the French Revolution, Edmund Burke displayed a rather different attitude toward chivalry. Burke's description of his meeting Marie Antoinette, a scene which an historian of religion might recognize as infused with the quality of the numinous, is, for Girouard, a turning point in the revival of this cultural form. Interestingly, the description has surprising resonances with the image of Mangan's sister which obsesses the young protagonist of "Araby":

> Surely never alighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, - glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy...Little did I dream that I should have lived to see disasters fallen upon her in a nation of men of honour, and of cavaliers...But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded (19).

Burke's language is indeed resonant with the variety of cultural forms to which chivalric codes and fashions would be annexed in the nineteenth century: idealism, romanticism and romantic nationalism, the cult of heroes and of games, esoterism, anti-rationalism, and the valorization of rural, peasant life.

In its revived form modern chivalry introduced a set of traditional symbols of monarchical authority into a Great Britain rocked by the French Revolution. At its inception, this re-awakened medievalism, though disdained by many, was recognized for its utility in maintaining the authority of kings and the institutions of kingship. George IV, for example, disliked the chivalrous fashion, as had his father, yet he recognized the "value of medievalism as an alternative symbol of tradition and authority" (26).

Modern chivalry also took its place on the side of Christian idealism and anti-rationalism in Victorian culture. Even as early as the eighteenth century, Richard Hurd, tutor to George IV, had argued in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance that the decline of chivalry was due to the domination of imagination by reason. In the mid-nineteenth century, the

revival of chivalry fostered Charles Kingsley's 'muscular Christianity,' analogous to the Victorian cult of heroes. Kingsley claimed that chivalry opposed a distinctively feminine, meditative monasticism. For Kingsley, cold baths, "had a special, almost mystical meaning; [they were] a symbol of purity, and a practical means toward preserving it" (Girouard, 143). Chivalry also instituted its cult of a heroic warrior class. Hurd had drawn parallels between the chivalric romances and the Homeric epics, seeing their common origins in their admiration of primitive warrior societies (22). The obvious 19th century expression of such views was Carlylean hero-worship, itself allied with anti-materialism.

The role of Sir Walter Scott in this genealogy of the Victorian revival of chivalry is central. Scott wrote important articles on chivalry and romance for the Encyclopedaeia Britannica. Yet although, as Girouard tells us, Scott was continually apologizing intellectually for chivalry, he was, for whatever emotional reasons, irresistibly drawn to it. But Scott's promotion of chivalry was less comprehensive than his imitators; he merely claimed that those "wild and overstrained courtesies" were the antecedents of today's "system of manners" (Girouard, 33). Scott saw these codes as derived from the medieval cultural forms; others saw them as synonymous and attempted to revive these forms for varied didactic and authoritarian purposes (Girouard, 60). Nevertheless, Scott's work inspired scores of

imitators, not only of his novels, but of the codes of chivalry which it appeared he espoused. Numerous writers of the age produced popular works on chivalric themes; as well, histories of chivalry appeared in numbers (Girouard, 43).

These new codes of honour and gentlemanly conduct were also promoted in the educational system. Didactic works for the young such as Stacy Grimaldi's A Suit of Armour for Youth (1824), in which a piece of armour stood for certain of the chivalric virtues, or the Irish-born Kenelm Digby's The Broadstone of Honour, or 'Rules for the Gentlemen of England,' which went through several editions and was expanded from a single volume in 1822 to five volumes in 1877, were representative of a literature which saturated the English educational system. Owing to the influence of Digby, Carlyle, FitzGerald, and Thomas Hughes, whose Tom Brown's School Days went through 50 editions, schools established their cult of games. Hughes, having drawn his ideas from Carlyle, advocated physical activity to build moral character (Girouard, 164-70).

In Ireland, where the Protestant Ascendancy generally oversaw the affairs of government, and in which a semi-feudal relationship still existed between the Irish peasant and the Protestant landlord, the Anglo-Irish establishment were naturally enthusiastic about the chivalric mode. A figure such as Kenelm Digby is an important indicator of the temperament of many Anglo-Irish. Born in Ireland in 1797 of Protestant stock, he converted to Catholicism and expanded his

work on modern chivalry, The Broadstone of Honour, with the intention of demonstrating that Catholicism and chivalry were compatible, indeed fundamentally linked, forms. An avowed Platonist, Digby attacked utilitarianism, materialistic values, and democracy, the last of which was "utterly opposed to all the principles of the ancient as well as of the Christian chivalry" (quoted in Girouard, 62). Digby also endorsed the cult of games, exercise, and even "the violent amusements of ancient chivalry" all of which warmed the heart and incited "the love of virtue" (quoted in Girouard, 64).

For proponents of Christian idealism in turn-of-the-century Ireland - the combatants of the Reformation and enlightened rationalism - Scott held an important place. Canon P.A. Sheehan, who had written on the corrupting materialism of England in his own novels and who saw literature as a potential ally of Christian idealism, recognized the conjunctive value of Scott, chivalry, and heroism in combatting materialism:

> If Voltaire banished from the republic of letters everything that savoured of chivalry, enthusiasm, poetry, heroism, it is quite clear that these must have been recognized as the allies of religion ....Walter Scott's Waverly Novels prepared the way for the Tractarian Movement, and became its initial impulse; and Tieck, Novalis, the Schlegels, who formed the romantic school in Germany, prepared men's minds for Catholicism by recalling the ancient glories that filled every city of Europe with churches and cathedrals, and the galleries of Italy with priceless and immortal art (Sheehan, 256).

It was the same for Literary Revivalists such as Yeats. Yeats's literary movement possessed, at its core, the same

anti-rationalist sentiments as his Christian idealist counterparts, and the same aristocratic postures of advocates of modern chivalry: the ascendancy of the imagination, the valorization of peasant life, and of course esoterism, an interest upon which he parted company with Christian idealists and many nationalists.

Like the English version, the separatist stream of Irish revolutionary nationalism revered the traditional emblems of feudal authority; many of its interests were focused in the activities of the Gaelic League. It infiltrated the school system and spawned its own cult of games, Padraic Pearse, who blended Cuchulain with Christ and who made the ultimate sacrifice in the Easter Rising of 1916, being the most famous advocate of this cult. Throughout Dubliners we see these codes appearing in gentlemanly conduct, or, opposed to a meditative, quasi-monastic ideal, appearing as a set of social prohibitions.

The antipathy of old Cotter and the boy's Uncle to the dead Father Flynn would seem to be one of the peripheral enigmas in "The Sisters"; the two elders, if not closet Fenians are, with their pitting of the 'queer' meditative life of the priest against the virtues of exercise and cold baths, replicating a pervasive binarism in the social operations of both English and Irish life, and, most importantly, the doctrines of nationalist ideology.

The mid-1880's saw the founding of the Gaelic Athletic

Association by the Dublin teacher, Michael Cusack, the model for the vitriolic Citizen in the "Cyclops" chapter of Ulysses. The movement was an early expression of a militant, racial and cultural nationalism. Such revolutionary fervour lay smouldering beneath the fabric of Irish society since the Fenian rising in 1867. Its agenda was overtly political and separatist:

> if any two purposes should go together they ought to be politics and athletics. A political people we must be; the exigencies of our situation force us into a perpetual war with England...our politics being essentially national so should our athletics (101).

Cusack lamented the disappearance of Gaelic sports which he saw - rightly so - as a direct result of English rule: "the hated and hitherto dominant race drove the Irish people from their trysting places at the cross-roads and hurling fields" (quoted in Mandle, 95). English sports were a "denationalizing plague" which was part of a "demoralising tide...rushing up to our doors through the ill-concealed sewers" (97). Like cultural nationalists who would follow - D.P. Moran most notably - branding non-Irish culture as destructive of national virility, Cusack inveighed that the Irish had become "effete, pursuing fripperies and fashion" (95). The G.A.A. emphasized the distinctiveness of Irish sports. Hurling was believed to go back the days of the Ulster mythological hero Cuchulain and was "vested with legendary grandeur" (Mandle, 101). While there are no clear references to Fenianism in the words of old Cotter and the

boy's uncle, their prescriptions emphasize a common feature of Irish society.

Such social dicta are made substantive in a fictional intertext. Sir Walter Scott's The Abbot elaborates many of the motifs of Joyce's narratives. The novel is set at the height of revolutionary turmoil in Scotland, around the time of Mary Stuart's abdication in 1567 in favour of her son James and sometime near the end of her eleven month imprisonment in Lochleven castle. Roland Graeme, an orphan and an aspiring young page, moves between the forces of zealous Protestant Reformers and fanatical Catholics and comes into the service of Mary Stuart, during the time of her plot to escape from Lochleven.

Scott's novel offers a "parallel" to Irish history. The period of Scotland's history depicted in The Abbot is analogous to post-Williamite conquest and up to the early years of the Union in Ireland when the Penal Laws forbade the practice of the Catholic religion. Thomas Moore's tendency to evoke in his ballad poetry the ruin of a nation and its religion is analogous to Scott's picture of a decrepit catholicism. Moreover, the novel depicts an embattled and strife torn land in which, like Ireland, little material progress can be made. Returning from a mission to Holland, Sir Halbert Glendinning, a knight in the service of Mary Stuart's half brother, Lord Murray, tells his wife that there no man fights for his land; mercenaries are employed to

defend the country while the Hollander and the Fleming work to improve the conditions of the land and of trade. Mary abhors their lack of patriotism, but Sir Halbert laments that Scotland did not have such men. Much of the novel is centred on these conflicting views: that of tradition, love of country, religion and sovereign, and that of action and material progress. Sir Halbert laments that in time of rebellion men must "seek...idle fame derived from dead ancestors" (61).

Roland is perplexed and frustrated by the deception, sectarianism, and fanaticism that surround him, which make reason and intelligence irrelevant traits. Again united with his grandmother, Magdalen Graeme, a renegade Catholic disguised as a witch, Roland is rebuked by her for his faithlessness, to which Roland replies:

> I have been treated amongst you - even by yourself, my revered parent, as well by others - as one who lacked the common attributes of free-will and human reason, or was at least deemed unfit to exercise them. A land of enchantment have I been led into, and spells have been cast around me - every one has met me in disguise - every one has spoken to me in parables - I have been like one who walks in a weary and bewildering dream (II, 148).

The passage is an unmistakeable echo of the "the Eastern enchantment" that lays waste the boy of "Araby," and Standish O'Grady's mythic evocation of "the great enchantment," the political paralysis of an Ireland which has lost its reason and which is, as Mr. Henchy in "Ivy Day" says, industrially "idle" (131).

The frequent punning on "idol" and "idle" is in Scott indicative of the tension between tradition and modernity, a theme prominent in the writings of many of Irish nationalists. As well, this theme is the source of much of the misogyny in Scott and among many of Joyce's Dubliners. In The Abbot, Elias Henderson, a Protestant preacher at Lochleven with whom Roland shows some sympathy, warns Roland to avoid the temptation to be drawn into some plot by the women attendants at court and the Queen herself. Mary's re-ascension to the throne, he says, would risk civil war and plunge Scotland into the "ancient Dagon of Superstition" and make "the churches of God the high places of Baal" (II, 98). Henderson charges Mary Stuart with representing "blinded superstition and idolatry" (II, 105).

The social valorization of the active over the contemplative life exhibited in Dubliners is strongly present in The Abbot. Gender roles become rigid. The moral obliquity insinuated by old Cotter and the boy's uncle in "The Sisters" seem to prompt the protagonist of "Araby," afraid of being labelled effeminate or "lacking in robustness" like the boy of "An Encounter," to become active.

Despite the great historical compromise which Scott's fiction effects and despite his recognition that men too are prey of enthusiasms, much of his condemnation appears to be levelled against women, who, prey to hysterical enthusiasms like religion and nationalism, lead men to destruction. Henry

Warden, the Calvinist theologian, attacks both the boy and the pernicious influence of doting women in his sermons, inveighing that "'trained under female discipline, [they] become themselves effeminate hermaphrodites, having female spite and female cowardice added to the infirmities and evil passions of their masculine nature'" (91).

Yet such prescriptions are addressed to Roland from the Catholic faction as well. During one meeting with the disguised Catherine, she tells him to hold fast to his religion, for desertion of a noble cause for personal gain is "womanish" (II, 141); she argues that in such times of turmoil, "times which make females men, are least of all fitted for men to become women; yet you yourself are in danger of such a change" (140). The novel also appropriates the allegory of the title of the first story of Dubliners. During one of many disputes with Catherine Seyton, Roland asks, "When I have toiled to win that Leah, Honour, thou wilt not, my Catherine...condemn me to a new term of service for that Rachel, Love?" to which she replies: "Honour is the elder sister and must be won the first" (II, 205).

The discipular motif is also prominent in the story. The influence of the priest is powerful on the boy, and later in a sequestered orchard again reminiscent of the garden in "Araby," the priest in disguise attempts to set the boy straight after hearing him discuss the doctrinal position of Protestants. The priest tells Roland he will give him a book

on "Our Lady's grace" which will clear up his errors (II, 158), providing a link with The Devout Communicant, a book the young boy of "Araby" finds among the dead priest's papers. Roland is once again plunged into indecision, and the narrative explains that the Abbot "with success enough, exerted over him that powerful influence which the guardians and instructors of our childhood possess over our more mature youth" (II, 165).

There are other motifs in the novel that seem to fill the ellipses in the quest narratives, as well as elaborate the structure of heroism. When Roland leaves Avenel and is reunited with his grandmother, Magdalen Graeme, a renegade Catholic, they travel to the mansion of Dame Bridget, also a renegade Catholic, where under their constant scrutiny, Roland begins to feel that the influence of the two old women is oppressive. The two continually refer to each other as 'sisters' in their revolutionary and spiritual struggle. After which Roland muses:

> It seemed he had now got two mistresses, or tutoresses, instead of one, both elderly women, and both it would seem, in league to direct his motions according to their own pleasure, and for the accomplishment of plans to which he was no party...."I will not be all my life the slave of a woman's whistle, to go when she bids, and come when she calls. No by Saint Andrew! the hand that can hold the lance is above the control of the distaff" (I, 167).

These thoughts seem to provide the mute motivation for the young protagonist's reticence to take part in the ceremony of the wake in "The Sisters," and may be another source of those

values prompting the ambivalence and distrust of women among Joyce's male Dubliners.

## iv. "Eveline": The Bohemian Girl

Emphasis on physical prowess, cold baths, anti-intellectualism are some aspects of the heroic ideology which Joyce traces in Dubliners. Nationalism becomes a chivalric quest to liberate a feminized sovereignty. Such images, blended with the liturgy and ritual of catholicism and institutionalized in the discourse of cultural nationalists, encode a whole spectrum of social values, as we have seen, sedimented in the texts of popular culture like Scott's The Abbot.

In the symbolic structure of nationalist mythology, domestic life becomes the metaphor of social and national harmony. The themes of division and dispossession central to plays like Yeats's Cathleen Ni Houlihan are imaged throughout Dubliners in the form of domestic strife, family violence, and lapsed kinship bonds. Eveline Hill's home is torn by such strife; fearing the explosive violence of their father, the children are driven from their home. Only Eveline remains, but she too fears her father's violence (38).

Eveline's entrapment is traced directly to the religious revivalism and the nationalism associated with the "coloured print of the promises made to the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque" (37), the temperance crusade led by James A. Cullen. The illustrations on the print, in fact, suggest those icons of the quests of the young Dubliners of "The Sisters" and "Araby," blended with Christian symbolism: below the image of Christ are a "chalice, sword, scourge, nails, and crown of thorns" (Torchiana, 72). Gifford observes that the print lists "promises made through St. Margaret-Mary to those faithful" who displayed the Sacred Heart (49); however, the narrative of the story tells us that these "promises were made to Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque" (my italics), just as Eveline had promised her mother to keep the "home together as long as she could" (Dubliners, 40). For the lives of Ireland's women, this era of religious and national revival augurs only self-abnegation.

Eveline, desperate for some escape from the oppression of her life, imagines Frank to be her liberator. "Frank would save her. He would give her life, perhaps love, too" (40). The allusion to Balfe's opera, The Bohemian Girl, in "Eveline" supports both the recurrent fantasy of romance and escape with its valorization of the genteel life and the theme of national liberation. For its story, centring on the romance of a Polish girl of nobel birth, offers sentimental nationalists a parallel with Ireland, both esteemed down- trodden, pious

Catholic nations (Costigan, 147).

However, Eveline's dream of escape is spun over a terrifying ambivalent patriarchal mythology. Such fantasies as Eveline's, sustained in the narrative of a contemporary light opera, find antecedents in a genre of traditional Irish tales known variously as "Wooings," "Elopements," or "Pursuits": "The Wooing of Etain," "The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu," also known as "Deirdre," and "The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne," the Irish prototype of the Tristan and Iseult legend. In each a love triangle, as in the Greek Trojan cycle, is the central motif; one woman is shared between two wooers - sometimes one is a father, sometimes another young rival, replicating the mythic, ritual structure of Celtic religion and the institution of kingship.[6] As Thomas Dilworth points out, the Gaelic for Eveline, Eibhilin, is a form of Helen (457).

Such a mythic structure offers no escape for women. Like her mythic antecedent, identified with the earth, with domestic sovereignty, Eveline is immobile, paralysed and cannot escape with Frank. Or, in the "line of Eve," she is labelled a betrayer of God and country. Indeed, such

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[6] For a discussion of these themes and an explanation of the political underpinnings of the sovereignty motif in "Clay," see Owen's "'Clay' (2): The Myth of Irish Sovereignty"; a more general discussion of Celtic goddesses is available in Clark's "Aspects of Morrígan in Early Irish Literature"; P.W. Joyce's A Social History of Ancient Ireland, vol.II, 250-67; as well, see, Maria Tymoczko, "Sovereignty Structures in Ulysses."

insinuations are made in contemporary nationalist discourse. In nationalist idealizations, Irish women are not Bohemian girls; they are not to imitate, as The Leader put it, "the hoydenish pursuits of the new women or the English suffragette"; they were advised either to take their place in the language movement, or to bear "chivalrous" sons for the nation (Garvin, 79-80).

The courtship motif surfaces elsewhere in Dubliners, each time invoking either the codes of chivalry and honour, or the legends of ancient Ireland and its ritual sub-texts: in the fate of Mrs. Sinico we see Iseult or Deirdre, in the "The Dead," a hero dies for Gretta.[7]

Yet while these mythic structures are resonant with contemporary institutions and popular fiction, other features of this mythic heritage are, in this Christianized, Gaelic revival, repressed. In many Irish legends, sexual relations are frank and open. Women have a magical, captivating power; they appear mysteriously and declare their undying love for their new suitor. This power is often employed to marshall heroes to fight for their derelict, former consorts, who are exiled in the Otherworld. Moreover, these sovereignty figures are also often transformed into goddesses of war and destruction, the inheritance of Scott's Celtic Highlands and Joyce's Dublin, antecedents which Joyce suggests account for

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[7] See Torchiana's reading of the Tristan legend, 165-75, and Feeley's examination of Mangan in "The Dead."

the deep ambivalence of many of the men of Dubliners toward women.

While still confined by the roles of a patriarchal, warrior culture, the women of Celtic myth offer images of female power much greater than the self-abnegating roles of the women of Dubliners, whose lives are circumscribed by church and a pious, idealizing national tradition. The fictional sub-texts of the quest narratives map the fate of women in an era of resurgent nationalism. Indeed, as we shall see, women are "idols" in the consciousness of both aesthete and cultural nationalist.

## Chapter Three: "Differences of Culture and Constitution": Revival Ireland

### i. "After the Race": "Their Friends the French"

"After the Race" takes up the theme of Ireland's isolation from the mainstream of European nationalisms. One of the political sub-texts of the story is Arthur Griffith's The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland, published in Griffith's paper The United Irishman in the first six months of 1904, and issued as a pamphlet later that year. Appearing in the December 17th issue of the Homestead, "After the Race" followed closely on the publication of Griffith's pamphlet. Joyce was aware of the nationalism of Griffith and his followers: his scathing review of William Rooney's Poems and Ballads was prominently displayed alongside an advertisement for Rooney's book in Griffith's paper. In the review, penned for the conservative, Unionist Daily Express, Joyce took Rooney to task for his [allegiance to] "one of those big words that make us so unhappy": patriotism (CW, 84). But Joyce's use of the writings of D.P. Moran has gone unnoticed in "After the Race," and indeed the relevance of Moran to the themes of the entire collection has been missed, largely because the only reference to Moran, the phrase "West Briton" which he coined, appears in "The Dead," composed much later, and, for some critics, somewhat of an afterthought to Dubliners.

"After the Race" demonstrates the necessity of Griffith's

admonition that Ireland work out its destiny on its own soil, politically and economically. Yet Joyce's story suggests that his model for Anglo-Irish relations embraces many of the evils it hopes to supplant. Moreover, as Joyce's use of Moran shows, Griffith's "parallel" relies on a set of illusory sentiments.

Like many nationalists, Moran, believing peasant life the source of the traditions of a new Gaelic Ireland, feared the encroachment of the modern, middle class Irishman, the West Briton. Moran characterized the West Briton as a man who knew nothing of the history of his country, who could not speak his native language, who read English magazines, or who was interested in any culture but his own (5). In general, West Britons were

> a degenerate sub-class...a class of narrow, well-dressed, well-washed, thoughtless people of both sexes; people out of whom all traces of originality have long since been drilled, and who might be described as articulate formulae (45).

The reasons for this state of general cultural apostasy were not far to be sought: man was essentially an imitative creature, and for the modern Irishman, peasant or urbanite, the tendency to imitate his 'betters,' Ireland's aristocracy, was one of the chief impediments to the maintenance of peasant life:

> The people who drive in carriages, and hold authority in the land, form, under normal conditions, the social standards; in them is vested the right to confer social distinction and set the fashion for the manners and popular points of view of the country (7).

Consequently for Moran, Irish society comprised two contending forces, what he called 'the battle of two civilizations': the conflict of "the sense of a separate nationality" and "the natural tendency to imitate the rich and mighty, who happen to be a foreign race" (8).

Indeed, for Moran as for other nationalists, material progress posed the greatest threat to Irish nationality. The tension between tradition and modernity, culture and progress, was the central theme of his vituperative essays:

> This state of affairs points to a rather hopeless outlook. Improve the condition of the peasants and you wipe out the traditions and the language; advance the more intelligent of the working men, as a consequence of material prosperity, into a higher class, and you weaken the prop even of "nationality," and add to the already large contingent of the vulgar-genteel (9-10).

Modern popular culture was sickening to Moran. He lamented the popular stage and literary representation of the Irish man, but admitted the truth in such a type: "a sensuous creature, liking music, rhetoric and day-dreams, and hating realities" (11); Moran depicted the shoneen, as a snob, fashionable and respectful of English culture, "[a] highly dressed grocer's son," "who can never see beyond the skin of anything"; "while...often a sleek, mean souled creature, [he] may have a fairly generous nature" (54).

Jimmy Doyle, the protagonist of "After the Race," an ingenuous, fashionable, butcher's son is a portrait of the Irish character discussed by Moran. Jimmy is one in a line of Dubliners marked by this naïve and generous nature: Bob

Doran, Little Chandler, and Gabriel Conroy. For its characterization, and action, "After the Race" relies heavily on Moran's portrait of the West Briton.

"After the Race" shows little of the skill in handling the indirect discourse so well executed in "Clay," "The Boarding House," and "Ivy Day in the Committee Room": direct narrative intrusions often do the work of dialogue and description. Of the four young gallants riding through the streets of Dublin, Joyce tells us each had their reason for being in good humour: Ségouin and Rivière had favourable business deals at hand, and the tall Hungarian "was an optimist by nature," but Jimmy "was too excited to be genuinely happy" (43). While another narrative intrusion introducing this scene explains that rapid motion, notoriety, and the possession of money, normally elate one (44), Jimmy is most affected by the notoriety of being seen with his gallant companions:

> He had been seen by many of his friends that day in the company of these Continentals. At the control Ségouin had presented him to one of the French competitors and, in answer to his confused murmur of compliment, the swarthy face of the driver had disclosed a line of shining white teeth. It was pleasant after that honour to return to the profane world of spectators amid nudges and significant looks (44).

True to Moran's picture of the generous, friendly, wide-eyed Gael, Jimmy "found great pleasure in the society of one who had seen so much of the world and was reputed to own some of the biggest hotels in France" (43).

Jimmy is also inept with his finances. Despite having made some unwise use of his money, Jimmy conceives himself "at heart the inheritor of solid instincts" (44). Jimmy's father in fact had suggested the investment in the French auto firm, and Jimmy, we are told, respected his father's shrewdness in business. However, the justification for the deal, tinged with a typically Irish rhetorical hyperbole, is abruptly and awkwardly blended with the narrative, its metaphor suggesting more knowledge of leprechauns and fairies than of automobiles and capital investment: "Jimmy had a respect for his father's shrewdness in business matters and in this case it had been his father who had first suggested the investment; money to be made in the motor business, pots of money" (45). Grammatically and stylistically aloof from the preceding phrase, the indirect quotation is buttressed by the observation that "Ségouin had the unmistakable air of wealth" (45).

Indeed, Jimmy Doyle can understand only the surface, the look of wealth, and the story makes such deception clear, masked by the codes of friendship and presumed honour: "the investment was a good one and Ségouin had managed to give the impression that it was by a favour of friendship the mite of Irish money was to be included in the capital of the concern" (45).

While certainly a portrait of Irish economic paralysis, the story implies that the origins of this paralysis are to be

sought in the very fabric of Irish society, especially in Jimmy's "inheritance" from his father. Joyce tells us that Jimmy's father "had begun life as an advanced Nationalist" (43); that is, he was a supporter of Parnell and Home Rule. Mr Doyle himself is, however, a true shoneen according to Moran's definition. He allied himself with the representatives of English authority in Ireland: He opened a butcher shop in the Anglo-Irish, Protestant Kingstown suburb, and secured lucrative police contracts (43), becoming "rich enough to be alluded to in Dublin newspapers as a merchant prince" (43). Mr. Doyle's affluence allowed him to secure for Jimmy the required badges of an quasi-aristocratic pedigree. He sent his son to a Catholic university in England. He enroled Jimmy in a Dublin law school, and then sent him to Cambridge "to see a little life" (43). As elsewhere in Dubliners, those symbols of aristocratic life -especially English life - become the symbols of success for the shoneens of Dublin.

When the friends adjoin to Farley's yacht, these cultural forms, which for Jimmy's feudal imagination represent high life, resurface, mediating his excitement and his sense of adventure. Villona plays a waltz and Farley and Rivière dance as cavalier and lady (47). Later, they take part in a square dance (47). Again, for Jimmy, "this was seeing life"; "it was Bohemian" (47). The men play cards, "flinging themselves boldly into the adventure" (48).

Mr. Doyle's repressed nationalism, as well as his son's zeal, is also paradigmatic of the character of the shoneen described by Moran. Jimmy's father, who "had begun life as an advanced Nationalist," but who "had modified his views early," is typical of a class of Irishman, who, Moran suggested, followed a course of gradual disenchantment with the nationalist movements of the day. The typical shoneen was "a generous impulsive youth, [whose]...day dreams were woven of stricken fields, of English redcoats, triumphant pikeman, defiant orations from dock and gallows tree"; he was "possessed of a moderate amount of shallow brains, plenty of energy, and a great desire to be thought a hero" (Moran, 57). The typical shoneen attended patriotic meetings and joined secret societies, but grew tired of "lip-rebellion" and empty rhetoric; "[h]e dropped out of it after a while and attended to his business, but still held extreme opinions" (58).

Such lip-rebellion rises out of Jimmy, when the young gallants, recently joined by the English man, Routh, stray onto the subject of politics during dinner:

> Ségouin shepherded his party into politics. Here was congenial ground for all. Jimmy, under generous influences, felt the buried zeal of his father wake to life within him: he aroused the torpid Routh at last. The room grew doubly hot and Ségouin's task grew harder each moment: there was even danger of personal spite (46).

Moran associated this kind of lip-rebellion with the anachronistic poses of chivalry, attitudes which threatened Ireland's advancement into the new century. The conflict of

the old and the new boiled down to the conflict of specifically Irish form of chivalry and the world of economics. The former he saw as a self-defeating, mock patriotism that was all rhetoric and no action:

> I doubt if there is one Irishman who has ever mounted a platform to "speechify" who has not, at some time declaimed that fine old hackneyed saying of Burke's -"The age of chivalry is gone." In so far as chivalry means sentimentalism, tilting at wind-mills, and cutting other absurd capers, it is unfortunately, one of the things that has not gone out of Ireland yet. But the most remarkable thing about this quotation is that the other part of it - "That of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded" - is never allowed to have a look in....Yet economic tendencies sway the world now (Moran, 13).

This for Moran, constituted the dilemma of economics and nationalism. Ireland was woefully behind the rest of Europe in industrialization. From photographs to electric lights, to railways and insurance, foreigners - the English and the Scots - had cornered the markets and had shut out Irish businessmen and workers (Moran, 18). Ireland could not respond to the economic changes in modern life. The problem of developing these industries at home stemmed from the fact that expertise for these fields had to be sought abroad (18). However, the gravest impediment to economic development Moran saw as the prevailing spirit of hysterical patriotism which was either apathetic or suspicious of attempts to develop new local industries, train young workers, and thereby stop the tide of incoming experts (18-9). Ireland was caught in a vicious situation in which West Britons and immigrants eroded the

spirit of nationality, and the "cream of the race" left to seek their fortune elsewhere (19).

However, there are further obstacles to the overcoming of national and economic paralysis. Mr. Doyle encourages and takes some covert pride in his son's excesses (43). Indeed, he seems to believe that their rakish behaviour bonds the young men into a loyal fraternity. Not surprisingly, such observations are often couched in metaphors of commerce. The connection with Ségouin, Mr. Doyle sees as a valuable one (43); Jimmy's father "may have felt even commercially satisfied at having secured for his son qualities often unpurchasable" (45).

These qualities are delusive, however, and the conception of such gallantry as guarantee of plain dealing is anachronistic and naïve, as are the set of sentimental historical parallels and expectations with which the story opens. For Jimmy, the adventure of the race and the comradeship of his university friends represent adventure - heroism and gallantry: "The journey laid a magical finger on the genuine pulse of life and gallantly the machinery of human nerves strove to answer the bounding courses of the swift blue animal" (45). The auto is likened to a hero's steed, with all its attendant associations of chivalry and history's great men. Jimmy is not alone in this conception. Indeed, the opening of the story, with its adoring crowds of "the gratefully oppressed," suggests a recognition of an historical

parallel in the victory of "their friends the French," as well as the belief that the victory of the French car symbolizes some kind of liberation. Later, a "little knot of people collected on the footpath to pay homage to the snorting motor" (45).

Despite the crowd's recognition of an historical parallel and Jimmy's feelings of heroic elation and comradeship, Ségouin and Rivière have only material reasons for being above the level of "successful Gallicism" (42). They acknowledge no parallels nor see any symbolism in their winning the auto race. And while Jimmy is charged by the sense of adventure and friendship, the experience of "a little life," Villona, the impoverished artist makes deferential gestures toward the Englishman, Routh, and his traditions. Much to the surprise of the latter, Villona, somewhat of an Anglophile, has discovered the beauties of the English madrigal and scorns romantic painters, sadly inattentive to tradition (46). Meanwhile, Rivière discusses to an uncomprehending Jimmy the auto's engineering (46). Villona and Jimmy valorize antiquated institutions or traditions, or place too great stock in sentiments that are neither acknowledged or reciprocated.

Such incongruities strike at the historical parallels of Griffith's The Resurrection of Hungary. Himself a former Parnellite, Griffith advocated the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary as a model for English-Irish relations. In some ways

Griffith was unique among nationalists: at once a separatist and monarchist, he set himself apart from the Home Rule party and the Republican forces (Mansergh, 248). Another of his detractors was D.P. Moran, and "After the Race," through an odd found pun, makes oblique reference to Moran's polemical thrusts at Griffith's proposals. Joyce conducts the young gallants past St. Stephen's Green, near Trinity College: the symbol of Hungarian monarchy was the crown of St. Stephen; "green" suggests Moran's condemnatory epithet for Griffith and his followers: "the Green Hungarian band." Further, Joyce has the young adventurers pull up in front of "the Bank" (45). Bidwell and Heffer tell us that "the Bank" is The Bank of Ireland, the former site of the Irish parliament dissolved with the Act of Union in 1800. Griffith's policies called for the re-convening of the Irish Parliament, and the assertion of Irish economic and financial sovereignty through a series of protective tariffs.

The Resurrection of Hungary is a curious blend of historical narrative and propaganda with interspersed scenes of heroic dialogue. The bulk of the pamphlet is devoted to chronicling Hungary's struggle for cultural and constitutional autonomy to the time of the Ausgleich of 1867. Each stage of his narrative of the Hungarian struggle is aligned with a corresponding strategy for contemporary Ireland, with the resulting vindication of Griffith's advanced-Nationalist proposals. While Griffith claimed that the aim of his series

of articles was to "point out...that the alternative of armed resistance to foreign government of this country is not acquiescence in usurpation, tyranny, and fraud" (2), his narrative relies heavily on evoking an almost miraculous set of parallels which appealed to religious, historical and heroic sentiments. He claims that the poet-precursors of the nationalist movement in Hungary "drank in Celtic inspiration." Moreover, the noble and heroic Magyars had "Scythian blood in their veins as there is in ours, and it nourished generosity, humanity, love of art and religious tolerance in their breasts" (4) - ironically some of the very faults of the Irish character Moran points out. When Ireland realizes the similarity of its situation with that of Hungary and turns her back on England's right to rule, Griffith says, the parallel will be complete (2).

Griffith's main argument was a legal and constitutional one. Citing the 1782 Act of Renunciation, wrested from England after the American Revolutionary war by Henry Grattan, he claimed that England had renounced all right to make laws for Ireland. The 1800 Act of Union, which dissolved the Irish parliament and put the financial management of Ireland in English hands, was therefore illegal. Griffith's Hungarian policy dictated that Ireland withdraw its members from Westminster.

Despite Moran's jibes at the "Green Hungarian band," there was much common ground between them. Both Griffith and

Moran defined the Irish problem as a kind of cultural warfare: the struggle of a sense of separate nationality and the tendency to imitate the rich and the wealthy. Griffith saw the aristocracy as a major impediment to both constitutional and economic autonomy. The chivalrous Hungarian nobles, he argued, had been drawn into Austria's conflicts, and were gradually Germanized, adopting the dress, manners, and language of Austria. Soon, Griffith writes, "the Hungarian nobles became as thoroughly Germanicised as the Irish landlords are Anglicised" (7). For both Griffith and Moran Irish aristocrats are merely the sources of capital for foreign schemes. Such a situation prevents Ireland from developing new industries on its soil.

The examples of Irish business life represented by Jimmy and his father reveal an Ireland unconcerned with, or perhaps unequipped to initiate technological progress. Rather, the Irish system is plagued by nepotism and a system of paternal values that undermine those aspirations for economic independence. As well, a set of anachronistic chivalric values endemic among Ireland's ascendant middle class impedes progress.

The story suggests the precarious and unpropitious situation of Ireland at the turn-of-the-century. Indeed, on a much broader level, "After the Race" suggests an emblematic tableau of nations, a range of futures for Ireland: republican independence (the United States and France);

colonial confederation (Canada); and dual Monarchy (Austria-Hungary). But there seems little possibility of any of these. Among cultural European nationalisms Ireland can gain no recognition because it possesses no identity distinct from that of England, and therefore no destiny among emergent nations.

The Hungarian "parallel" is obviously focused in Villona's silence. Though both Jimmy and Villona ostensibly share a similar history, a similar struggle under imperial domination that is economically and culturally destructive, one would expect Villona, an artist and thus the keeper of national traditions, to point out the parallels between the Irish and the Hungarian situation. However, although he is not a representative of the nobility of Hungary, Villona's silence on the 'Irish question' raised by Jimmy, and his admiration for English culture are not surprising. Many of the nationalists whom Griffith glorified in The Resurrection of Hungary as imbibers of Celtic inspiration were unequivocal Anglophiles. Kossuth, for a time admired by John Mitchel, a prominent Young Ireland nationalist in the 1840's, was repudiated by Mitchell when he suggested that Ireland work with England to free Europe (Costigan, 150). Moreover, Hungarian nobles were opposed to Home Rule for Ireland. Count Apponyi and Augustus Palasky, both prominent nationalists, believed that such legislation threatened the security of England. Apponyi wrote, the continued "greatness and strength

of a country [England] which we admire and love, and which we consider as a natural ally" should above all be promoted (Costigan, 150).

Employing D.P. Moran's critique of Anglo-Ireland, "After the Race" suggests many of the social, cultural, and economic obstacles to the goal of Irish self-reliance, not least of which is the tendency to read significance into the symbolic and the traditional, to depend on noble sentiment. Moran does much of Joyce's work in the story's polemical intertextual fabric. Moran believed no amount of English influence could be tolerated in an Ireland weakened by the cultural and economic imperialism. Culturally, the Anglo-Irish middle class were the gravest threat to Ireland's sense of a distinct nationality, and therefore to economic self-sufficiency. Joyce will return to this issue later in the collection, instead examining the repressive features of such cultural nationalism.

## ii. "Ivy Day in the Committee Room": "A Very Fine Piece of Writing"

"Ivy Day in the Committee Room" extends Moran's culturally based critique of Anglo-Ireland to the political sphere. Joyce draws on Moran for character, action and symbolism. Many of the themes outlined in "After the Race" - West Britonism, "lip-rebellion," and Ireland's economic

stagnation - are taken up again. As well, the story examines the use of allusion in the maintenance of political authority: the dead Parnell is at the centre of a game of political deception. As elsewhere in Dubliners, myth, facilitated by allusion, provides a safe haven from the ugly realities of the present in past of heroic grandeur. Here, the myth of the fallen hero invokes closure on an infernal Parliament.

The rising star of cultural nationalism threatened to depose constitutional, Home Rule politics from the centre of Irish life. D.P. Moran argued persuasively that the political tradition had sold out those who desired to be patriotic. In politics, only an elite composed of leaders and party workers could be patriotic: nationality, as an expression of national will, was confined to a purely political programme. This definition of nationality was, for Moran, devastating to Ireland: "The view that the only way to be Irish is to be a nationalist politician, has all but made a corpse of the Irish nation" (Moran, 66). For those outside political life, nationalism, Moran argued, came to be associated with "wild talk, village demagogues, lip-patriotism, and petty tyranny" (67).

Home Rule nationalism, in Moran's view, had also contributed to the decline of a sense of separate nationality. Irish men entered Home Rule politics, and, soon disillusioned with the meagre gains, or the confused by their lack of a sense of national identity, deserted the cause: "One West

Britisher would be sapped by a compliment from a lord, another by a job, another from a growing and honest conviction that English civilization was a much better thing than its vulgar Irish imitation" (70).

Mr. Henchy is a favour-seeking shoneen. He waits greedily for his pay from Mr. Tierney and reviles him when even a complementary twelve of stout are not forthcoming. He favours the welcoming of Edward the Seventh, a typical shoneen's gesture of deference to English authority. Moreover, he admires Edward VII for the same excesses for which Mr. Doyle takes covert pride in his son Jimmy, ironically, the same reason for the decay of authority in Old Jack's family:

> Now, here's the way I look at it. Here's this chap come to the throne after his old mother keeping him out of it till the man was grey. He's a man of the world, and he means well by us. He's a jolly fine decent fellow if you ask me....He's an ordinary knockabout like you and me. He's fond of his glass of grog and he's a bit of a rake, perhaps, and he's a good sportsman. Damn it, can't we Irish play fair? (131-2).

The story aptly illustrates Moran's characterization of Ireland before the coming of the Gaelic League, depicting the chaos and factionalism that followed the fall of Parnell:

> The League found Ireland wrangling over the corpse of Parnell. When A, who shouted one cry called himself an Irish Nationalist, and declared with many strong adjectives that B, who shouted a different cry was a West Briton, it began gradually to dawn upon the average mind that, as there was practically no difference between A and B but a cry....Under the inspiration of the Gaelic League the common man, much to his surprise, was driven to the conclusion that A and B were after all a pair of ordinary,

unmannerly politicians and nothing else (Moran, 98). Indeed the corpse of Parnell pervades the story, set on October 6th, the memorial of the death of 'the chief.' The story rings with the cries of "candid opinions" of what Ireland's troubles call for, with accusations of West Britonism and with slander of contending parties in Irish politics.

Many of the views presented in the story resonate with the ideas of contemporary nationalists seen in previous stories. The arguments of Joe Hynes, supporter of the socialist candidate, Colgan, attest to the considerable obstacles that shoneens, like Mr. Doyle, for example, in "After the Race," present for reform of a system of deeply entrenched nepotism and patronage in the Anglo-Irish government. Hynes argues that Colgan, the Labour candidate, only wants to secure jobs for the working man:

> Hasn't the working-man as good a right to be in the Corporation as anyone else - ay, and a better right than those shoneens that are always hat in hand before any fellow with a handle to his name?....[Colgan] goes in to represent the labour classes. This fellow you're working for only wants to get some job or other (121).

Shoneens like Mr. Doyle are constantly "hat in hand" seeking favours from the figures of English authority in Ireland.

Moran's charge that Home Rule nationalism confined political and national life to an elite is echoed obliquely by Joe Hynes, who, on entering the committee room and finding it shrouded in darkness, asks jokingly "Is this a Freemasons

meeting?" (120): it was widely held among Catholic Irish nationalists that Freemasons were the chief instruments of Protestant nepotism and corruption in government; many Catholics suggested that they should organize into associations to further their own business interests. The Leader was scrupulous in its documentation of institutions which discriminated against Catholics (Garvin, 78).

Curiously however, Henchy also presents the very arguments of advanced nationalists and Irish-Irelanders, who sought to revive the old industries and bring new ones into Ireland:

> -Listen to me, said Mr. Henchy. What we want in this country, as I said to old Ward, is capital. The King's coming here will mean an influx of money into this country. The citizens of Dublin will benefit by it. Look at all the factories down by the quays there, idle! Look at all the money there is in the country if we only worked the old industries, the mills, the shipbuilding yards and factories. It's capital we want (131).

The memory of Parnell is central to the political deception played out in the background. As James Fairhall's reading of the story has demonstrated, the municipal elections of 1902 and 1903, which provided the material for Joyce's portrait of Irish political paralysis, were the occasion of curious alliances among members of the turn-of-the-century political spectrum. The otherwise intransigent Unionists represented by Mr. Crofton, the Home Rule candidate Richard Tierney, and the church represented by Father Keon, allied themselves to bolster the Irish Party, which the Unionist Mr.

Crofton calls the "lesser of two evils" (131). The Home Rule Party, after consolidating its leadership under John Redmond in 1900, feared challenges from groups dissenting from the political orthodoxy of achieving Home Rule. As Fairhall explains, one such challenge came from the rising voice of organized labour, headed by James Connolly. In the 1902-3 municipal elections, the Conservatives threw their votes in with the Irish Party, and with the help of the church, defeated what was in fact a minor electoral threat from Irish labour (Fairhall, 291)

The Parnell myth, conveniently deployed in Joe Hyne's elegiac poem, invokes closure on this stalled debate on municipal and national affairs. Moreover, the otherwise salient hypocrisy of welcoming the rakish King Edward while repudiating Parnell is muted with the succinct pronouncement of Mr. Crofton that Parnell earned the respect of the Conservatives "because he was a gentleman" (132). For cultural nationalists like Moran, to call Parnell a gentleman - the morality issued aside - was a symbol of the fraudulence of Home Rule: it had sold out the spirit of a separate nationality: Parnellism had been a West Briton movement.

Joe Hynes, who, on his return to the committee room, might have debated Henchy on the rights of the working man, or the kind of betrayal of nationalist ideals which a welcome to King Edward would constitute, as nationalists like Griffith insisted, is instead invited to recite his elegiac poem "The

Death of Parnell," a sentimental piece lamenting Irish ruin and failure in the vein of Thomas Moore, and which, for nationalists like Moran, represented the kind of lip-rebellion and heroic posturing that was associated with a history of failed nationalist movements - especially Home Rule nationalism - counter-productive to the achievement of economic self-reliance in Ireland.

Hynes does not at first remember "the piece to which they were alluding," then demurs, "Sure that's old now." (133). Hynes's poem, a text buried in his memory, is revived by Mr. O'Connor's and Mr. Henchy's alluding to it, displacing him and the other men in the committee room from the present into the realm of the nostalgic past. The myth of Parnell, here couched in the trite phrases of a belated poetic tradition, serves the extension of political orthodoxy amongst a leadership which has lost its way.

Henchy's desire to close the debate on the present controversy is accommodated. Hynes recites his piece and sits "flushed and bareheaded" in a moment of epiphany (135). Though by the standards of a high aesthetics, the poem is hackneyed, the men in the committee recognize a typically Celtic embodiment of tragic passion and melancholy. Whether by evoking melancholy sentiment, or heroic resignation, the allusion ties up the polemics and confusion of the present and returns its auditors to a nostalgic past; the men in the committee room, like Parnell, are united with "Erin's heroes

of the past" (135). Indeed, earlier in the story, when Joe Hynes revealed the ivy pin on his lapel, Old Jack confessed, "Musha, God be with them times...There was some life in it then" (122). Mr O'Connor attempts to hide his emotion by beginning to roll himself a cigarette (135), the repetitive action he was engaged in at the beginning of the story.

Indirectly, the story indicts the aesthetics of literary nationalists like Little Chandler and the Literary Revival. Eulogized in a poem reiterating a set of trite mythological associations, the codified Parnell myth becomes the means by which the very program for which he stood is shattered. Mr Crofton, a Unionist and therefore a representative of the those forces seeking to maintain English culture and institutions in Ireland, proclaims the poem "a very fine piece of writing" (135). As with the shared codes of gentlemanly honour, aesthetic discourse, facilitating the recognition of a typically Celtic effusion of titanic melancholy and heroic passion, is above the dirty factionalism and in-fighting of politics. Aesthetics performs the reconciliation of irreconcilables: the men gathered in the committee room can take pride in the fact that they are all gentlemen, that Parnell was a great hero, and that Joe Hynes's Celtic effusion is a very fine piece of writing.

iii. "A Mother": Ireland to Victory

Hinging on the doctrinal definition of simony translated into the sphere of cultural politics, "A Mother" is a critique of the idealism of the Gaelic revival. The narrative of the story invites the reader to interpret Mrs. Kearney's scheme as a blatant commercial exploitation, capitalizing on her daughter's name, Kathleen, and its suggestion of the emblematic figure of Ireland, the legendary Cathleen ni Houlihan. Mrs. Kearney tries to appropriate those associations, but her class and cultural affinities betray her.

Ambiguously suspended between Mrs. Kearney's own discourse and a gossipy calumniating prose, the narrative's indirect discourse suggests Mrs Kearney's promotion of her daughter's career is an outright capitalization on the gains made by organizations such as the Gaelic League: "When the Irish Revival began to be appreciable Mrs Kearney determined to take advantage of her daughter's name and brought an Irish teacher to the house" (137).

Mrs. Kearney does indeed appear to take advantage of the growing popular taste for the cultural propaganda of organizations such as the Gaelic League, whose activities were coordinated by its own official newspaper, An Claidheamh Soluis (The Sword of Light), founded in 1899. Her attention to many of the correct gestures to a resurgent Catholic, Gaelic culture suggests her familiarity such journals.

Kathleen exchanges Irish post cards with her friends, and the family regularly meets with revivalists and nationalists after church. Edited by Gaelic Leaguer Eoin Mac Neill and circulated widely in Ireland, as well as the Americas, South Africa, and Australia, Soluis vigorously promoted the Gaelic Revival. Soluis adopted a bilingual format and its header displayed the traditional iconography of Ireland as a woman carrying a harp - Cathleen Ni Houlihan, a sun rising behind her amid ancient books and manuscripts, ruins and Celtic crosses (Glandon, 6).

The paper provided its readers with a cultural education, advocating "national regeneration through preservation and utilization of Ireland's ancient customs, literature, and tongue" (Glandon, 7). It detailed the activities of Irish societies at home and abroad; it published articles on Gaelic civilization: its customs, manners, costumes, the heraldic arms of clans. Moreover, it encouraged families to give their children traditional Irish names and to devote their leisure to traditional Irish games and music, all of which would help to liberate Ireland (Glandon, 7).

Such, obviously, are the interests of the friends with whom Mrs. Kearney makes contacts to promote her daughter's singing career. Her work is successful and the narrative again suggests that Mrs Kearney is a mere schemer, a speculator.

> Soon the name of Miss Kathleen Kearney began to be heard often on people's lips. People said that she

> was very clever at music and a very nice girl and, moreover, that she was a believer in the language movement. Mrs Kearney was well pleased at this (138).

Mrs. Kearney is approached by Mr. Holohan to help arrange a series of four concerts for the Eire Abu ("Ireland to Victory," Wall, 27) society. However, the concerts are poorly managed. The third is cancelled, but the fourth and final concert is slated as the extravaganza on which all efforts are to be concentrated. However, rain threatens to dampen the crowds and Miss Beirne, one of the planners of the concert, and a Gaelic enthusiast, sadly predicts failure for the final night:

> The little woman hoped they would have a good house. She looked out at the rain until the melancholy of the wet street effaced all the trustfulness and enthusiasm from her twisted features. Then she gave a little sigh and said:-Ah, well! We did our best, the dear knows (142).

For enthusiasts like Miss Beirne, the commercial success of the concerts means little, but the sentiment behind the concerts, its aim to promote local Irish talent, to make a show of it against all odds is enough. As in "After the Race," and "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," practicality is sacrificed to noble sentiment.

Given such idealism on the part of the enthusiasts, Mrs. Kearney's insistence on her daughter being paid the full sum stipulated in her contract, seems a betrayal; she becomes a kind of Shylock, insisting on the letter of the contract, and in demanding that her contract be honoured notwithstanding,

Mrs. Kearney oversteps the social laws prescribed for gentlemen and ladies. Mr. Holohan reinforces such a view of Mrs. Kearney as over stepping her role, remarking sarcastically, "That's a nice lady!...O, she's a nice lady!" (149).

Here again the modern codes of chivalry and the mythic sub-text of courtship as a metaphor for national liberation are interfused. As we learn earlier in the story, Mrs. Kearney had at one time some expectations of marriage that resonate with the codes of modern chivalry:

> When she came to the age of marriage she was sent out to many houses where her playing and ivory manners were much admired. She sat amid the chilly circle of her accomplishments, waiting for some suitor to brave it and offer her a brilliant life. But the young men whom she met were ordinary and she gave them no encouragement, trying to console her romantic desires by eating a great deal of Turkish Delight in secret (136).

But "ladies" do not behave like Mrs. Kearney, according the men representing the mysterious planning committee. Even Miss Beirne believes that for Mrs Kearney's rudeness and her unlady-like conduct, she should be paid nothing (147). Indeed, as Kershner observes, her condemnation all round comes when she is revealed not so genteel as she pretends (Kershner, 127). When Mrs. Kearney is vilified, the narrative briefly appropriates the image of a stone-faced hag, crone of battle in Celtic legend: a mythic archetype, like that invoked by O'Grady and Scott, impinges on the real, mediating for her male counterparts Mrs. Kearney's unlady-like conduct: "She

stood still for an instant like an angry stone image" (149). Such an image serves to reinforce Mr. Holohan's severe treatment of her, for the mythic image casts her in the role of betrayer, of the old sow that eats her farrow.

The nationalism associated with Yeats's play Cathleen Ni Houlihan and the mythic sub-text which Mrs. Kearney tries to appropriate in the promotion of her daughter's career are the means of her defeat, suggesting that in a new Gaelic Ireland myth will continue to restrict the roles of women. Instead, Mrs. Kearney is identified with Yeats' other Cathleen, so reviled by Dublin audiences as an apostate, the Countess Cathleen, who in Yeats' drama sold her soul to the devil in order to save the starving peasants.

Indeed, there is much in her upbringing that marks her as a cultural apostate in the eyes of Irish-Ireland. Women like her and her daughter are scorned in the writings of Moran as convent-finished ladies, educated on the continent. Moreover, as Ben L. Collins observes, the frequent punning on "pale," an adjective applied to Mrs. Kearney and Madame Glynn, the aged English soprano well past her prime, identifies Mrs Kearney as a West Briton and a traitor (Collins, "A Mother," 49), echoing another of Moran's phrases for "the battle of two civilizations": the war of "the Pale and the Gael." Her betrayal by the mysterious planning committee, in which Collins sees the betrayal of Parnell (59-60), suggests that the Gaelic revival with its idealistic values is suspicious

of, and will betray those who are materially practical, especially if they do not derive from a Gaelic cultural matrix.

Yet if Mrs. Kearney is betrayed by the otherworldly idealism of the Gaelic Revival, there is an insinuation in the story that the Revival itself, in this series of mismanaged concerts, is betrayed by the paranoia of the politically orthodox agenda of Home Rule nationalism. The prominence of men associated with the Home Rule party, some with its former press organ, The Freeman's Journal, the ambiguity of the term 'Nationalist,' unrecognized by Mrs. Kearney, the prevalence of alcohol - anathema to the revivalist mythology - and the mismanagement of the concerts suggest the general antipathy of Home Rule to cultural revival. Such was the persistent charge that Moran levelled at the Irish Party. Tyrannical and blindly opposed to the revival of native customs and culture (65-6), the Home Rule party was completely un-Irish:

> I deny that the Irish Parliamentary Party is composed of real Irishmen; few of them, if any, are products of native Irish influences. Their education, literature, social surroundings, are either English or, what is far worse, imitation English. They have no great woof of national tradition to fall back upon for inspiration, strength, or isolation, in their times of trial (Moran, 70).

As Moran argued in his essays and editorials, one could not be a true nationalist without Irish tradition and culture. In either case, caught in the centre of the "battle of two civilizations," Mrs. Kearney is vilified.

iii. "Grace": The Dishonest Stewards

Those themes associated with Joyce's critique of the Irish Revival are taken up again in "Grace." Once intended to serve as the summation of the collection, the story returns to the political allegory of lapsed sovereignty and financial exploitation intoned by Standish O'Grady, and invoked in the intertextual fabric of the quest narratives. Father Purdon's sermon to an audience of business men on retreat, based on the parable of the dishonest steward, focuses the antipathy of idealism and materialism, of tradition and progress, and of the "battle of two civilizations" in Ireland.

For cultural nationalists and Christian idealists such as Canon Sheehan, Father Purdon's sermon would seem almost heretical. Indeed, as Wilhelm Füger suggests, Father Purdon's sermon is "an indirect exhortation not to pass beyond...but to feel at home in a world of simony and spiritual darkness" (94). However, the homily, drawing on a controversial and ambiguous passage in the Gospel of Luke, serves a church, which, embroiled in the politics of turn-of-the-century Ireland, must serve its worldly citizens, as well as its fervent idealistic patriots; the church precariously straddles the old, institutionally-entrenched generation of Anglo-Irish middle class and the new Gaelic, Catholic nationalism.

The Temperance revival, headed by James A. Cullen, was,

as we have seen, a prominent feature of the new cultural nationalism. Many nationalists believed alcohol to have been a device of English counter-insurrection and economic exploitation: "with fell design England suppressed our commerce, our factories, our mines, our industries, and left us only the distillery" (quoted in O'Farrell, 225). As early as 1892, Archbishop Walsh had associated the Home Rule Party with the middle class publicans, and among the new generation of abstemious Gaelic nationalists, the Home Rule Party found numerous detractors (O'Farrell, 225-6). The story subtly resonates with all the themes of the new nationalist ideology: temperance, moral cleansing, self-discipline, as well as the alliance of Gaelic culture and Catholicism.

The fusion of these discourses in the public consciousness is echoed by Mrs. Kernan, who divides her faith between the devotions and sacraments of the church and the legends of the Celtic past:

> She believed steadily in the Sacred Heart as the most generally useful of all Catholic devotions and approved of the sacraments. Her faith was bounded by her kitchen but, if she was put to it, she could believe also in the banshee and in the Holy Ghost (158).

The sub-text of the story would seem to suggest an allegory of national redemption and economic resurgence; however, such associations are muted by the practicality which the priest's sermon valorizes. The reasons for such equivocation are clear. Though committed to maintaining the peasant way of life, and thus also to the mainsprings of the

new nationalist ideology, the clergy identified most with the middle class tradesmen. Logically, they were the class from which the only substantial tithes could be collected, and when, at the turn-of-the-century, fear of socialist encroachment on Christian society and orthodox politics was voiced, either in the city or in the rural districts, the clergy came to the aid of the middle class nationalism of the Home Rule Party.[1]

The men assembled for Father Purdon's sermon are, indeed, symptoms of a declining Irish trade, and many of their tales of woe attest to the destructive force of drink. Mr. Cunningham's family life was ruined by his "drunkard" wife (157). Mr. Fogarty's financial decline he blames directly on his association with the liquor trade, his being tied to "second rate distillers and brewers" (166). Mr. M'Coy has had several jobs and on occasion has been forced "to live by his wits" (158). Kernan's sons have both left Dublin, one for the industrial, largely Protestant North, the other for Glasgow (156).

Father Purdon's allusion points up the conflicting pattern of values, materialistic and idealistic as they manifest themselves in the realm of class and religion. The Lucan gospel is, in theological thought, considered a prominent text in the growth of the "evangelicalism attitude"

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[1] See Fairhall, 295, on the urban context, and Liam Kennedy on the clergy's role in impeding the rise of the co-operative movement in rural Ireland, 180.

(McKenzie, 526), and Father Purdon's sermon responds to the ideological tensions created by the growing pressure on the Catholic church to respond to the needs of the urban impoverished, as well as to maintain the ascendancy of moneyed middle class businessmen, but not to appear to acquiesce to a vulgar, Protestant social gospel. Father Tom Burke, somewhat of a controversial priest, who always attracts "crowds of Protestants" (166), but who is considered "not much of a theologian," is such an evangelical. Ironically, he preached against English abuses in Ireland (Gifford, 104).

Though practical businessmen, Mr. Kernan's friends admire the idealism of the clergy - their faith and adherence to the dogma of the church. Pope Leo XIII, a conservative pope who opposed nationalist aims and hoped for a reunion of English speaking churches, is admired by the men for writing Latin poetry. Such an incongruity links the church with Ireland's aristocracy, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, with the insulated aesthetics of Joyce's artists.

As in "After the Race," financial success is, in the view of Ireland's shoneens, tied to the adoption of those symbols which distinguish a gentleman. Kernan, "a commercial traveller of the old school," is never without "a silk hat of some decency and a pair of gaiters" (154). Mrs. Kernan recalls that her husband, at the time of their courtship, was "not an ungallant figure" (156). Mr. Fogarty, like Jimmy Doyle's father, moves his shop into respectable Glasnevin,

where he believes his "manners," will "ingratiate him with the housewives of the district" (166); the signs of a genteel character, he believes, bring financial success: "He bore himself with a certain grace, complimented little children and spoke with a neat enunciation. He was not without culture" (166).

In matters of religion Kernan, despite being "fond...of giving side thrusts side-thrusts at Catholicism" (157), admires the Jesuits because they associate with the upper classes (164). Secular priests he dismisses as "bumptious" (164). Moreover, Kernan, whose gestures and locutions frequently invoke martial metaphors, is impressed by the military rigour of the Jesuits, whom Mr. Power and Mr. Cunningham praise (164).

The antipathy of rural and urban Ireland, of the West and the East, is prominent in the story. Mr. Kernan resents the bumptious, provincial constable who, had Mr. Power not intervened, might have arrested him, and asks Mr. Cunningham, a Castle official, "Is that what we pay rates for? To feed and clothe these ignorant bostoons" (160). He calls them "yahoos" suggesting Swift's Ascendancy view of catholic Ireland (Gifford, 103). The military bearing of these "thundering big country fellows" does not impress Kernan, and he complains that his taxes are spent to support uncivil provincials.

The interpretative ambiguity of the Lucan parable serves

the church's need to maintain its authority in a period of social transition and economic upheaval, to balance its accounts of both material and spiritual capital. In the parable a steward is dismissed by his landlord for fraudulent business practices. Fearing that he will have no livelihood, the steward issues new promissory notes to his landlord's debtors making them his debtors instead, after which the dishonest steward is praised: "And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely" (Gifford, 110).

> For the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. Wherefore make unto yourselves friends out of the mammon of iniquity so that when you die they may receive you into everlasting dwellings (173).

Explaining that though the text would seem to be contrary to Christ's "lofty morality," the priest avoids the ambiguities of the text, traditionally seen in the question of the identity of the "lord": Christ himself or the landlord. Claiming no "extravagant purpose," he offers himself as spiritual accountant for the assembled businessmen.

The parable obviously flatters the business sense of the priest's auditors: "the children of light" - should emulate the practicality of businessmen, a notion which is implicit in Joyce's attack on the Irish Revival in "A Mother," and upon those nationalists who sacrifice practicality to noble sentiment. But the context of the parable adds a further dimension to the allusion, and offers parallels to the situation of a commercially exploited Ireland. With its

condemnation of bending the laws against usury,[2] the parable suggests Mr. Henchy's observation in "Ivy Day": "You must owe the City Fathers money nowadays if you want to be made Lord Mayor" (127). As well, the theme of usury arises again when Mr. Kernan, receiving a gift of whisky from Mr. Fogarty, the grocer, reflects that "a small account for groceries [was] unsettled between" them (166).

The social stigma attached to Irish Jews for practising what was perceived as usury is one axis of this set of ideological relations, bold-faced hypocrisy when compared with the equivocation of the Catholic hierarchy in its appeal to a nation divided between the quotidian philosophy of 'business as usual' and the messianic fervour of cultural nationalism. Mr. Kernan's bout of intemperance, his subsequent injury, incurred in the company of one Mr. Harford, causes Mr. Cunningham, the moral authority of the story, to reflect on the dubiousness of Kernan's friends. Harford, a partner with a Mr. Goldberg of the Liffey Bank, a Jew, meets Cunningham's

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[2] The pharisees, to whom the parable is directed, were forbidden by Jewish law to practise usury, but as businessmen and owners of considerable property they had devised means of getting around the law. They argued that laws against usury were designed to protect the poor. A potential debtor was not considered poor if he had a portion, however, small of the commodity to be loan. The steward, still authorized by the lord has the debtors sign new promissory notes without interest, which normally would have been included in a lump sum. Instead of chastising the steward, who had obviously reduced his income, the lord, although faced with no other option, praises the steward because he is now the recipient of spiritual capital, for he can be said to be observing holy law since the practice of usury was forbidden (Caird, 187).

moral censure with the following gloss:

> Though he had never embraced more than the Jewish ethical code of his fellow-Catholics, whenever they had smarted in person or by proxy under his exactions, spoke of him as an Irish Jew and an illiterate and saw divine disapproval of usury made manifest through the person of his idiot son (159).

Moran's The Leader on occasion exhibited this kind anti-Semitism, a fear of a Jewish ascendancy in business life which was based on the paper's belief in "the incompetence and vulnerability of Irish Catholics." In fact, The Leader defended the infamous 1904 Limerick pogrom on the grounds that "Jews were dangerous because they were hard-working and sober, unlike so many Irish catholics" (Garvin, 78).

By the logic of Purdon's homily, the Anglo-Irish business class are Ireland's modern pharisees, whom Purdon's sermon indirectly urges to redeem themselves for the advent of the economic regeneration of Ireland. If they forgo their usury, they will, like the landlord of the parable, earn spiritual capital in the eyes of the church and a resurgent Catholic, Gaelic nationalism.

## Chapter Four: The Artistic Economy

### i. "A Little Cloud": "The Celtic Note"

Centring on an aspiring artist, "A Little Cloud" focuses the issues of culture and aesthetics among nationalist poets and journalists. Consistent with Joyce's developmental plan, Little Chandler is heir to the metaphysical idealism of the young protagonists of the first three stories of the collection: his imagination works under the spell of romance and a consequent disenchantment with the everyday world. Here also, Joyce examines the use of allusion in cultural discourse. A pattern of conflicting intertexts woven into the narrative of the story identify the key sources of Chandler's Celtic idealism.

Chandler exhibits the fusion of heroic and meditative sentiment of the protagonist of "Araby." A modest, cavalier figure, he is described emerging "from under the feudal arch of the King's Inns," walking "swiftly" down the street. For Chandler the everyday world is a kind of gauntlet he runs: he "picks" his way past hordes of grimy children and "the gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roistered" (71). Chandler courts his fears; like the young boy of "Araby," he sees unknown and dark streets as some source of danger and adventure: "He chose the darkest and narrowest streets and, as he walked boldly forward, the silence that was spread about his foot-steps troubled him..."

(72).

Moreover, Chandler is meditative, a melancholy soul, whose moods are "tempered by recurrences of faith and resignation and simple joy" (73). The poetic impulse causes him, like the young boy of "Araby," to aestheticize an otherwise harsh reality; yet unlike the affirming vision of the young boy, Chandler's desires to escape from it: "his soul revolted against the dull inelegance of Capel Street. There was no doubt about it: if you wanted to succeed you had to go away. You could do nothing in Dublin" (73). Chandler wishes to go abroad; he dreams of publishing poetry in London.

As elsewhere in Dubliners allusions are cultural shibboleths: Chandler believes that his recognition as one of the Celtic school would be facilitated by putting in allusions: "The English critics, perhaps, would recognise him as one of the Celtic school by reason of the melancholy tone of his poems; beside that, he would put in allusions" (74). The immediate irony of this admission is that Chandler looks abroad, to England, for recognition. He is a West Briton bowing to cultural standards devised by foreigners. Moreover, Chandler is concerned less with the poetry than with the seemingly transparent discourse which will render his poetry meaningful. This, however, is illusory, for the very allusion he appropriates has been interdicted by a discourse that exposes its belatedness.

Chandler's reflection on his vocation as poet and his invented sentences from imaginary reviews are couched in the terms employed by Matthew Arnold in The Study of Celtic Literature (1867), who coined the phrase 'the Celtic note.' Chandler reflects:

> There were so many different moods and impressions that he wished to express in verse....Melancholy was the dominant note of his temperament, he thought, but it was a melancholy tempered by recurrences of faith and resignation and simple joy (73).

And later: "He began to invent phrases from the notices which his book would get. Mr. Chandler has the gift of easy and graceful verse...A wistful sadness pervades these poems...The Celtic note" (74). Compare Arnold's view of the Celt:

> Sentiment is, however, the word which marks where the Celtic races really touch and are one; sentimental, if the Celtic nature is to be characterised by a single term, is the best term to take. An organisation quick to feel impressions, and feeling them very strongly; a lively personality therefore, keenly sensitive to joy and to sorrow; this is the main point. If the downs of life too much outnumber the ups, this temperament, just because it is so quickly and nearly conscious of all impressions, may no doubt be seen shy and wounded; it may be seen in wistful regret, it may be seen in passionate penetrating melancholy; but its essence is to aspire ardently after life, light, and emotion, to be expansive, adventurous, and gay (84).

Chandler deviates from this temper only in his lack of adventure.

'The Celtic note' was well known in the circles of the Literary Revival and among nationalist journalists. Writing in 1897, Yeats, putting Arnold at some ironic distance, claimed, along with Ernest Renan, that "the Celtic alone has

been for centuries close to the main river of European literature," changing "the very roots of man's emotions by...[its] influence on the spirit of chivalry and on the spirit of romance" ("The Celtic Element in Literature," 185), of which, he argued, Sir Walter Scott's Highlands novels were one expression (186). Yeats argued that the Celtic spirit defined by Arnold was really an outgrowth of "the ancient religion of the world" (176), of men possessing primitive melancholy who "did not live within our own strait limits, who were nearer to ancient chaos, every man's desire, and who had immortal models about them" (178); for these primitives the immortal in all things was alone essential (178-9).

The 'spirit of romance' and the sense of heroic resignation inculcated in Yeats' view of the ancient Celt, colour Chandler's own reflections. However, such rebellion against 'the despotism of fact,' in Arnold's phrase, or the preoccupation with the eternal in Yeats' view, is turned into a biting attack on such aesthetics by pointing to Chandler's lack of any social thought. Chandler, viewing the poverty of surrounding Dublin, lapses into a melancholy mood, one conditioned by his recognition of the "eternal wisdom" of the ages:

> He watched the scene and thought of life; and (as always happened when he thought of life) he became sad. A gentle melancholy took possession of him. He felt how useless it was to struggle against fortune, this being the burden of wisdom which the ages had bequeathed to him (71).

Later, as Chandler goes to meet his friend Gallaher, a

poetic moment strikes him. The progeny of Chandler's melancholy aestheticism, a dialogized poetic reverie, which attempts to rise out of its prose envelope, presents an idealized portrait in which Dublin's impoverished tenements become tramps and gypsies:

> As he crossed Grattan Bridge he looked down the river towards the lower quays and pitied the poor stunted houses. They seemed to him a band of tramps, huddled together along the river-banks, their old coats covered with dust and soot, stupefied by the panorama of sunset and waiting for the first chill of night to bid them rise, shake themselves and begone (73).

Chandler is clearly in the line of literary idealists like Yeats, for whom the Celtic revival is the historical moment of reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century "mingled with a reaction against the materialism of the nineteenth century" ("The Celtic Element...," 187). Chandler's 'impressions' of his surroundings are mediated by his aesthetic conceptions, and the extreme poverty of Capel Street which Chandler views serves only to help him invoke sentiments of Bohemianism straight from literary sources. These conditions of poverty are compromised in Chandler's language in phrases like "dull inelegance." As in "Araby," aestheticization is the compromising of an ugly and complex reality.[1]

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[1] The city district of Dublin in which Chandler wanders was the site of some of the worst urban poverty in Europe, for the Land question of the Parnell years, the late 1800's, had totally monopolized the Anglo-Irish government's reform policy. Desperately low wages and poor housing conditions were a major grievance, one which only a small

Yeats did not have the last word on the Celtic note. For D.P. Moran and The Leader, the phrase 'the Celtic note' was another fraud perpetrated on the Irish public in order to dress up Irish culture for an English market. Chandler is a true hawker, a cultural simoniac, in Moran's view:

> A certain number of Irish literary men have "made a market" - just as stock-jobbers do in another commodity - in a certain vague thing, which is indistinctly known as "the Celtic note" in English literature, and they earn their fame and livelihood by supplying the demand which they have honourably and with much advertising created....But an intelligent people are asked to believe that the manufacture of the before mentioned "Celtic note" is a grand symbol of an Irish national awakening....What good is it to any, except the owners of them, that Irish names figure largely in current English literature? I hasten to allow that it secures for Ireland a little bit of English patronising praise, which is at present the breath of our Irish nostrils. We were recently asked to swell ourselves out with pride after contemplating the English debt to Irish literature (Moran, 22).

In the narrative of "A Little Cloud" some of the key terms of Moran's attack on the Literary revival are diffused, in Chandler's epiphany of Gallaher and in his repudiation of their friendship. His wish that his name looked more Irish (74) is undercut by Moran's argument that the Revival has done little for Ireland except put more Irish names in English literature. Moreover, Chandler's epiphany, his perception that Gallaher is only patronizing him (80), as well as his

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disorganized socialist party had raised. A Committee of Enquiry report issued in 1900 found that 32,000 of a total of 54,000 Dublin resided in only 7,000 homes in a distribution of one and one-half rooms per family (Mansergh, 258).

general disaffection with the prospect of publishing his poetry in London, echoes Moran's attack on the 'Celtic note' and the Literary Revival as a kind of simoniacal betrayal, a selling of Ireland's sacred birth-right, its culture, and its national spirit.

Little Chandler's Celticism, inspired in part by the imported ideas of Matthew Arnold, also carries with it a set of anti-materialistic values which also contributes to the sense of paralysis he feels by the end of the story. While Chandler adopts a pseudo-neroic posture, he rejects the materialistic, elegant, continental culture of Corless's, where he meets Gallaher, though, as he confesses, "he knew the value of the name" (72):

> He knew that people went there after the theatre to eat oysters and drink liqueurs; and he had heard that the waiters there spoke French and German. Walking swiftly by at night he had seen cabs drawn up before the door and richly dressed ladies, escorted by cavaliers, alight and enter quickly (72).

Chandler's heroism, his chivalry is, in its revived form, a gnomon. His idealized Celticism chooses to sanction the heroic sentiment without the material values that accompany this aristocratic cultural form.

Chandler's reunion with his friend Ignatius Gallaher focuses the antagonism of idealist and materialist views, and their relation to cultural revival. His epiphany of Ignatius Gallaher is not merely the realization of a shallow friendship, nor a recognition of his being snubbed by his

friend, but Chandler's subconscious recognition of a set of codes that conflict with his pious, idealized Celticism. These values harmonize with those of Christian idealists and the views on Irish society espoused by Irish-Ireland propaganda. Chandler's repudiation of Gallaher is prompted by the representations of journalists in advanced nationalist, Irish-Ireland press.

In his Leader editorials, Moran frequently attacked the West Briton press in Ireland. He was fiercely critical of Irish journalists who accepted membership in the British Institute of Journalism, lamenting that "a glass of whisky could buy many a 'gentleman of the press' in this country" (quoted in Glandon, 29). Those journalists who ridiculed or ignored the Gaelic League or the Irish-Ireland movement frequently incurred his wrath. He levelled invective at the Irish Times, calling it "drunk with bigotry," referring to one unsympathetic editor as one who "breathed poison against the Catholic priesthood in Ireland" (quoted in Glandon, 8). Other minor details, Gallaher's orange tie, his tales of immorality rife on the continent, and his gambling reveal him a man of the world, but moreover, a materialistic West Briton, descended into apostasy. Chandler is unaware, however, of his own "apostasy" in ascribing to a set of insulating, culturally compromising aesthetic values.

The pattern of literary and historical intertexts in the story map this conflict of culture, morality and idealism in

the aspiring poet. Chandler's admiration for Byron, one of the most glaring ironies of the story, also derives from Arnold. Of course, Chandler's reading of Byron's poetry is in line with his sublimated desire to escape the domestic life in which he feels confined, and the "dull inelegance" of Dublin. As well, the Bohemianism of Byron's poetry mediates Chandler's naïve view of poverty. Chandler's reading material also satisfies his heroic aspirations; Arnold again supplies the link, this time with the chivalric code. He writes: "Some people have found in the Celtic nature and its sensibility the main root out of which chivalry and romance and the glorification of a feminine ideal spring" (90). Moreover, Arnold's survey of the Celtic spirit in English literature finds Byron the embodiment of Celtic melancholy and titanism. In English poetry, the "chord of penetrating passion and melancholy, again, its Titanism...we see...in Byron" (Arnold, 127), only to be outdone by Milton's Satan:

> Where in European poetry are we to find this Celtic passion of revolt so warm-breathing, puissant, and sincere; except perhaps in the creation of a yet greater poet than Byron, but an English poet too, like Byron, - in the Satan of Milton?" (131).

Chandler's paralysis, located at the level of a set of interfering sub-texts, is manifest in his subscription to antithetical representations of the Celt in cultural discourse. Although he repudiates the materialism and the immorality of Gallaher, and the continental culture represented by Corless's, Byron, an archetypal Celt according

to Arnold, cannot be squared with Byron, the archetypal sinner and scandal-monger.

In "A Little Cloud," more of Joyce's displaced intertexts emerge. Joyce's characterization of Chandler suggests another Anglo-Irish poet, Thomas Moore, whose career offers both parallels and sharp contrasts to Chandler, and to the discourse of cultural nationalism: Moore, according to Irish-Ireland propaganda is also a cultural apostate, a literary simoniac.

Unlike Chandler, Moore realized his aspiration of publishing his poetry in London. In 1799, he arrived in London and published his Odes to Anacreon, arranging through a friend the dedication of the work to the King, an outrageously obsequious gesture of shoneenism by Irish-Ireland standards. His poetry became instantly admired in literary circles. In 1814, Moore, who lived on the spectacular poet's salary of 500 pounds a year, signed a contract of 3000 pounds for his projected Eastern romance poem Lalla Rookh, then the largest sum ever advanced a writer for work unseen, an obvious contrast with Chandler who, like Yeats, dedicated to the coterie, believes that his work will never be popular (73).

Moore also resurfaces here apposite to the theme of censorship in "An Encounter," contrasting sharply with Chandler's pious morality. In 1801, Moore published a book of "immoral and indelicate verses" under the pseudonym of Thomas Little, a name which Moore chose because of his diminutive

stature. Clearly, Joyce's description of Chandler attempts to appropriate Moore analogically: "He was called Little [Thomas] Chandler because, though he was but slightly under the average stature, he gave one the idea of being a little man" (70): Thomas Little is the moral opposite of Little Thomas Chandler.

Moore is also indicative of Moran's picture of the fervent patriot who, like Mr. Doyle, "modified his views" and deserted nationalism; moreover, another link with Byron is established at the level of the sub-text. Early in his career, Moore had been possessed of republican fervour. At Trinity College, he had been suspected by the university dons of membership in the secret societies of United Irishmen which were then being formed. Yet he became disillusioned with republicanism after his visit to America in 1803. His satires of America appeared in Odes and Epistles, which received the scorn of Byron in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers"; Moore subsequently challenged Byron to a duel, but the two eventually became friends; Chandler's friendship with Gallaher, however, appears over.

Other elements of literary biography are apposite to the kind of conservative, anti-republican politics which Moore represented for Irish-Ireland nationalists, and the timid literary nationalism which Chandler embodies for Joyce. Moore's Irish Melodies, the expression of patriotic spirit for Victorian Anglo-Ireland, appeared in 1808 amid much

controversy about the author's politics. In the Introduction, Moore defended himself against charges that certain "allusions" to Irish history and English injustices in Ireland, would incite rebellion among the multitudes. Moore was careful to reassure his critics that his book of patriotic melodies was not intended to arouse a spirit of unruliness among the rabble, "that gross and inflammable region of society"; rather,

> [i]t looks much higher for its audience and readers - it is found upon the pianofortes of the rich and the educated - of those who can afford to have their national zeal a little stimulated without exciting much dread of the excesses into which it may hurry them (Moore, 194).

ii. "A Painful Case": "Warm Soil About an Exotic"

At first glance Mr. Duffy of "A Painful Case" seems to defy any inclusion in a genealogy of Irish cultural traditions, or within a structure of heroism. There is little that is distinctly Irish about him. He lives secluded from the mainstream of Irish life, scornful of "mean and modern" Dublin. He is an aesthete and, in nationalist terms, a West Briton - unrepentently so: he likes the music of Mozart; he knows something of German naturalist drama for he has translated Hauptmann's Michael Kramer, and is familiar with the philosophy of Nietzsche. The epitome of inaction, of contemplation, his life is an "adventureless tale."

Duffy's temperament is not incompatible with Joyce's genealogy of heroism, however. Indeed, "A Painful Case" represents an a development of those constellated heroic forms and tendencies examined in earlier protagonists. Joyce's allusions to Hauptmann's Michael Kramer and Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra and The Gay Science provide meaningful clues to Duffy's place in this heroic structure. As is characteristic of Joyce's technique throughout the collection, however, meaning and interpretation are not delimited by those allusions, nor is any firm position from which to interpret the texts vouchsafed the reader. The effect of careful placement of allusions in the narrative, especially those to the work of Nietzsche, is to allow the allusive weight of previous stories to invade the present text: Ambiguity serves Joyce's genealogy of cultural forms, the development of theme through the parallel movement of physiological and intellectual accretion, symbolized in the gnomon.

Duffy issues from the same matrix of social and cultural forms which has given shape to the protagonists of previous stories, despite obvious temperamental contrasts. Mr. Duffy's apartment, a reflection of his Jesuitical rigour and his egoistic sense of self-sufficiency, is described in a style which mirrors those very traits:

> He had himself bought every article of furniture in the room (107); Mr Duffy abhorred anything which betokened physical or mental disorder. A medieval doctor would have called him saturnine (108).

It offers a sharp contrast with the dreamy, Celtic melancholy

of Little Chandler, whose amenities were purchased on the "hire system" (83).

Mr Duffy, a celibate, lives in an eremitic isolation that he equates with freedom:

> He had neither companions nor friends, church nor creed. He lived his spiritual life without any communion with others, visiting his relatives at Christmas and escorting them to the cemetery when they died. He performed these two social duties for old dignity's sake but conceded nothing further to the conventions which regulate civil life (109).

Chandler is married and feels confined. Duffy's life, like his austere surroundings, is severely regimented. Chandler hungers for adventure; Duffy's life rolls "out evenly - an adventureless tale" (109). He takes the train into town every morning, lunches at the same pub each day taking the same lunch; he is set free from his work at precisely four o'clock and sups at the same eating house, where "there was a certain plain honesty in the bill of fare" (108). Music or roaming the outskirts of town "were the only dissipations of his life" (109). Yet despite this apparent communion with everyday life and a confessed interest in socialism, Duffy is, like Chandler, thoroughly insulated from the realities of the everyday.

Mr. Duffy's rigorous aestheticism is, in a functional sense, but a variation of Chandler's dreamy Celticism - both are conservative, socially insulating ideologies. Duffy represents the kind of leadership which workers like Joe Hynes in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" could use, yet he is

uncommitted to socialism, or to any creed or doctrine; he committed only to a rigorous, intellectual bravado. His repudiation of socialism, in fact, seems a direct response to Joe Hynes' plea for the bettering of the conditions of the working man in "Ivy Day":

> -The working-man, said Mr. Hynes, gets all kicks and no half-pence. But it's labour produces everything. The working man is not looking for fat jobs for his sons and nephews and cousins (121).

Mr. Duffy confesses to Mrs. Sinico that he had attended the meetings of "an Irish Socialist Party where he had felt himself a unique figure amidst a score of sober work-men," but he had discontinued the meetings when the party split into factions. He tells her:

> The workingmen's discussions...were too timorous; the interest they took in the question of wages was inordinate. He felt that they were hard featured realists and that they resented an exactitude which was the product of a leisure not within their reach. No social revolution...would be likely to strike Dublin for some centuries (111).

This is absolute blindness to the workers's situation: wages are obviously, by necessity, the worker's concern, especially in the extreme poverty of working class Dublin. Duffy is concerned only with his own uniqueness among those "sober work-men." Moreover, he is committed to the intellectually spectacular telos of revolution.

Duffy is truly a recluse from the "mean, modern and pretentious," Dublin, from its civic and its national life. He refuses to participate in any debate on Ireland's future, because, as he says in language the epitome of an aesthete, of

the low character of the Irish press and the narrow mindedness of the middle class.

> [Mrs Sinico] asked him why he did not write out his thoughts. For what, he asked her, with careful scorn. To compete with phrasemongers, incapable of thinking consecutively for sixty seconds? To submit himself to the criticism of an obtuse middle class which entrusted its morality to police-men and its arts to impresarios? (111).

Like other women in Dubliners, Mrs. Sinico serves only Duffy's idealizing imagination. He casts her in the role of confessor. She emotionalizes his mental life (111); his metaphysical desires put her in the role of ministering his own transcendence: "This union exalted him, worn away the rough edges of his character, emotionalized his mental life....He thought that in her eyes he might ascend to an angelic stature" (111). However, as with his engagement with Irish socialism, the union serves only to reinforce his own unique, intellectual qualities: "Her companionship was like a warm soil about an exotic" (111). Such views suggest the unpropitious fates of socialism and feminism in turn-of-the-century Ireland.

As in other stories, Joyce's intertexts are woven into the fabric of the narrative whether as opinion or discursive fragment, seeming to be the sources of many of the social and aesthetic values which the characters exhibit. Indeed, many of the motifs central to Joyce's adumbration of a structure of heroism are also discernable in Hauptmann's Michael Kramer, a manuscript translation of which lies in Duffy's desk. The

discipular motif, central to the stories of childhood and their literary and mythic sub-texts, is prominent in the play.

Lachmann, once a student of Kramer, holds his former teacher's lofty spirit as a hallmark of his excellence: "There isn't another teacher like him. I always say that any one whom your father has once influenced can never become quite shallow again" (441).

> He ploughed up the very souls of us, his pupils, he turned us inside out, made us over again - thoroughly. He knocked all the wretched philistinism out of one. A man can feed on his teaching for a lifetime. For instance, to any one who has known his unflagging loyal seriousness in the service of art, the outside world seems at first entirely frivolous (441).

Later in play, Lachmann tells Michaline more of Kramer's influence upon his generation of students in language that sustains the central genealogical strands of Dubliners - chivalry and the heroic. Lamenting that he is "buried in domesticity and marriage," Lachmann describes Kramer's considerable power to raise up his students: "A fellow had been a flogged urchin: suddenly he became a knight of the spirit." Kramer had "opened the world of heroes to us...He deemed us worthy of striving to emulate their work. He made us feel toward the lords of the realm of art, that we and they were of one blood" (III, p. 506).

Clearly though, Kramer's lofty, heroic ideals are of little value in a materialistic bourgeois society, as Lachmann, now despairing of his own artistic talents, admits. Like Duffy, Lachmann deplores the bourgeois herd now taking

control of society, subordinating the artist to its crass materialistic values. He believes that the artistic life is being destroyed; he himself feels incapable of doing any more work, which he suggests is a result of "the great philistine orgy of the metropolis" (III, p.503). The bourgeois "stamp into the mud all that is pure and rare" (510). Lachmann's despairing, sarcastic confessions are deepened by the off-stage clamour of Kramer's son being taunted by a crowd of the very bourgeois he believes are destroying art. Only his memories of his student days give him freedom from the oppressiveness of the present (503). Though he admires Kramer, he now believes him to be a great failure (506).

Kramer's pious, anti-materialistic aesthetics are parallel with those articulated elsewhere - in the narratives and in the sub-texts of previous stories. Such views of art are strikingly similar to Duffy's and to the monastic character of his lifestyle. While Kramer's daughter, Michaline, somewhat like Emily Sinico, argues that Kramer's reluctance to show his work to anyone, only denies him stimulus of others (464-5), Kramer believes art grows only in solitude: "The original, the genuine, the deep and strong in art grows only in a hermitage - is born only in utter solitude. The artist is always the true hermit" (465). Such mixed voices of religious and artistic devotion, inform that repressed, distant voice of Duffy's which "insists on the soul's incurable loneliness" (111).

The subject of Kramer's unfinished, jealously-guarded work is the crucified Christ, a painting which Kramer argues demands unflinchingly his life's devotion: "not a life, I tell you, of revelry or noise, but lonely hours, lonely days, lonely with his sorrow and with his God. He must sanctify himself daily, I tell you!" (465). For Kramer, art is religion, and the place where art is created, a temple from which "moneychangers and chaffers" should be driven (466).

While there are obvious similarities, there are also significant differences. Though Kramer is contemptuous of contemporary philistines - "These vagabonds of to-day think the whole world is a whore's bed!" (460) - he admonishes Lachmann to duty as the highest service one can render to society (459). This is hardly like Duffy's jaded resignation of his civic duties.

The final set of explicit allusions to two texts by Nietzsche - Thus Spake Zarathustra and The Gay Science - delineates other aspects of the ontology of allusions in Joyce's text. While the placement of these allusions serve a developmental schema which attempts to absorb into its intertextual fabric a set of analogous cultural forms, the technique suggests, in terms of both theme and source, the central problematics of alluding in cultural, political, and religious discourse.

Texts often confirm those truths and tendencies already held by their admirers. Indeed the symbolism of the gnomon,

its essentially accretive function, suggests that new texts, new accretions, are but the fulfilment of a dimly figured text already in place. Though it is unclear whether Duffy's translation of Hauptmann comes before or after his desertion of socialism, Michael Kramer, with its solitary artist hero, his disillusioned pupil, Lachmann, and his rebellious, undisciplined son, Arnold, suggests Duffy's translation of Hauptmann reaffirms his renunciation of society. We are told for example that Duffy is "ever alert to greet a redeeming instinct in others but often disappointed" (108).

The texts of Nietzsche occupy a similar place, and Duffy's aphorism, written shortly after the affair with Emily Sinico is broken, suggests that Duffy finds in Nietzsche the fulfilment of solitary, ascetic tendencies already prominent in his temperament. The Nietzschean doctrine of eternal recurrence elaborated in Zarathustra at the turning point of Nietzsche's own philosophical development, appears to serve Duffy's attitude of resignation and as well as his aestheticism. As well, Nietzsche's contempt for the rabble, for those low features of the bourgeoisie, especially for the press, his aristocratic and anti-democratic views are aligned with Duffy's conservative temperament.

For protagonist as well as critic, Nietzsche's anti-gospel could have no force without a reliance on those antecedent forms which it mimics as well as attempts to subvert. Indeed, the narrative of "A Painful Case" blends the

discourses of monastic Christianity matrix from which Duffy issues, as do the verbal echoes, stylistic features, and "analogues" sedimented in the text. And here sources merge with theme and allusive method: the preoccupation of stories like "Tables of the Law" with prophecy, Yeats' Joachism, and Nietzsche's ushering in the anti-gospel of Zarathustra all reinforce thematically and materially, as stylistic source, the view of allusions as prophecy and fulfilment.[2]

These antecedent forms run across the spectrum of discourses, aligned with, or antagonistic to the project of an insular cultural nationalism: the English chivalric revival, the anti-democratic politics of O'Grady, Lytton's sacrificial heroes, the fervent Catholic nationalism of Scott's "sisters" all share a set of cultural forms and values. Given those allusions absorbed into the heroic structure which Joyce delineates, Nietzsche seems the grand fulfilment of the aristocratic, pnuematic poses of characters who conceive themselves occupying privileged positions above the conditional and the historical.

Duffy's ascetic habits and intellectual rigour, his aristocratic conservatism are aligned with other features of

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[2] Joseph C. Voelker's "'He Lumped the Emancipates Together': More Analogues for Joyce's Mr. Duffy" demonstrates the borrowings and verbal echoes of Yeats; the Nietzschean sources which Magalaner finds in "A Painful Case" derive from Yeats's stylized vision of Joachim (28-9). Duffy is in a line of prophets extending backwards to Joachim, of whom Nietzsche appears to be the fulfilment. Duffy's monastic qualities, Nietzsche, and Yeats' prophets are conflated.

the pious morality of Christian idealism and conservative nationalists like O'Grady. For Patrick Augustine Sheehan, frequent lecturer to the Gaelic League, modern literature, having usurped the role of the clergy as the arbiter and counsellor of the everyday lives of the people, possessed the 'secret desire' to return society to the sexual license of the pagan:

> For the more one studies the popular ideas in modern literature, the more clearly is it seen that it is the desire to get back to Pagan license of life that is at the root of all modern irreligion....Once and again a candid poet or philosopher or cynic, like Goethe, or Renan, or Heine, will admit it. The rest of the world deems such admissions premature, but secretly likes them (218).

For Sheehan, materialism was at the bottom of the modern revival of Paganism:

> a very cursory research in the pages of such literature as we possess, would very easily prove this Materialism, not only in doctrine, but in principle and practice, is the very antithesis of the church's teaching. It leads of necessity to grossness and license (Sheehan, 219).

Moreover, Duffy's ascetic temperament is also aligned with the kind of restraint and intellectual rigour advocated by Sheehan:

> So, too, all that rage against Christianity find their apology in its restraints, not so much on the human intellect, as on human passion and pride. Deep down in their hearts is the secret desire of unlimited license. In fact, when one comes to consider what is the one doctrine or rather precept of the Church against which the Gentiles rage, and the people meditate vain thing things, it is found in that one word, Restrain! Control! It is this cold discipline that exasperates the world (Sheehan, 218-9).

Nietzsche's texts obviously appear to give assent to the aristocratic, anti-democratic politics of O'Grady and the Ascendancy tradition he represents, as well as the forces of reactionary Catholicism represented by Sheehan, the aristocratic postures of Lytton. Such politics are passively sanctioned by the aesthetics of Yeats, Michael Kramer, and, as we shall see, Gabriel Conroy.

After severing the ties with Mrs. Sinico, the evenness of Duffy's life is re-established, his surroundings are still bear "witness to the orderliness of his mind" (112). A narrative ellipse of four years is glossed with flat reportage in which new pieces of music and new books and a Nietzsche-like aphorism are equal with the death of his father. Indeed, it is the sense of fulfilment of views and tendencies already held that Duffy finds in Nietzsche's texts, which mute the interlude of Duffy's affair with Mrs. Sinico. The powerful impulse toward resignation and solitariness in Nietzsche's texts returns the story to its orderly beginnings.

Despite the apparent resignation to a life that is an "adventureless tale," and despite his constant attempts to control and order his surroundings, Duffy's life, his whole moral nature, is disrupted by the news of Mrs. Sinico's death. But here, sub-text resurfaces and gives shape to life: Duffy believes that he himself sentenced her to death (117). As elsewhere, his epiphany only affirms the solitude which is a constant feature of his temperament. His belief in his own

guilt is also rooted in Michael Kramer and in the discipular motif in other mythic and literary sub-texts of Dubliners. Tutors and sages valorize themselves by exaggerating their influence on others. For example, Michaline confesses to Lachmann that she, like her father, enjoys influencing her students (442). Kramer, once the boy's tutor, insists on some influence on his son, positive or negative: "All his life long I was his schoolmaster. I had to mistreat him and now he has risen into the divine" (537).

Indeed, Michael Kramer prompts the recognition of certain events for the playing out of a drama of penitence and recovery, which itself privileges the impulse toward solitude already in Duffy's temperament. Duffy's epiphany is mediated by the closing scene of Hauptmann's play. The aesthetics that prompts Michael Kramer's eulogy of his son prepares Duffy for recognition of his role, his responsibility for the death of Emily; moreover, the form which that eulogy takes fits squarely into the genealogy of forms which Joyce's collection adumbrates.

Both Duffy and Kramer can understand and articulate the their loss only in the language of a grand elegiac vision: for both, death allows recognition of grand themes of love and death. Where once his son's life was obscure, Kramer confides, "Now death has brought it to light..." (537). He finds in Arnold, who had filled his sketch books with the assembly of his "tormentors" (533), the myth of Christ, which

is but a mirror of Kramer's life's work, his own personal drama of penitence and redemption. Indeed, Kramer, self-absorbed, confides to Lachmann: "was that hour sent to purify me as by fire or not?" (533); shortly after, he expresses awe at his son's transcending him: "now he has risen to the divine" (537). The relations of power and control are all that matter to him, his son translated to heaven. In a burst of creative activity, Kramer does several sketches, one of which Michaline shows to Lachmann: a dead knight in armour (526). Kramer's long elegiac speech to Lachmann is parallel with Duffy's elevated epiphanic monologue, which begins like Duffy's: "Now that she was gone he understood how lonely her life must have been..." (116).

Though conceiving himself an exotic, a Zarathustrian prophet far above a bourgeois rabble, Duffy's dramatic recognition scene, rooted in the high art of Kramer's epiphany, is savagely undercut by the hackneyed eulogy of Parnell, which follows in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." Duffy's eulogy is self-valorizing; he is truly an emblem of artistic paralysis.

### iii. Ireland Playing the Fool: "The Dead"

"The Dead" summarizes all the themes deployed in Dubliners. Issues central to Irish-Ireland propaganda: cultural apostasy, the character of the West Briton, the

valorization of peasant life, as well as the stale codes and values of chivalry, are woven into the action and the characterization of the story.

"The Dead" is generally recognized as the most complex and the most successful of Joyce's early works. Frequently however, questions of the success of the final story of the collection have hinged on the perception that "The Dead" represents Joyce's reconciliation with Ireland, and that both Gabriel and Joyce derive some form of self knowledge from that final vision of "all the living and the dead."

Richard Ellmann's biography has been the chief stimulus for this reading, paralleling Joyce's career prior to his escape to the continent with Nora, with the paralysed, eventually enlightened Gabriel. Ellmann draws ostensibly convincing evidence: one of Joyce's love letters to Nora, reproduced word for word in the text (Ellmann, 255; cf. "The Dead," 214); the fact that both Joyce and Gabriel wrote for the conservative, Unionist Daily Express, thereby validating Molly Ivors's charge of his being a West Briton; both looked toward the continent for cultural influences. Ellmann claims Gabriel's description is suggestive of Joyce (178). Moreover, Ellmann's biographical narrative claims that a sense of nostalgia and homesickness was overcoming Joyce following his relocation in Trieste. Joyce, he suggests, frequently felt a sense of humiliation about the impoverished state of his native land (263). Ellmann writes: "The stay in Rome had

seemed purposeless, but during it Joyce became aware of the change of attitude toward Ireland and so toward the world" (252). In this regard, Ellmann adduces the letter of September 25, 1906, written while Joyce was composing "The Dead," bringing his picture of Ireland to a close. In it Joyce acknowledges certain aspects of Irish society that he had omitted: "I have not reproduced its ingenuous insularity and its hospitality, the latter 'virtue' so far as I can see does not exist elsewhere in Europe" (254).

From this evidence Ellmann draws some conclusions about the origins and the thematic content of "The Dead." First, that Joyce's reconciliation with Ireland finds its expression in the theme of hospitality echoed in Gabriel's after dinner speech: "This was Joyce's oblique way, in language that mocked his own, of beginning to make amends" (254). Second, that like Gabriel, Joyce's reconciliation with Ireland with Ireland was mediated by the knowledge of his wife's authentic passion for Sonny Bodkin; his wife's former lover and his tragic death symbolized a passion, emblematic of Ireland, that he himself lacked. It is in this light that Ellmann interprets the portrait of Gretta as Joyce's tribute to Nora's "artless integrity":

> From a biographical point of view, these final pages compose one of Joyce's several tributes to his wife's artless integrity. Nora Barnacle, in spite of her defects of education, was independent, unself-conscious, instinctively right. Gabriel acknowledges the same coherence in his own wife, and recognizes in the West of Ireland, in Michael Furey, passion he has always himself lacked (258)...

> through his experience with his wife he grants a kind of bondage, of acceptance to a part of the country and a way of life that are most Irish. Ireland is shown to be stronger, more intense than he (259).

Recently however, the reconciliatory reading has been challenged in two important interpretations of "The Dead." Vincent P. Pecora has shown that the theme of hospitality as well as the praise of generosity invoked in Gabriel's speech "is nothing more than the codified expression of the myth of self-sacrifice lying at the heart of Joyce's Dublin" (238). Thomas Dilworth has likewise argued that "Gabriel's tendency to accommodate and the national trait it resembles have political significance" (162); he argues quite convincingly that Gabriel's cultural self-estrangement is also central to the political message of the story (160). Linking the otherwise divided realms of public and private, political and sexual, Dilworth argues: "Politics is personalized by its relationship to a stereotypical Irish personality trait which Gabriel seems to possess. And sex is politicized through a myth that is evoked by the etymology of Gabriel's surname in conjunction with the story's temporal setting" (157).

From an historical perspective, however, it is clear that the myth of accommodation and hospitality to foreign powers at the heart of Joyce's Dublin can be traced to Irish-Ireland propaganda. Codified by D.P. Moran and applied exclusively to the Anglo-Irish middle class, a class of cultural apostates, this myth accounts for much of Gabriel's paranoia and the

gesture of self-sacrifice which he makes at the closing of the story. A representative of a class of Irishman stigmatized by the resurgent Gaelic nationalism of the post-Parnell era, he. like Julia and Kate Morkan and all assembled at Usher's Island, is representative of a "generation on the wane." "The Dead" is much less than Ellmann's reconciliatory reading; in fact, Joyce repudiates the Irish-Ireland propaganda which elsewhere serves his critique of Anglo-Ireland.

The psychological insights of Pecora and Dilworth are still useful, as are their insights on culture. Gabriel's persona oscillates between the poles of accommodation and self-assertion, of generosity and aggression. These features of his personality are manifested in his tendency to adopt heroic postures and hide behind values which such codes sanction. Gabriel, like the artist heroes in other stories, strikes cavalier poses and makes assumptions which fail miserably when put into practice.

Gabriel's attitudes are also reflective of a set of debased chivalric codes, relics of an heroic structure pervasive in Irish life which Joyce traces throughout the collection. Gabriel has the appearance of a cavalier as he enters the Morkan's house, a fringe of snow on his shoulders giving the appearance of a cape (177). He is condescending to Lily, the serving girl, smiling at her rusticity, "at the three syllables she had given his surname" (177). Noting that Lily has finished school, he makes the assumption that she

will soon be getting married to some nice young man, but she replies with a bitterness that undercuts his cavalier presumptions, "The men that is now is only palaver and what they can get out of you" (178); veiling his error in judgement with generosity, Gabriel puts a coin into her hand and "trots" off (178).

The party at the Morkan's is permeated with martial imagery. The ladies and gentleman dance quadrilles and lancers. Gabriel's repartee with Miss Ivors is in fact a kind of joust: Gabriel admits "he did not know how to meet her charge" of being a West Briton. Embarrassed he feels "a blush invade his forehead" (188). Other martial images abound: from the "escorting" of ladies and the "musketry" of applause to the battle field-like description of the feast table with its decanters standing as "sentries," its "squads of bottles" uniformed with sashes (196-7). Aunt Julia, in her rendition of Arrayed for the Bridal, "attacks" the "runs which embellish the air" (193).

These images of warfare and liberation are interspersed with references to many of Ireland's heroes, conquerors, and politicians, famous and infamous: the image of the Wellington monument, always in Gabriel's thoughts, the statues of Daniel O'Connell and King William III, like Irishtown and Great Britain Street, symbolic shorthand for the sectarian, Catholic-Protestant conflict in Ireland (Dilworth, 160). Other allusions reinforce these images of riot, rebellion and

usurpation; Aunt Julia's song "Arrayed for the Bridal" is taken from an opera centred on the English Civil War, I Puritani (Gifford, 118), in which a Catholic sovereign is usurped. The theme of usurpation also underlies "the picture of the two murdered princes in the Tower" (186).

Images of riot and rebellion are also present on the psychological level, reinforcing the theme of sexual consummation between the hero-patriot and a feminized sovereignty in Celtic myth. Gabriel's lust for Gretta is described as a "riot of emotion." His stale chivalry and his romance fantasy sentimentalizes and conceals his sexual desire. In the final movement of the story, Gabriel, inspired by his epiphany of Gretta standing on the stairs listening to the "Lass of Aughrim" and invigorated by a storm of long-buried memories, contemplates a renewed life for himself and his wife. He envisions himself as the gallant liberator of both of them from their hitherto banal existence: "The blood went bounding along his veins; and the thoughts went rioting through his brain, proud, joyful, tender and valorous" (213); "He longed to recall to her those [tender] moments, to make her forget the years of their dull existence together and remember only their moments of ecstasy" (213); and:

> She was walking on before him so lightly and so erect that he longed to run after her noiselessly, catch her by the shoulders and say something foolish and affectionate into her ear. She seemed to him so frail that he longed to defend her against something and then be alone with her (213).

As in "Araby," Gretta serves his fantasy of romantic escape.

As they leave the carriage to enter the Gresham Hotel, Gabriel feels as if they "had escaped from their lives and duties, escaped from home and friends and run away together with wild and radiant hearts to a new adventure" (215).

As well, Gabriel performs the same kind of aestheticization of Gretta that all the artist figures of the collection make of the women in their lives or whom they encounter. As other critics have noted, he promotes her to the level of symbol. Gabriel shares with the other artist protagonists the sense of an heroic negotiation of a hostile, quotidian world.

While Gabriel's chivalry is a mark of his aggressive, lustful tendencies, his culture is a source of insecurity. The theme of culture as a mark of class and nationality, an idea prominent in nationalist writing, is central in "The Dead." The banal talk of the Morkans's banquet, is focused on the issues of music and the stage; as well Gabriel, a professor of literature and languages, who is charged with the duty of delivering a speech on the theme of Irish hospitality, makes the themes of Irish custom and culture central. Gabriel is painfully aware of the cultural differences between he and the guests at the Misses Morkan's. This difference is made plain to him when he reflects that his quotation from Robert Browning is inappropriate for his audience:

> He was undecided about the lines from the lines from Robert Browning for he feared they would be above the heads of his hearers. Some quotation that they could recognise from Shakespeare or from...[Moore's

> Irish] Melodies would be better (179).

As elsewhere in the collection, allusions are the means of facilitating and prohibiting access to cultural institutions, symbols of intellectual snobbery and class differences. Gabriel, however, unlike the old josser is aware of its effect, and as elsewhere in the story, seeks to accommodate his listeners.

But Gabriel doubts the successfulness of his entire speech and reflects that he will appear a fool for his pretensions:

> The indelicate clacking of the men's heels and the shuffling of their soles reminded him that their grade of culture differed from his. He would only make himself ridiculous by quoting poetry to them which they could understand. They would think that he was airing his superior education. He would fail with them just as he had failed with the girl in the pantry. He had taken up a wrong tone. His whole speech was a mistake from first to last, an utter failure (179).

And after hearing the pathetic story of Michael Furey, Gabriel again contemplates his foolishness and his failure:

> He saw himself as a ludicrous figure, acting as a pennyboy for his aunts, a nervous well-meaning sentimentalist, orating to vulgarians and idealising his own clownish lusts (221-2)....He wondered at his riot of emotions an hour before. From what had it proceeded? From his aunt's supper, his own foolish speech, from the wine and dancing, the merry making when saying good-night (222).

Yet if Gabriel is uneasy with his being unsuited to the lower grade of culture of his listeners, he is also made uneasy by Molly Ivors's nationalism and cultural propaganda, a culture threatening to displace his own.

Molly Ivors, who has learned that Gabriel writes reviews for the Conservative, Unionist paper, the Daily Express chides him with being a West Briton: "-Well, I'm ashamed of you, said Miss Ivors frankly. To say you'd write for a rag like that. I didn't think you were a West Briton" (188). Gabriel is perplexed by her accusation: "It was true that he wrote a literary column every Wednesday in The Daily Express, for which he was paid fifteen shillings. But that did not make him a West Briton surely." Gabriel wants to respond that literature is above politics, but he reflects,

> they were friends of many years standing and their careers had been parallel, first at University and then as teachers: he could not risk a grandiose phrase with her. He continued blinking his eyes and trying to smile and murmured lamely that he saw nothing political in writing reviews of books (188).

Clearly, Gabriel recognizes the charged political content of Miss Ivors's accusation, and perhaps the repercussions that risking a grandiose phrase might cause. Interestingly, her accusation is more teasing than serious, for she takes his hand in a "warm grasp" and says "-Of course, I was only joking" (188); later they speak of the "University question and Gabriel felt more at ease" (188). She even confesses that "she liked the review immensely" (188).

But Gabriel, reacting harshly to Miss Ivors, worries greatly of the public stigma which her charge, even if delivered in jest, carries in Dublin:

> Gabriel tried to banish from his mind all memory of the unpleasant incident with Miss Ivors. Of course the girl or woman, or whatever she was, was an

> enthusiast but there was a time for all things. Perhaps he ought not to have answered her like that. But she had no right to call him a West Briton before people, even in joke (190).

In a moment of meanness, he decides to turn the theme of hospitality in his after dinner speech against her. Such a manoeuvre replicates the kind of counter charges made by writers such as Yeats and by Christian idealists like P.A. Sheehan against the cutting, dissecting intellect of criticism, which both associated with materialism. Gabriel, like Yeats, admires the old traditions and identifies himself with them in opposition to the hyper-educated generation represented by Miss Ivors, whose "critical quizzing eyes" unnerve him (192). Marshalling the insular virtues of generosity and hospitality, he makes a set of seemingly innocent traditions serve his attack on her. Here, Gabriel "courageously" asserts himself:

> An idea came into his mind and gave him courage. He would say, alluding to Aunt Kate and Aunt Julia: Ladies and Gentlemen, the generation which is now on the wane among us may have had its faults but for my part I think it had certain qualities of hospitality, of humour, of humanity, which the new and very serious and hypereducated generation that is growing up around us seems to me to lack. Very good: that was one for Miss Ivors. What did he care that his aunts were only two ignorant old women? (192).

Gabriel's hostility to Miss Ivors, despite her teasing tone, indicates that he deeply fears the stigma of her charge. This is not surprising given the nature of the Irish-Ireland propaganda to which she alludes, for Moran's Irish-Ireland philosophy is hostile to almost everything that Gabriel

represents, and as well, to the Anglicized culture and manners of many of those assembled at Usher's Island.

The issues which are central in the story: literature and popular culture, music and the stage, as well as the class snobbery of Gabriel and his family are also important in Moran's Irish-Ireland philosophy. Moran saw a connection between the derelict nationalism of his day and a number of contemporary cultural and social problems: literary taste and literary production in Ireland, social progress, the development of polite society, Irish attitudes toward England, and, ultimately, Ireland's economic helplessness and stagnation (Moran, 100). He argued that a "literature steeped in the history, traditions, and genius of one nation, is at the best only an imperfect tutor to the people of another nation" (101). English literature did little to kindle Irish imaginations: many were in fact driven to be believe that literature was something which was not understandable (101).

For Moran an Ireland nourished on English literature was a nation descended into cultural apostasy. The Irish had been turned into sulky imitators of English culture, who, possessed of no distinct identity, could develop no confidence in economic affairs:

> The first step in the acquirement of a skill is a man, and if you have not a man, but a sulky, imitating being to begin with, it is a poor look-out for your economic projects. For behind and above the economics of a nation is the heart of a nation. And Anglo-Ireland of to-day has no heart

(111).

English literature and culture offered no suitable models for Ireland. In fact, they were inimical to Irish nationality:

> the development of nationality is the natural development of a distinct civilization, and any power that kills the one is guilty of the death of the other (96).

Consequently, the creation of a national literature was of central importance to Irish-Irelanders. He expressed great contempt for the Irishman who admired English literature:

> Tell of any ordinary man in Dublin, Cork or elsewhere, who professes an appreciation for the best products of English literature, and I will have no hesitation in informing you that he is an intellectual snob, mostly composed of affectation (Moran, 101).

This seems an apt description of Gabriel's temperament, but there are more condemnations of Gabriel implicit in Moran's nationalist views. Gabriel, who has received his education from the Royal University, who imports continental fashions like galoshes, and who vacations on the continent, is a prime target for Moran's attack on those Irishmen who received a higher education "and lost touch with Irish aspirations," becoming thoroughly Anglicized (101). Again, Moran saw such continental cultural deference and Ireland's economic woes traceable to the lack of an "Irish heart":

> The economic ills of Ireland can be traced to many diverse causes, but if you follow them up you arrive at the great at the great common source - the lack of an Irish heart. Ireland has not the courage to say - I will wear this, or I will not wear that. So the draper from Ballyduff goes to London - sometimes he gives out that he has been as far as Paris - and a hideous poster in three colours

> announces that the latest novelties from London and Paris have arrived (111).

At its base, however, Moran argued, Ireland knew it was a distinct nation; it knew it was of a separate national genius. And his comments on Irish nationality provide a virtual gloss of Gabriel's penitential gesture toward his wife and toward the west of Ireland, and the cult of the dead which underlies many of the stories of Dubliners:

> There is something, be it instinct or the living sub-conscious tradition of an almost dead civilization, that says to nearly every Irish heart - "Thou shalt be Irish: thou shalt not be English" (97).

For Moran "Ireland during this century has in many vital matters played the fool" (94).

> we have learned that we ourselves have been acting like fools, that we, during this century have been the greatest sinners against that nationality whose death we were only too anxious to lay at the door of England (109).

Gabriel's "foolish speech," praising rather insincerely Irish hospitality and generosity, is the very epitome of Moran's assessment of the major flaws of the Irish character. Indeed, Gabriel's after dinner speech appropriates the very myth that Moran castigates in the Irish.

As much as Gabriel owes his epiphany at the end of the story to the kind of self-sacrifice implicit, for Pecora in the imitation of Christ, or as I have shown, in the example offered in the immediate context of 19th century Christian idealism, he also owes his sense of surrender to a recognition of the models of Gaelic peasantry, which Irish-Ireland touted

as the standard of true nationality, and which Gretta comes to represent for the penitent Gabriel. Indeed, the contrast of culture between Gabriel and his family, urban, Anglo-Irish; and that of Gretta, rural, West of Ireland, is a sub-theme running throughout the story, the "symbols" of which, embodied in the three 'peasant-like' women he encounters, he either denies or to which he, in an aristocratic gesture, condescends, always meeting with scorn or rebuff.

Gabriel's mother, who saw to it that he was educated at the Royal University, just as Jimmy Doyle was shepherded off to Cambridge for a taste of real life, was sullenly opposed to his marrying Gretta. Gabriel confesses "Some slighting phrases she had used still rankled in his memory; she had once spoken of Gretta as being country cute and that was not true of Gretta at all" (187). Moreover, at the Gresham Hotel, Gabriel, frustrated and lustfully waiting to seduce Gretta, is overcome by "her sudden kiss and at the quaintness of phrase" with which she addresses him (217). Indeed, in a new Gaelic Ireland, Gabriel might be sorely ashamed of his family, for, as Thomas Dilworth shows (160), Gabriel repeats, the same obsequious gesture to English authority of his grandfather, Patrick Morkan, who rode out to the see "a British military review in the park," and whose horse fell in love with the statue of King Billy ("The Dead," 207).

"The Lass of Aughrim" is another in a chain of allusions whose buried content resurfaces like the Gaelic nationalism

which Gabriel tries to repudiate. Recognized as composed in "the old Irish tonality," the song, which Mr. Bartell D'Arcy can barely recall, signals a turn in the action of the story. After an evening of discussions of English and continental culture, the song recalls the "true" Gaelic Ireland of legend, Connacht, Gretta's home. The revival in Gretta's mind of her memories of the West of Ireland and Michael Furey is itself suggestive of the Irish Revival, of Ireland's self-recognition.

"The Lass of Aughrim" sustains several of the thematic strands in the collection. As Dilworth suggests the song itself is another symbol of the Irish spirit of accommodation and capitulation. Containing its own sub-text, the song is suggestive of the famous battle of Aughrim, the final engagement of the Williamite campaign in Ireland, evoking once again the plantation of English powers on Irish soil. While these are not explicitly stated in Gretta's story of Michael Furey, Gabriel, for whom "West Briton" is a humiliating epithet, focuses in a resigned aesthetic vision the moment of capitulation to a resurgent Ireland. The story works out in Gabriel's consciousness a drama of national redemption, both religious and cultural as heralded by the Literary Revival and bourgeois nationalism.

For their cultural affinities and their snobbishness everyone assembled at the Morkan's dinner are West Britons. They admire great singers of the English and the continental

stage, but have no Irish exemplars (Dilworth, 160). Moran's attack on the traditional gestures of Irish hospitality is echoed in the story. At dinner, Mr. Browne recalls the zenith of Dublin's opera houses, remarking that in their enthusiasm for the great singers "the gallery boys would sometimes...unyoke the horses from the carriage of some great prima donna and pull her themselves through the streets to her hotel" (199). Moran castigated such gestures:

> When an English actor of eminence visits us don't we take the horses from his carriage and cheer ourselves hoarse, and the next day when he says something gracious about us in the columns of the evening paper we beam all over our faces and add an inch to our stature. We call it hospitality, warm Irish welcome, anything but what it is, self-debasement, servility and cringe (Moran, 49).

These preferences for English culture are aligned with their other genteel Anglo-Irish pretensions; earlier we are told that Mary Jane, Kate and Julia's niece, gave lessons to the "better class families on the Kingstown and Dalkey line" (176). Moran, in fact, singled out those who lived in "fashionable Dalkey" as shoneens (Moran, 108). Even the "favourites" which Gabriel might have substituted for his Browning quotation, Shakespeare or something from Moore's Irish Melodies, were frauds for Irish-Irelanders like Moran: Moore represented the sentimental lip-rebellion of an anti-English, Irish literature, and the literary criticism of Arnold and Yeats, who believed Shakespeare the embodiment of the Celtic Note, of the 'natural magic' of the Celtic races, another fraud which the Literary Revival had touted to bolster

their promotion of an Irish literature in English.

Moran's dismissal of Anglo-Irish culture did not stop at the level of custom and fashion. While he scorned the stimulation of racial hatred, his interpretation of the Irish nation was one solidly based on the idea of a pure, unadulterated race. Racial hatred was justified for Moran "in so far as it is impersonal and complementary to a real desire to keep intact the distinctive character, traditions, and civilizations of one's own country" (67).

Moran's racial, cultural interpretation revised the history of nationalist movements and questioned the sincerity of many of Ireland's patriots: from Jonathan Swift, who had "not a drop of Irish blood in his veins, no Irish characteristics, and an utter contempt for the entire pack of us" (34-5), through O'Connell to Parnell, Moran castigated all.

On racial and cultural doctrine, the Joyce who discovers in Moran a stinging critique of Anglo-Irish society, parts company with him. Dominic Manganiello's Joyce's Politics has called attention to the polemical thrust of Joyce's 1907 Trieste lecture "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" at Irish-Ireland and Moran. Indeed, the series of lectures were delivered in March immediately following the riots in the Abbey Theatre over Synge's Playboy of the Western World, and in which the scorn of journalists like Moran was poured on J.M. Synge. While, as we have seen, Joyce relied heavily on

Moran's attack on Anglo-Ireland for his own critique of Ireland's political and economic paralysis, Moran's racial and cultural interpretation of nationalist movements receives Joyce's scorn. Joyce's Trieste lecture on Ireland responds directly to Moran's views:

> to exclude from the present nation all who are descended from foreign families would be impossible, and to deny the name of patriot to all those who are not of Irish stock would be to deny it to almost all the heroes of the modern movement - Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmet, Theobald Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy, leaders of the uprising of 1798, Thomas Davis and John Mitchel, leaders of the Young Ireland movement, Isaac Butt, Joseph Biggar, the inventor of parliamentary obstructionism, many of the anticlerical Fenians, and, finally, Charles Stewart Parnell, who was perhaps the most formidable man that ever led the Irish, but in whose veins there was not a drop of Celtic blood (162).

Moran's assessment of the Irish temperament, that of a generous, hospitable fool, epitomized in Gabriel, is supported by the mythic elements worked into the story's sub-text: custom, ritual and myth are blended with the polemics of modern revivalism.[3] As elsewhere, the story exhibits the

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[3] Thomas Dilworth sees the sexuality theme in the story politicized "through a myth that is evoked by the etymology of Gabriel's surname in conjunction with the stories temporal setting," Twelfth Night or Epiphany (157). Conroy has a true and a false etymology: Mac Conroi, has, since the 17th century, been erroneously taken to mean "son of the king" (163). The Christian Feast of Epiphany has obvious connections with the theme of kingship; however, the celebration of Twelfth Night invokes the traditional figure of the Saturnalian Mock King, elected to lead the Twelfth Night revels which, being a fertility festival, were characterized by "sexual license and debauchery" (164). Dilworth equates the ritual slaying of the Mock King with Michael Furey; however, given the Irish myth upon which the story is based, Gabriel appears to be the fool here, the Mock King.

Dilworth does not mention the etymology and the myth

blending of Christian, Roman, Gaelic, and Pagan legends. The meaning of these sub-texts is clear. Gabriel is both literally, figuratively, and historically, a false king. As Dilworth notes, the Irish name Conroy was falsely taken to mean "king," the Gaelic ri being taken for the French roi. As a representative of a class of imitators of English aristocracy exposed by Irish-Irelanders like Moran, he is also a false king: a representative of a stock of planted rulers who have usurped Gaelic Ireland. For revivalists like Hyde and Moran, he is also a mock-king, a kind of pharmakos to be purged from a new emerging Gaelic Ireland; Gabriel is the mock-king presiding over a Feast of Epiphany symbolic of Ireland's recognition of its authentic Gaelic cultural identity.

Yet Gaelic Ireland does not emerge as a culture more authentic than the West Briton culture it intends to displace. As much as Gabriel's sense of failure represents the disintegration of the self, so does the sense of a racially

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invoked by Lily's mispronunciation of Gabriel's surname; she gives it three syllables calling him 'Mr. Connery' which, according to John V. Kelleher, invokes the Irish myth Togail Bruidhne Da Derga, "The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel" (419). Kelleher misses several important parallels in the myth. The action of the myth is centred on the Celtic New Year celebration Samuin, which marks the ritual slaying of the sacred king, a ritual which is the antecedent of the Saturnalia. The theme of hospitality is also central in the myth: a band of thieves exiled by King Conaire invite a band of British marauders to come to their aid, a gesture that has a striking similarity to the acts of "hospitality" cited by Joyce in his 1907 lecture on Ireland, with which he castigates Irish cultural nationalists.

and culturally distinct Ireland, to which Gabriel in his final resignation gives assent, disintegrate, at the level of the text's allusions, in a kind of palimpsest of custom and ritual upon which this night of epiphanies is centred.

Indeed, the very fabric of allusions is a mixture of Judaic, Christian, and Celtic texts: Gabriel of the apocalypse of Daniel, who implored the Jews to continue in the observance of their customs and resist the threat of assimilation posed by the Seleucid monarchs; Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation of the Lucan gospel heralding the birth of the Messiah; and Conaire, an Irish-king whose birth and life show marked resemblances to the life of Christ. On the level of the Irish mythological sub-text, however, the Gaelic king is sacrificed at this New Year festival, a victim of the betrayal which Joyce sees at the heart of the primitive culture nationalists sought to revive. The entire structure of heroism - chivalric, Gaelic, or Christian - to which Gabriel's monologue appears to give assent, is indicted here.

# Conclusion

Ultimately, Joyce's fiction represents an escape from the dilemma of an aesthetic of liberal idealization so prominent in the discourses of the turn-of-the-century: in Yeats' coterie mythology, in Arnoldian criticism, and in the discourses of cultural nationalism. The raw naturalism of the Dubliners stories, over which, Joyce remarked with perverse satisfaction, hung the odour of corruption, is a direct response to the idealized picture of Irish life advocated by its cultural archons, on which he frequently commented: "pure faithful Connacht girls and lithe, broadshouldered open-faced young Connacht men" (Letters, II, 196), as well as the models of European literary idealism, which he attacked in his 1900 college essay "Drama and Life."

Rejecting the ideal, or the mythological as sacrificing truth, Joyce employs a radical intertextuality to overcome the vacuity of the particular. Joyce's intertextual writing practice modifies realism in order to genealogize those forms which lend narrative its verisimilitude, which fool the protagonists of Joyce's narratives into believing they have been provided with a purchase on contemporary life.

The approaches of McCabe and other post-structuralist critics can account for Joyce's intertextual practice, and its function as a response to the obsessive interpretative desires of its readers and to those institutions which attempt to produce meaning through allusion. Invited to participate in

the construction of the text, to give shape to a text which offers no firm position from which to confidently make interpretations, to follow the labyrinthine intertextual strands, the interpreter begins to read his or her own desires. Many of Joyce's protagonists become, at the end of their interpretative quests, dimly aware of their folly. But even these moments of self-knowledge fail to offer them a safe haven from the conditional, from new moments of humiliation and attempted recovery. For the interpreting reader, similar frustrations of the quest occur, yet while interpretation, the scrutiny of labyrinthine sub-texts would seem an endless quest, Joyce's text does adumbrate a genealogy of cultural forms, of constellated and mutually interested discourses inhabiting turn-of-the-century Irish culture.

Joyce's Dubliners is a text fully aware of the use of allusion in the discourses of various institutions and of the reader's desire to codify and to limit meaning. Cultural, political, and religious institutions are founded on a set of canonical texts from which allusions are excised to buttress authority, to limit, or to privilege meaning. The impulse behind Cheryl Herr's cultural thesis pushes one toward identifying those institutional structures, which, deploying allusions, produce meaning. The competing discourses of post-Parnell Ireland see themselves reflected in Joyce's "looking-glass." Indeed, many of the situations, the banal talk of these Dubliners, as well as many of the narrative motifs

reproduce specific debates in cultural nationalism: the decay of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, the revival of Celtic civilization, political disenchantment, censorship, the antagonism of idealism and materialism, West Britonism, and the heroic ideal in Celtic tradition.

Other allusions offer those readers certain interpretative positions, and anticipate specific assumptions about the historical or mythic content of those sub-texts. Confronted by the factionalism of post-Parnell Ireland, of a nationalism obsessed with its mythological origins, Joyce employs an intertextual practice, centred in the duplicitous emblem of the gnomon, which attempts to subvert the privileged space that such authoritative discourses inhabit. In response to the obsessive interpretative desires of its readers, Joyce's technique displaces privileged moments of interpretative recognition - whether in a private moment of epiphany or in a grand vision, an upsurge of national consciousness - employing polemical polyphony, veiled analogues and recurrent motifs, thematic contrast, and historical genealogy.

Dubliners also traces, in outline, the genealogy and the structure of a set of heroic codes that permeate turn-of-the-century Irish society and the ideology of its resurgent nationalism. Dubliners is a study of a set of heroic, chivalric codes, customs and manners, debased, yet, to borrow Hugh Kenner's phrase, still functioning at a minimal level.

They are observable in the speech codes, the actions, the thoughts, in a whole system of values - class prejudices, gender roles, and moral imperatives - that direct or influence the attitudes of characters. While such codes are identified with a rising Catholic middle class, whose hearts and minds are an ideological battleground among clergy and nationalists waging "the battle of two civilizations," such codes are tropes for the heroic, mythological structure with which cultural nationalism would replace its precursors.

Scrutinizing the conjunction of art and nationalism in Yeats, Hyde, Moran and Griffith, nationalists creating the conscience of their race, Joyce shows the very debt of cultural nationalism to the heroic ideology at the centre of the culture it seeks to displace.

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[1] Abbreviated hereafter as JJQ.

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