Kevin Barry, ed., James Joyce: Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing (Oxford: OUP 2000).

James Joyce was born on 2 February 1882 in Dublin, eldest of ten surviving children born to Mary Jane ('May') Murray and John Joyce. Joyce's father was then a Collector of Rates but the family, once prosperous, had just begun its slow decline into poverty. Educated first at the Jesuit Clongowes Wood and Belvedere Colleges, Joyce entered the Royal University (now University College, Dublin) in 1898. hour years later Joyce left Dublin for Paris with the intention of studying medicine but soon his reading turned more to Aristotle than physic. His mother's illness in April 1903 took him back to Dublin. Here he met and, on 16 June 1904, first stepped out with Nora Barnacle, a young woman from Galway. In October they left together for the Continent. Returning only thrice to Ireland - and never again after 1912 - Joyce lived out the remainder of his life in Italy, Switzerland, and France.

The young couple went first to Pola, but soon moved to Trieste where Joyce began teaching English for the Berlitz School. Except for seven months in Rome, the Joyces stayed in Trieste for the next eleven years. Despite disputes with recalcitrant publishers, severe eye problems, and the pressures of a growing family (both a son and a daughter were born), Joyce managed to write the poems that became Chamber Music (1907), as well as Dubliners (1914). He also began, abandoned, began again, and completed A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1916). By the time the family moved to Zurich in July 1915, he had also begun Ulysses. Over the next seven years, first in Zurich, later in Paris, Ulysses progressed. Partial serial publication in the Little Review (1917-18) brought suppression, confiscation, and finally conviction for obscenity. The first copies arrived in Joyce's hands on 2 February 1922, his fortieth birthday.

The acclaim publication brought placed Joyce at the centre of the literary movement only later known as Modernism, but he was already restlessly pushing back its borders. Within the year he had begun his next project, known only mysteriously as Work in Progress. This occupied him for the next sixteen years, until in 1939 it was published as Finnegans Wake. By this time, Europe was on the brink of war. When Germany invaded France the Joyces left Paris, first for Vichy then on to Zurich. Here Joyce died on 13 January 1941 after surgery for a perforated ulcer. He was buried in Fluntern Cemetery.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A reader may take different paths through this gathering of Joyce’s minor writings. These materials cover, albeit unequally, forty years of Joyce’s life. They are diverse and might be grouped in several ways. Sections might be devised under such headings as aesthetics, Irish history, European drama, the literature of England. This Introduction answers certain thematic requirements by drawing together this miscellany in three of its aspects: the politics of Joyce’s journalism; Joyce’s strategic theory of art; and, linking both of these, Joyce’s analysis of Irish cultural history.

The order preferred here for the texts in English is that of simple chronology and, indeed, a chronological order reveals most in so far as it measures the decisive changes and revisions that take place in Joyce’s consciousness before the composition of Ulysses. The interrelations between all of Joyce’s writings constitute one aspect of their power and complexity. Within the juvenile essays the reader can detect motives which shape Joyce’s major work: a matriculation essay in defence of the study of languages measures ‘the effect of external influences on the very words of a race’; a childhood essay on subjugation proclaims the aversion to violence which Joyce, citizen of a country and of a continent immersed for much of his life in war, will always maintain.

In contrast to these continuities we may detect in the essays of the young Joyce attitudes which the creator of Leopold Bloom would abandon. In the 1899 essay ‘Royal Hibernian Academy “Ecce Homo”, Joyce betrays an adolescent anti-Semitism in his description of a painting of a crowd of Jews witnessing Christ’s passion:

Her child is clambering about her knees, her infant hoisted on her shoulder. Not even these are free from the all pervading aversion and in their small beady eyes twinkles the fire of rejection, the bitter unwisdom of their race.

The reader can also discover important changes in Joyce’s publicly stated opinions and politics. The few years that separate Joyce, the reviewer of the Daily Express, from Joyce, the lecturer and journalist in Trieste, display a reversal in his argument with Irish nationalism.

Instead of mocking Arthur Griffith and Sinn Fein, as he had done in the Daily Express, Joyce in Trieste derives much of the principle and the detail of his analysis of Ireland, past and present, from Griffith’s writings. Change again is evident between Joyce’s caricature, in his attack on Lady Gregory’s Poets and Dreamers (1903), of the senile and passionless storytellers of the Gaelic tradition and his recognition of the inadequacy of that representation of the west of Ireland in a later, more complex portrait of an island storyteller whom he describes as a sceptical and stylish artificer named ‘O’Flaherty, the name which the young Oscar Wilde proudly had printed on the cover of his first book’ (‘The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran’, 1912). It is possible, therefore, to observe in these occasional writings the complication of Joyce’s intelligence and his discarding of received opinion.

Journalism and Politics

In an uncollected letter of 25 March 1914 to a socialist Genoese publisher, Angelo Fortunato Formiggini, James Joyce proposed that they produce together a book on Ireland for Italian readers. The book would include the nine articles which Joyce had contributed to II Piccolo della Sera between 1907 and 1912. In order to concentrate their political purpose, Joyce collected his Triestine journalism under a thematic heading without respect for the chronology of composition or of first publication. Joyce's proposed volume rearranges the sequence of his Triestine articles in order to emphasize their insistence on Irish autonomy and the inadequacies of such Home Rule as was offered by Westminster. His purpose is to state the case of Ireland to an international audience which, he claimed, had been systematically misinformed through the agencies of the British press. The title of the proposed volume and its first essay was to be 'L'lrlanda alla sbarra': 'Ireland at the Bar' or, one might say, Ireland in the dock. The Appendix to this volume includes these nine essays in the original Italian and in the sequence Joyce had proposed to Formiggini:

> This year the Irish problem has reached an acute phase, and indeed, according to the latest news, England, owing to the Home Rule question, is on the brink of civil war.
>
> The publication of a volume of Irish essays would be of interest to the Italian public.
>
> These essays (nine) which I wrote, were published during the last seven years as signed editorials in the Piccolo della Sera of Trieste. The titles are:
>
> i. Ireland at the Bar (this could be the title of the small volume)
> ii. Home Rule Comes of Age
> iii. The Home Rule Comet
> iv. Bernard Shaw and censorship (Shaw, as is well known, is an Irishman)
> v. The City of the Tribes: Italian memories in an Irish port
> vi. The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran
> vii. Oscar Wilde (he too is an Irishman)
> viii. Fenianism (i.e. the separatist movement)
> ix. The Shadow of Parnell.
>
> I am an Irishman (from Dublin): and though these articles have absolutely no literary value, l believe they set out the problem sincerely and objectively.
>
> Looking forward to your kind reply on the subject, I tender my respectful greetings,
>
> James Joyce

Joyce's letter to Formiggini is his penultimate throw in a campaign which he had initiated seven years previously, not only in his journalism but also in public lectures to be given at the Universita Popolare, Trieste, to counteract the assumption, published from London, that 'the Irish are the incapable and unbalanced cretins we read about in the leading articles in the Standard and the Morning Post '. The particular occasion of the proposal to publish his own articles in book form was the crisis of the Third Home Rule Bill, a crisis precipitated by the refusal of senior military officers at the Curragh Camp in Ireland in March 1914 to move against Unionist opponents to Home Rule and by the sympathetic response which this 'mutiny' received at the War Office in London.

Giorgio Melchiori has recently suggested that Joyce further intended to publish a collection of these essays for an English- speaking audience. His evidence is based on typescripts gathered together in the James Joyce Archive by Hans Walter Gabler. These typescripts include Italian versions and translations into English of certain articles, in whole and in part. The translations had been attributed by Gabler to Stanislaus Joyce, although recurrent

errors in the translations ('Eminet' for Emmet, police 'office' for police station) make this attribution doubtful. Professor Melchiori writes:

The typescripts of the Italian texts are accompanied by English translations. The articles on Shaw (4) and Wilde (7), 'Ireland at the Bar' (1), and 'The City of the Tribes' (5) are translated in full, with handwritten corrections but no cuts; 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran' (6) and 'The Shadow of Parnell' are also translated in full, but possible cuts are marked on the typescript; the other three are only partially translated: several sentences are omitted from 'Fenianism' (8) and 'Home Rule Comes of Age' (2), while only the last two paragraphs of 'The Home Rule Comet' (3) are preserved in the English version.

More significantly, six of the Italian typescripts bear pencilled figures on their first pages. ‘Ireland at the Bar’ is marked ‘1’ (also in the translation), ‘The Shadow of Parnell’ ‘5’ (also in the translation), ‘The City of the Tribes’ bears a hardly decipherable ‘2’, while ‘Fenianism’, ‘The Home Rule Comet’ and ‘Home Rule Comes of Age’ are marked ‘4a’, ‘4b’ and ‘4c’ respectively.

My conclusion: the copies and translations were made after the failed attempt to place the book with Formiggini. The intention was to address this time an English audience. The more literary pieces (on Shaw and Wilde) were set aside as independent essays. The rest were meant to be a report in five parts on the state of Ireland:

1. ‘Ireland at the Bar’ (in full, as introduction);
2. ‘The City of the Tribes’ (in full);
3. ‘The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran’ (with some cuts);
4. A conflation of parts of ‘Fenianism', ‘The Home Rule Comet’ and ‘Home Rule Comes of Age’, bringing up to date their political implications;
5. ‘The Shadow of Parnell’ (shorn of outdated parts, as conclusion). [1]

In order to understand the status of Joyce’s Triestine journalism within his life and work, we need to reckon with at least three propositions. First, there is the certainty that Joyce intended to publish in a single volume his Triestine journalism for an Italian audience. Second, there is the probability that he intended to publish, in a separate single volume, translations and adaptations of these articles for an English-speaking audience. Third, there is the indisputable

n.1 I am grateful to Professor Melchiori for permission to quote this letter from our correspondence during the preparation of this edition. For the text of Joyce’s letter to Formiggini, sec Giorgio Melchiori, ‘The Language of Politics and the Politics of Language’, James Joyce Broadsheet, 4 (Feb. 1981), 1.

fact that he allowed both proposed collections of these writings to lapse. In the long run Joyce decided not to proceed, against whatever odds, to book publication. That choice is in sharp contrast with Joyce’s determination against all the odds to ensure publication of, for example, Dubliners. Any judgement on the status of the Triestine journalism must take account of both the intention and the failure to publish in book form for a wider audience.

The proposed title and first essay of both intended volumes, ‘Ireland at the Bar’, gives notice of Joyce’s intention to defend Ireland’s national character against its criminalization by England. ‘Ireland cannot appeal to the modern conscience of England or abroad. The English newspapers act as interpreters [...] So the Irish figure as criminals, with deformed faces, who roam around at night with the aim of doing away with every Unionist.’ Such a process had its origins in the first half of the nineteenth century and had continued and intensified during the Land War after 1879 and in the London Times enquiry into Parnellism and crime. Thomas Bartlett, in his The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation (Dublin, 1992), outlines the manner in which Westminster justified its assertion that Ireland is not to be governed as England is’. Parliamentary claims that the Irish Catholic populace practised ‘unnatural and unprecedented savagery’ and wallowed in crime ‘worse than in the most savage country in any age in the world’, not only justified military rule but also, as a byproduct, confirmed a sense of ‘otherness’ or distinctness which strengthened the Catholics’ claim to be a separate nation. Joyce’s proposed volume of essays on Ireland would oppose both these claims: that the Irish are criminally violent in character and that the nation belongs to Catholicism. In this manner Joyce contradicts the international press and prevents, in his words, the English journalists ‘disposing of the most complicated questions of colonial polities’.

Joyce was satisfied with his contributions to II Piccolo della Sera and commented to his brother Stanislaus, ‘I may not be the Jesus Christ I once fondly imagined myself, but I think I must have a talent for journalism.’ Several of Joyce’s most important characters - Leopold Bloom, Gabriel Conroy, and Robert Hand - work for newspapers. In Ulysses it is part of Stephen Dedalus’s self-esteem that he is close to newspapermen. Joyce’s contrast between Robinson Crusoe and John the Evangelist, and his contrast between the medieval and the post-renaissance mind, specify that it is the journalistic

spirit that defines modernity. ‘If the Renaissance did nothing else, it did much in creating within ourselves and our art a sense of pity for every being that lives and hopes and dies and deludes itself. In this at least we excel the ancients: in this the popular journalist is greater than the theologian.’ Joyce valued newspapers because they provide a materialist history of social life. For him, as for his younger contemporary Walter Benjamin, two things are essential for knowledge of the city: walking its streets and reading its newspapers. Streets and newspapers give the world as material circumstance. That is why Joyce, as he explained in a letter of 1906 to his brother Stanislaus, plagued ‘reluctant relatives at home to send [...] papers or cuttings from them’. He justified his demands by citing Ibsen: no one, according to Ibsen, could properly understand A Doll's House if they had not ‘been in Norway when the Paris fashion journals first began to be on sale in Christiania.’

Joyce’s attitude to the vocation of journalist vacillated between that of opportunist, persuader, and publicist. Cash for writing (if not writing for cash) always appealed to the younger Joyce. So too did the free rail pass and other perks of the journalist’s trade. He proposed far more articles to the editors of newspapers than they were ever willing to accept. Reluctant editors have deprived us of the articles Joyce offered to write on Sarah Bernhardt, the Paris Carnival, and the Dublin Exhibition. His proposal for an interview with Caruso was refused by the Irish Times, the Daily Express, and Nora’s favourite paper, the Mail. He wrote to his father, ‘I am seriously thinking of entering the church if I find editors [...] so very stubborn as they appear to be.’ Chance also let him down: a visit to Clifden in County Galway to interview Marconi failed because Marconi was not there and his radio station was not open.

Joyce did not lack persistence. As we see from his promotion of the declining career of John Sullivan, the French-Irish tenor whom he had befriended, he well knew how to play the publicist. ‘From a Banned Writer to a Banned Singer’ is the culmination of a persistent exercise in public relations. Distinctions, nevertheless, could be applied. ‘A writer,’ he remarked to Djuna Barnes, ‘should never write about the extraordinary. That is for the journalist.’ Such an opinion comes a little later in Joyce’s life. His motive as a journalist in Trieste appears to have been that of sustained, deeply felt, and deliberate persuasion. It is the work of a political writer.

Joyce’s journalism divides itself into two main periods. The first is his reviewing for the Daily Express during his stay in Paris in 1902 and 1903. The second comprises his articles written in Trieste between 1907 and 1912. These two periods are radically different from each other in so far as the second reverses the values of the first. The fond view of the emigrant cannot explain this difference, given that Joyce was equally an emigrant in both. The two periods are separated by the writing of‘The Dead’ with its ironic portrait of that other Daily Express reviewer, Gabriel Conroy. When Joyce was writing ‘The Dead’ he was preparing his first articles for II Piccolo della Sera. The differences between the two newspapers are the measure of the differences apparent in Joyce as he moves from Dublin under English rule to Trieste under Austrian rule. The Daily Express took as its policy the reconciliation of ‘the rights and impulses of Irish nationality with the demands and obligations of imperial dominions’. It is accordingly derided by Miss Ivors as a West British rag (although the Daily Express was more complex than that). II Piccolo della Sera was nationalist in its politics in so far as it supported the irredentist Italians of Trieste against demands and obligations imposed by their Austrian masters.

Joyce’s reviews for the Daily Express do state a definite politics. Indeed, it is his very first review in December 1902 which is most specifically contradicted by the politics of his journalism after 1907. The object of Joyce’s antipathy is William Rooney, an activist in the Gaelic League and co-founder with Arthur Griffith of Cumann na nGaedheal and of the United Irishman. Rooney had died at the age of 28 and Griffith did not delay in collecting, editing, introducing, and publishing his Poems and Ballads. On the title-page of the book Rooney is designated as Fear na Muintire (Man of the People), one of his pseudonyms in the United Irishman. Griffith asserts in the introduction that ‘Rooney was the greatest Irishman I have known or whom I expect to know. I do not claim him as the greatest of Ireland’s men of genius. Such a claim would be absurd. He was a man of genius, deep learning and ardent patriotism. [...] he had established between his soul and the soul of Ireland a perfect communion’. [2]

With these words Griffith summarizes the requirement of

n.2 William Rooney, Poems and Ballads, Dublin: United Irishman (| 1902|), p. x.

nationalism most troublesome to Joyce. The concept of a spirit or soul of the nation defines cultural nativism as the only effective means by which Ireland might survive British cultural dominance. It is precisely this essentialism which Joyce resists. His modes of resistance and differentiation include: a rhetoric of disdain; an eclectic aesthetic theory of distance developed in the Paris notebook; a judgement that William Rooney's patriotic verse lacks 'even the first quality of beauty, the quality of integrity, the quality of being separate and whole'; an aesthetic practice of formal realism in the composition of the 'Epiphanies'; a separation effected between patriotism and aesthetics in the arguments of Stephen Hero.

This resistance to essentialism, to an identity between self and nation, extends backwards to the considerable uncertainty of Joyce's essay on James Clarence Mangan of 1902. Joyce is content both to repeat John Mitchel's romantic estimate of Mangan and to detect its inadequacy: 'Mangan is the type of his race. History encloses him so straitly that even his fiery moments do not set him free from it'. (3) Resistance to this mantrap is something which Joyce can reflect on with greater equanimity in his Triestine lectures and journalism, including his revised version of the Mangan essay of 1907. A controlling theme in those Triestine writings (controlled not merely by means of a perspective lent by distance but also through a wider reading both of Irish history and of Italian political theory) is that of the divided and adulterated histories of Ireland and not of her singular and virginal soul.

The flavour of Joyce's review of William Rooney can be caught in his judgement that the poems are 'a false and mean expression of a false and mean idea'. Even if Griffith thinks that these verses will 'enkindle the young men of Ireland to hope and activity, Mr. Rooney has been persuaded to great evil'. It is no surprise that Griffith struck back in the face of such abuse. He published Joyce's review in the United Irishman as an advertisement for the book. His only emendation was the addition of a single word. Joyce had written (in an idiom to be taken up by Stephen Dedalus) that Rooney 'might have written well if he had not suffered from one of those big words

n.3 For a history of Mangan's reputation sec David Lloyd, Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism, Berkeley: University of California Press (1988).

which make us so unhappy.' Griffith merely inserted the unspoken word: patriotism. (4)

Joyce was unabashed. His review of Stephen Gwynn's Today and Tomorrow in Ireland maintains his chill refusal of the patriots. However, it adds an equally chill refusal of the imperialists. 'Give Ireland the status of Canada and Mr. Gwynn becomes an Imperialist at once', comments Joyce in the first of his several condemnations (repeated, for example, in his review 'Colonial Verses') of whatever nations supported Britain in the Boer War. Gwynn occupies a position doubly removed from that of Joyce: too Gaelic for the Irish Parliamentary Party and too mild for the United Irishman. E. V. Longworth, the editor of the Daily Express, found the review negative and sought to ameliorate it by the addition of a sentence of his own: 'The volume, admirably bound and printed, is a credit to the Dublin firm [Hodges Figgis] to whose enterprise its publication is due'. Joyce was not amused and wrote to Stanislaus: 'I wrote nothing in my review [...] about the printing and binding. My little editor must have added that [...]' Joyce meditated revenge. He concluded another of his more scathing reviews, 'For the rest, the binding of the book is as uglv as one could reasonably expect.' That was the end of it. Longworth not only sacked him but also threatened to kick him down a flight of stairs. Joyce never reviewed a book again.

Joyce lost not only a convenient job at the Daily Express but also put at risk the sympathy of the person whose influence had secured the job for him. Lady Gregory, at Joyce's request, had asked Longworth to send him books for review in Paris. Some months later Longworth had sent Joyce a review copy of Lady Gregory's Poets and Dreamers: Studies and Translations from the Irish. Joyce bit the hand that fed him. Under the title 'The Soul of Ireland' (quoting Griffith in revenge for Griffith's quoting him) Joyce contrived, in the words of Buck Mulligan, to 'slate her drivel to Jaysus'. Longworth hesitated to print the review. Finally he did print it, but again with one telling addition: Joyce's initials. The normal practice of the Daily Express was that all reviews were anonymous, but Longworth contrived to distance himself from Joyce's opinions.

All this plays upon several ironies in ‘The Dead’. It is Gabriel Conroy’s initials that betray him to Miss Ivors as a writer at the

4 United Irishman, 20 Dec. 1902.

Daily Express. The argument which Joyce detects in Lady Gregory, about the nobility of the West of Ireland on the one hand and the ignobility of Britain on the other, is what animates Miss Ivors’ politics of nativism. Again it is the binary exclusiveness of this argument - the innocence of the Gaelic West balanced against the perfidy of Britain - which troubles Joyce and prompts him to contrast its insistence with the ‘delicate scepticism’ on a similar theme which distinguishes Yeats’s manner in The Celtic Twilight.

It is in the subtext of this review of Lady Gregory that Joyce indicates his terms (dramatized in ‘The Dead’) for an analysis of a colonial relationship that requires more than a caricature of opposites. Lady Gregory had cited as the epigraph to her book Walt Whitman’s ‘A Song for Occupations’:

> Will you seek afar off? you surely come back at last,
> In things best known to you finding the best, or as good as the best.
> In folks nearest to you finding the sweetest, strongest, lovingest,
> Happiness, knowledge, not in another place but this place, not for another hour but this hour

Against this demand, paraphrased by Miss Ivors, of ‘A Song for Occupations’ Joyce in his review selects, with whatever irony, Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’:

> With music strong I come, with my cornets and drums,
> I play not marches for accepted victors only, I play marches for conquer’d and slain persons.
> Have you heard that it was good to gain the day?
> I also say it is good to fall, battles are lost in the same spirit in which they are won.
> I beat and pound for the dead,
> I blow through my embouchures my loudest and gayest for them.
> Vivas to those who have fail’d! (5)

(5) The presence in ‘The Dead’ of the grand old lady of Coole Park and her Poets and Dreamers does not end here. One popular interpretation has reinstated her: John Huston in his film of the story allows the insertion of a translation by Lady Gregory of a Gaelic lament first published in Poets ami Dreamers:

> You promised me a thing that was hard for you, a ship of gold under a silver mast; twelve towns with a market in all of them; and a fine white court by the side of the sea. You promised me a thing that is not possible, that you would give me gloves of the skin of a fish; that you would give me shoes of the skin of a bird, and a suit of the dearest skin in Ireland.

The reviews for the Daily Express reflect something of the variety in Joyce’s reading at this time. Nevertheless, the blandness of much of what Longworth sent him leaves many of the reviews - whether ibout current fiction or about philosophy - opinionated and parasitic. Pieces on books about Aristotle, Giordano Bruno, Shakespeare, or George Meredith, disappoint. One or two pieces betray a livelier attention. The energy Joyce invests in Marcelle Tinayre’s novel, La Maison du peche, is strongly felt, no doubt because she, with her horror of Jansenism and with ‘a finer sympathy with Catholicism [...] a lover of life and of the fair shows of the world’, helps him to measure the distance that will emerge between his own fiction and the fashionable ‘politico-religious’ novel of Huysmans. On another occasion, faced with a book on the Burmese by ‘one of the conquerors of this people’, Joyce is fascinated with the quietism of Buddhism in Burma, ‘a suave philosophy which does not know that there is anything to justify tears and lamentations. The courtesies of life are not neglected; anger and rudeness of manners are condemned; the animals themselves are glad to be under masters’. Only an implicit contrast can be made between such a response to subjugation and its opposite which Joyce had questioned some months earlier in his essay on Mangan: ‘An eager spirit would cast down with violence

the high traditions of Mangan's race - love of sorrow for the sake of sorrow and despair and fearful menaces - but where their voice is a supreme entreaty to be borne with forbearance seems only a little grace; and what is so courteous and so patient as a great faith?'

In the face of these disparate and implicit themes of the Daily Express reviews the coherent intensification of purpose in the Piccolo della Sera articles becomes all the more evident. The editor of this newspaper, Roberto Prezioso, to whom Joyce taught English and talked about Ireland and 'the ignorance that existed about Ireland on the continent', (6) requested articles from him that would strike not

Clive Hart has commented that, although this insertion in the him is justifiable as artistic licence in its anticipating and strengthening Gretta's memory of her own youth, 'Joyce would have hated the introduction into his story of a passage of Celtic revival literature.' (Joyce, Huston, and the Making of The Dead, Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe (1988), 13). It is certain that Joyce, the reviewer at the Daily Express in 1902 and 1903, would have hated such an insertion a great deal more than Joyce, the columnist of II Piccolo della Sera in 1907. And 1907 is the date of the composition of'The Dead'.

6 John McCourt, 'Joyce on National Deliverance: The View from 1907 Trieste,' Prospero: Rivista di Culture Anglo-Germaniche, 5, (1998), 27-46; this quotation from Stanislaus's Triestine diary is given on p. 37.

only at the British empire that ruled Ireland but also at the Austrian empire that ruled Trieste. Joyce obliged. Although, in so far as these articles educate their Triestine readers, they educate them only about Ireland. By contrast with the contributions to the Daily Express four years previously, almost all of Joyce's material on this theme is now drawn from Arthur Griffith's writings in the United Irishman and, after its demise in 1906, its successor Sinn Fein. The policies of Sinn Fein appeal to Joyce for at least two reasons. First, trade replaces violence in Griffith's policy of separation from Britain. Second, consuls in foreign ports and capitals replace the Irish members of parliament at Westminster. Joyce agrees with Griffith that the results might be an Ireland not only more prosperous but also more accurately represented abroad. 'Either Sinn Fein or Imperialism will conquer the present Ireland', Joyce wrote to Stanislaus. Griffith, to whom Joyce sent these Triestine articles, responded in kind: some years later it was his newspaper alone which agreed to print in full Joyce's open letter, 'A Curious History', about the publishers' censorship of Dubliners.

Triestines grasped the intention of Joyce's journalism. Alessandro Francini Bruni (a friend of Joyce, albeit a sceptical one) remembered k a valuable and powerful contributor to our newspaper', whose articles were written in his usual densely packed and vigorous style. Though veiled in steely coldness, they are intense pieces treating various burning issues related to his native Ireland. I recall well such titles as "The Last Fenian", "Home Rule Comes of Age", and "Ireland at the Bar"." The author of Dubliners was faced with a double embarrassment by the child of some of his Triestine friends, when she mocked him to his face about Ireland. 'I felt humiliated,' he wrote to Stanislaus, 'at the little Galatti girl sneering at my impoverished country.' Charles Joyce, in an exchange of letters with his brother Stanislaus in 1912, recalled that when confronted by the assertion that Dubliners is not a book which betters its author's country or people, 'Jim replied that he was probably the only Irishman who wrote leading articles for the Italian press and that all his articles in "II Piccolo" were about Ireland and the Irish people.'

That is an exaggeration. The Triestine lectures and articles are

n.7 Willard Potts (cd.), Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans, Dublin: Wolfhound Press, Seattle: University of Washington Press (1979, 43-

peculiarly abstract and political: whatever about Ireland, there is little in them about the Irish people. From 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages' to 'The City of the Tribes', and 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran' Joyce's enquiries, unlike those which flourish in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Dubliners, and Ulysses, are peculiarly immaterialist. His hagiography is culled from the reference

shelves of a library; his statistics derive from Arthur Griffith's editorials; his version of the Maamtrasna murders is the shreds of a story told by his wife Nora; an account of Galway is almost wholly lifted from the footnotes of James Hardiman's history of the city; analysis of Parnell derives from a recent biography; his account of a boat-trip to the Aran islands is again laced with citations from Hardiman and also from an official booklet on the Galway Harbour scheme. None of this diminishes either Joyce's purpose or the eloquent structure of his argument [8] but the contrast remains apparent between his vague ignorance of the complex of social life beyond the Pale and his unparalleled intimacy within it. Despite some efforts to journey West (not to speak of North or South) Joyce remains in his own words 'The lazy Dubliner who does not travel much and knows his country only by hearsay'.

The recurrent design of Joyce's lectures and journalism at Trieste is their criss-crossing of previous antinomies such that we see a transformation of Joyce's consciousness in the collapsing inward of previously sustained stereotypes, even those of self and nation. The criss-crossing, reversing, or overcoming of opposites is explicit: the Aran storyteller is a displaced Wildean; Italy is in Galway; Ireland, both medieval and modern, is in Europe; Dante's Divine Comedy is a belated version of St Fursa's Vision; Christopher Columbus is a belated discoverer of America; Great Wyrley in England is the scene of barbaric agrarian maimings, and the crime rate in Ireland is the lowest in Europe; a seventeenth-century provincial cleric named Joyce had mapped his native city so elaborately that his text 'resembles more than anything a topographical symphony'; Dublin's Abbey Theatre emerges from its 'Day of the Rabblement' to produce a play banned in London; before Defoe there was no English literature; Oliver Cromwell was a Celt; the triumph of William of Orange

8. For the rhetorical structure of Joyce's articles see Cinzia Giglioni, 'James Joyce Giornalista del "Piccolo della Sera" ', unpub. thesis, Universita degli Studi di Milano, 1997.

'signifies a crisis of race, an ethnic revenge' by the Germanic upon the English: the English, 'that hybrid race which lives a tough life on a small island in the northern sea'. Joyce's writings during his Triestine years revel in these inversions. West and East, past and present, precursor and afterword, interchange and merge.

On their first appearance in English the articles in II Piccolo della Sera were characterized by Ellsworth Mason as displaying Joyce as 'an Irish apologist'. They have often served to identify a moment in Joyce's life in which he appears, in Mason's words, to be 'at one with the Citizen in Barney Kiernan's pub.' 0 Some have exaggerated the status of the Triestine writings and their continuity with Joyce's later fiction, 10 some have deliberately altered the texts in order to excise Joyce's ironies and 'political incorrectness' where these prove recalcitrant to consistent and edifying interpretation." When we notice, however, the recurrent motif of inversion with which these Triestine writings make play, we notice that they are a part of a process by which Joyce transforms himself between 1907 and 1914 into a comic writer. Joyce's early fiction is in a tragic mode composed out of the inherited polarities against which he reacts. The year 1914 is the moment when he began writing Ulysses and proposed to publish these articles which, he insisted, 'have absolutely no literary value.' At that moment polarities are dispersed or merged. Thereafter he writes in that mode which his aesthetics since 1903 had recommended as the higher mode of art: the comic.

A Theory of Art

The nego (I deny) and the non serviam (I shall not serve) of Stephen Dedalus, taken with the 'scrupulous meanness' which characterizes the style of Dubliners, are defining negatives peculiarly at odds with the aesthetic committed to paper in Paris in 1903 and in Pola in 1904. These notes on aesthetic principles are included, to some extent, both in Stephen Hero and in Portrait. The manner in which they appear, in particular the deflationary context of Portrait, renders

9 Ellsworth Mason, 'James Joyce's Shrill Note - the Piccolo della Sera Articles,' Twentieth-Century Literature, 2/3 (Oct. 1956), 115-39.

10 See Emer Nolan, James Joyce and Nationalism, London: Routledge (1995), 96 fT., 120 flf.

11 Sec the excisions made by Vincent Cheng, Joyce, Race and Empire, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1995), 5.

them subject to an increasing irony that can be understood to subvert them. The notes on aesthetics appear as a development of (even a reaction to) the conflict within the Mangan essay. Joyce wrestles with Mangan precisely because Mangan is, in the idiom of romanticism, a poet of sorrow.

The identification that Joyce expresses between himself and Mangan derives from Joyce's continuing anxiety to analyse the conflicts within successive Irish literary renascences, an analysis of which only a fragment of a lecture survives. In that fragment (here collected in translation for the first time) Joyce identifies the literary' moment as an accompanying reaction to a political clash within nationalism itself, a clash between those who do and those who do not support physical force: the first is the detachment of Young Ireland from Daniel O'Connell in 1848; the second after the Fenian debacle of 1867; the third in Joyce's own day since the death of Parnell. To wrestle with Mangan is to wrestle with part of himself. To detach himself from Mangan, to define not the sorrowful but the impersonal joy of art, he needs to have recourse elsewhere: to Aristotle and Aquinas, to Coleridge and Shelley, to Flaubert and Mallarme, to D'Annunzio and Ibsen. The use he makes of these writers, unlike the later more expansive essays on Defoe and Blake, is to extract from them the structure of an aesthetic which can tolerate simultaneously the sensitivity of the artist and the separateness of the art. This eclectic process is a deliberate opportunism announced in Stephen Hero : Stephen refuses 'oaths to his patria and this refusal resulted in a theory of art'.

There are two other elements which intensify Joyce's identification with and struggle against Mangan: the first is the death of Joyce's favourite brother, George, at the age of 15, weeks before Joyce delivered his paper on Mangan who had suffered the similar death of a sister; the second is Joyce's fear of being consumed by his father and Mangan's image of his own father as a human boa- constrictor. According to Stanislaus this essay 'bore witness to a determined struggle to impose an elegance of thought on the hopeless distortion of the life that surrounded him'. The family's economic plight had fully expressed itself in this most appalling waste of George's death, a moment recorded and returned to more often than any other in Joyce's 'Epiphanies'. The characterization of Mangan borders continuously on that of Stephen Dedalus. It is of

Mangan that Joyce writes: 'This purely defensive reserve is not without dangers for him, and in the end it is only his excesses that save him from indifference.'

Stanislaus informs us of how widely read Joyce was in the poets of The Nation but it is Mangan, and Mangan alone, whom Joyce selects as an epitome. In this he follows a romantic fashion and displays throughout the essay the impression which inherited ideas about Mangan as a poete maudit have made upon him. It is this same image of Mangan from which he wishes to free himself. Therefore, he contrasts Mangan with many other writers from Leopardi to Poe, from Goethe to Leonardo. Without jettisoning his inheritance Joyce defines Mangan's limitation: 'All his poetry remembers wrong and suffering [...] the poet who hurls his anger against tyrants would establish upon the future an intimate and far more cruel tyranny.' It is for this reason that the 1902 Mangan essay concludes with a celebration of that quality decisive also in the subsequent notes on aesthetics: the 'life of earth' in the later Ibsen, splendor veri in Plato and Flaubert, the silver laughter of the esoterics, the 'holy spirit of joy'.

Joyce's quasi-scholastic definitions of art have received some scholarly attentions. All emphasize the mixture of Thomism and nineteenth-century aestheticism through which the early Joyce, it is argued, severed art from life. 12 That severance, Umberto Eco insists, is not healed until in the act of writing Ulysses Joyce confronts 'real events, nothing less than the whole of society and culture'. The materials gathered together in this volume indicate, however, that even the early Joyce had become aware of the tactical usefulness of an aesthetic as a formal distance between deprivation and sorrow, between experience and violence. It is an aesthetic which explicitly resists the ineffectualness of a quasi-Pateresque aestheticism or, indeed, the dependence upon Wagner's more energetic aestheticism that had been so evident in 'Drama and Life'. Joyce's theory of art in the Paris and Pola notebooks does retain the phrase 'for an aesthetic end' and he does ignore the functionalism of Aquinas whose ideas of art have more to do with the art of farming than with the art of poetry. Joyce, however, retains the phrase 'for an aesthetic end' to

12 Umberto Eco's Opera Aperia, Milan: Bompiani (1962) followed upon the researches of William T. Noon's Joyce and Aquinas, New' Haven: Yale Univ ersity Press (1957). Both arc superseded by the broader enquiries of Jacques Aubcrt's Introduction a l'esthetique de James Joyce, Paris: Didier (1973).

define a condition of stasis uniquely induced by art. Art is severed from history or from 'real events' only in so far as this stasis is preferred by Joyce to the more common condition in which Sve cannot or will not conceive of the past in any other than its iron memorial aspect'.

The reader of Joyce's aesthetics might do worse than notice a contrast between two different sets of terms both of which describe movement: rhythm, process, or fluidity, on the one hand; excitement, desire, and appetite, on the other. Excitement, desire, and appetite are, in Joyce's terms, appropriate to both the pornographer and the didact. Rhythm, process, and fluidity are appropriate to the artist and also to the nature of real events. The past can be defined by Joyce as early as 1904 as 'a fluid succession of presents' and that perception itself derives from the apparently dry aesthetic of the Paris notebook:

It is false to say that sculpture, for instance, is an art of repose if by that be meant that sculpture is unassociated with movement. Sculpture is associated with movement in as much as it is rhythmic; for a work of sculptural art must be surveyed according to its rhythm and this surveying is an imaginary movement in space.

The formal realism of Joyce's 'Epiphanies', the exacting realism of Exiles and of Dubliners, the analytical realism of Portrait, each discovers in 'real events' a fluid shape that remains imperceptible to almost all of those who actively live out those events. Any critique of those works which suggests, as Eco does, that they allow 'real events' to slip out of view must fail to remain persuasive. An examination of Joyce's aesthetics may, therefore, defend an assertion that Joyce is not a modernist. That assertion is based on the ways in which Joyce excludes himself from two defining elements of a modernist aesthetic: first, the abstraction of aesthetic perception into a formal, or bodiless, moment of intelligibility; second, the assumption that the world of 'real events' is a chaotic and ugly mass which only the creative artist can oppose.

The idea of aesthetic perception as a formal and ascetic moment of intelligibility, modelled upon the merely visual perception of things, is modernism's inheritance from the Enlightenment. Kant's definition of disinterested perception requires first of all the suppression of the four senses other than sight. The Critique of

Judgement warns that, in the face of a work of art, 'we must avoid coming too near just as much as remaining too far away'. The measure of our distance is the requirement of the eye. Kant compares the intrusive and dispersed behaviour of music to a man impolitely flourishing a perfumed handkerchief: the one, like the other, 'scatters its influence abroad to an uncalled-for extent'. Lionel Trilling, in his essay on 'The Fate of Pleasure', has argued that this modern and ascetic aesthetic derives from the Enlightenment's critique of luxury as an index of power. However, Kant's idea of taste excludes the poor as well as the rich:

> Hunger is the best sauce; and people with a healthy appetite relish everything, so long as it is something they can eat. Such delight, consequently, gives no indication of taste having anything to say to the choice. Only when men have got all they want can we tell who among the crowd has taste or not.

Joyce refuses to accept this presumption that aesthetic experience is beyond the reach of those who are poor or hungry.

The aesthetic of modernism uncritically sustained Kant's immaculate concept of aesthetic perception: from Mallarme to Yeats modernism expresses its distaste for the squalid and imbecile exteriority of an actual world and places against it the self-sufficient and isolated creation of the art-work. The purism of modernism and its origin in the Enlightenment is summarized by, for example, Ozen- fant in the following terms: 'I call art everything that takes us out of real life and tends to elevate us. Such a definition would include among the major arts the art of pure speculation.' Frank Lentricchia notices that, within such an antithetical logic, if the real could of itself be beautiful there would be no need for the creative artist. [13] The vacuity of 'real events', however, constitutes the demand of pure modernism.

Joyce's opposition to these modernist values is so great as to require almost no comment. The lectures on 'Realism and Idealism in English Literature: Daniel Defoe and William Blake' dramatize that opposition. The apparent Kantianism of Joyce's notes on aesthetics has often been remarked. Joyce seems to argue both for a

13. Amédé Ozenfant, The Foundations of Modern Art, New York: Dover Publications (1952), p. xiv; Frank Lentricchia, in The New Criticism, London: Athlone Press (1980), 54-5.

disinterested aesthetic perception and for that perception to be occasioned by neither need nor excess. Few things allow us more distinctly to separate Joyce from Stephen than a contrast between the profusion of the senses (oral, aural, and olfactory) in Joyce's writing and Stephen's Kantian interpretation of Aquinas' use of the word for sight, visa,

to cover esthetic apprehensions of all kinds, whether through sight or hearing or through any other avenue of apprehension. This word, though it is vague, is clear enough to keep away good and evil which excite desire and loathing.

Rest, arrest, and stasis are the consequence of this aesthetic self- consciousness. In this sense comedy is no more than the formally self-sufficient work of art (even tragedy is 'formally' comic) and the joy it occasions is no more than our correspondent perception of it. However, in Joyce's notes on aesthetics, comedy is more than that in so far as it is not self-sufficient but refers us to 'whatever is substantial or accidental, general or fortuitous, in human fortunes'. When Joyce comes to dramatize these notes in Portrait we cannot but notice how they are repeatedly interrupted by the substance and accidence of human fortune, of hunger and need: the results of exams, a feed of curry, the basket of a butcher's boy, the inconvenient rain of 'this miserable God-forsaken island'.

Cultural History

Joyce's analysis of previous literary revivals in Ireland is, in part, a strategy by which he comes to terms with his own priorities. In order to distance himself from the behaviour of his national contemporaries, with their projects of either a Gaelic or an Anglo-Irish literary revival, he contrived that aloof disdain which he both practised and mocked. That disdain has often been exaggerated. 'The Day of the Rabblement' may be its most public moment but even that is undermined by Joyce himself in Epiphany 17. The alert reader of Joyce's letters, the perceptive reader of Dubliners, the sympathetic reader of Joyce's poetry, must question the extent of that attitude of Dedalean pride. A consequence of Joyce's attitude, nevertheless, has been the impression that he was severely different from his Irish contemporaries both in his knowledge and his intentions. The

individualism of the heretic seems to be Joyce's early style, but that style masks the fact that Joyce was one heretic among others.

It may therefore come as a surprise to the reader of Joyce's early writing to notice, for example, how his ideas about drama and the repertoire of European dramatists overlap with those celebrated in the pages of Bealtaine, the magazine of the Irish Literary Theatre, edited by W. B. Yeats. It may also come as a surprise to notice some overlap of Joyce's version of nationalism not only with that of Arthur Griffith but also with that of the magazine Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought to which Joyce offered his essay 'A Portrait of the Artist'. Because it quite legitimately refused that incoherent effusion (while accepting Joyce's poetry) Dana has been consigned to a marginal note in the inferno of Joyce studies. It should be noticed, however, that Joyce chose Dana as an appropriate journal in which to publish his essay no doubt because of his agreement with its editorial preference to 'receive and print contributions in prose and verse which are the expression of the writer's individuality'.

Joyce's cultivated isolation requires some scepticism. In his university days Joyce had represented himself as the only man for Ibsen in Dublin. He wrote to Ibsen himself that 'I have sounded your name defiantly through the college where it was either unknown or known faintly or darkly'. I.t is as well for Joyce's credibility that Ibsen is unlikely to have seen Bealtaine for there he would have discovered in its first issue of 1899 an essay by C. H. Herford, reprinted from the Daily Express, on 'The Scandinavian

Dramatists'. Herford notices how the 'extraordinary vogue of the Norwegian drama' must be attributed to Norway's 'dramatist of extraordinary power', Henrik Ibsen. In the subsequent issue Yeats ridicules the rabble who think Ibsen 'immoral', and George Moore, wondering why Hedda Gahler did not cover its cost, proposes nevertheless 'a European masterpiece, like Ibsen's' should be produced each autumn. Joyce could argue that these early international ideas of the Irish theatre had not been sustained. He could also have noticed that, no less than George Bernard Shaw and William Archer in London, C. H. Herford in Dublin had anticipated his own judgements about Ibsen's corrosive and inward heroism:

The complete emancipation of the Norwegian stage may be dated from i860. Characteristically enough, Ibsen's career as implacable critic of the

Norwegian people dates from the same year [...] an audacious assault upon the ruling conventions of love-making and marriage in the name of an idealism at once heroic and fanatical. Ibsen was too solitary and self- centred a nature to comply submissively with the Nationalist formula when it had ceased to be a battle-cry. The battle won, it was inevitable that he who held that 'no one is so strong as the man who stands alone,' should go his own way and work out his own ideal. An artist of the first rank can, indeed, rarely take any other course.

This could almost be Joyce, but it is in fact Herford. Both value the corrosive autonomy of the artist. Herford and Joyce are separated merely by the timetables they adopt. Herford places the emancipation of the nation prior to that of the artist. Joyce does not. His comments on Ibsen and his essay on 'Ibsen's New Drama' celebrate the late, but exclude the early, Ibsen. Herford, with others in Be alt aine, celebrates both.

This is not merely an exceptional coincidence of critical value between Joyce and his Dublin contemporaries. Joyce's international and cult status has concealed the ways in which his work is part of an articulate and broad debate within the Irish literary revival. Furthermore, in his political and critical writings gathered here Joyce disguises his dialogue with others who seek to open up a space within colonized nationalism. It is Joyce's style to address us as if his text were a monologue, but this is an affectation. Herford's essay is itself a contribution to a celebrated debate in the Daily Express between W. B. Yeats and John Eglinton (the pseudonym of W. K. Magee) about what should be the subject of a national drama - contemporary lives or epic traditions? - a debate in which the disputants focus on Ibsen's Peer Gynt and Wagner's Lohengrin.

From 'Ibsen's New Drama' and 'The Day of the Rabblement' to 'Ireland. Island of Saints and Sages' and 'A Curious History'Joyce's journalism intervenes in controversies of the day. Apart from Yeats and Joyce, the main agents of this debate were, on the one hand, D. P. Moran and his Philosophy of Irish Ireland (Dublin, 1905) and, on the other hand, the radical humanist John Eglinton and the socialist Frederick Ryan, co-editors of Dana (1904-5). Joyce's essay of 1907, 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages', effectively subverts the Philosophy of Irish Ireland:

> Our civilization is an immense woven fabric in which very different

> elements are mixed, in which Nordic rapacity is reconciled to Roman law, and new Bourgeois conventions to the remains of a Siriac religion. In such a fabric, it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby.

John Eglinton's volume, Bards and Saints (Dublin, 1906), equally rejects Irish nativism. Others also sought to resist the tendencies of Irish nationalist culture to become as exclusive as D. P. Moran intended it to be. A defence of these cultural renegades - for example, Thomas Kettle, James Connolly, Thomas McDonagh, and R. W. Lynd - and a re-presentation of their work, the diversity of which was overwhelmed by Easter 1916, has been effected by Luke Gibbons. 14 At the centre of the controversy an exclusivist Irish Ireland opposed a broadening of the literary revival beyond national boundaries, the eliciting of divisions and differences within Irish life, an emphasis on its metropolitan Europeanism, an insistence on cultural criticism. The titles of several articles in Dana summarize its convergence with the essays and lectures of Joyce reproduced here: 'Empire and Liberty'. 'On Language and Political Ideas', 'On the Possibility of a Thought Revival in Ireland', 'The Island of Saints', 'Political and

Intellectual Freedom'. Dana irreverently opposed what passed for religious and national sentiments. Its contributors perceived such sentiments to be a suppression of a new Irish culture that could be forceful, complex, and independent. Their venture did not thrive and the magazine ceased publication within a year.

Amid these emancipatory endeavors there remains one important difference between Joyce and the editors of Dana, and it can be detected even in the magazine's first editorial:

> Man and nature - what more do we want? The difficulty is to begin: and to make a beginning is especially difficult in a country like Ireland, where our bards and prophets have never learned to deal direedy and as men with the elements of human nature, and to dispense with traditional methods and traditional themes.

Joyce's writing, in particular the discursive writing collected in this volume, shares some of its intentions with Dana's enlightenment project but remains different from it to the degree that Joyce is a perverse traditionalist. Dominic Manganiello has demonstrated how

14 Seamus Deane (ed.), The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, 3 vols., Derry: Field Day Publications (1991), ii. 950-1020.

Italian socialist and anarchist writers inform Joyce's analysis of social and institutional life. 15 It remains true, however, that Joyce in his essays and lectures about Ireland does not allow their analysis to constitute the terms of his analysis, an analysis in terms of nation and empire. It remains equally true that, while he participates in the emancipatory project of such Dublin contemporaries as John Eglinton and Frederick Ryan, Joyce refuses their enlightenment and modernist intention 'to dispense with traditional methods and traditional themes'. His minor and his major writings remain immersed in those methods and themes. The historiographer Carl Schorske has recently investigated the changing place of history in nineteenth- and twentieth-century cultures. He identifies the modernist way of thinking without history and the nineteenth-century way of thinking with history as different ways of trying to address the problems of modernity. 16 Were we to accept this distinction we would discover in Joyce something of a nineteenth-century (rather than a wholly modernist) frame of mind.

Thinking with history also placed Joyce in an uneasy relationship with his Triestine audience. Richard Ellmann has indicated that the Triestines who attended Joyce's lecture at the Universita Popolare were modernist, anti-clerical, and agnostic. A careful reading of Joyce's hesitations with this audience suggests that Ellmann was right. For Joyce cautiously and wittily persuades his audience that, although in 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' he is defending the dignity of early Christian Ireland and her ecclesiastical history, he is not naive in his judgement of either its historical reality or its sentimental value. He refuses, nevertheless, to jettison it. He addresses his Triestine audience as 'you [who have been] fed over the past years on a diet of scepticism'. One aspect of that scepticism had been the new history of Guglielmo Ferrero whose Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma had introduced a journalistic and irreverent approach to the past, in opposition to German idealist historiography. Ferrero had no time for the great-man-decisive-crisis view of history, no time for history as high politics or as a Hegelian-Carlylean conflict of destiny and will. Manners, needs, luxuries, changes in the standard of

15 Joyce's Politics, London: Routledge & Regan Paul (1980), 67-114.

16 Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism, Princeton: Princeton University Press (1998).

living - these modes of explanation interested Ferrero. We know (not least from recent work such as that of Robert Spoo [17]) how indebted to Ferrero's materialist history Joyce was. But we know too that, for good tactical reasons, he did not wish in his lecture on the island of saints and sages to indulge Ferrero's disrespectful style towards a lost *grandezza d'Irlanda* (if not its present *decadenza*). Therefore, Joyce tells his audience that he is up to speed with his reading of Ferrero, but that the evidence from the reviled German historians (whatever their inaccuracies about early Rome) cannot be denied to early medieval Ireland, 'when the island was a true centre of intel- lectualism and sanctity, that spread its culture and stimulating energy throughout the continent.'

In his Triestine writings, Joyce thinks with history. That way of thinking is an old-fashioned caution to several of his Dublin, no less than European, contemporaries. His practice is neither to reverence the past nor to eliminate its complexity. Sporting with the past, abusing it, always implicated in it, Joyce's major writings, facilitated by the minor writings gathered here, refuse to jettison history while they release the present from its grip.

17 James Joyce and the Language of History, New York: Oxford University Press (1994), 27-37.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

The translations of James Joyce's Italian writings collected in this volume are new translations and, therefore, it is as well to make some brief observations on the peculiarities of Joyce's Italian and the special problems his use of that language entails. In 1907 Joyce was writing an Italian that was often ungrammatical and clumsy. By 1909, however, and particularly by 1912 he had become a reasonably accomplished stylist in the language. The translator, therefore, is faced with the task of rendering works of varying quality and proficiency into a single, constant, and fluent style. Yet, in a sense, efforts at consistency are misplaced, for the reader naturally loses all sense of the organic development of Joyce's style from 1907 to 1912, though he is at least spared Joyce's linguistic blunders. Further, where a translator rightly feels that his English prose cannot match Joyce's, he might console himself none the less that he papers over the many grammatical, idiomatic, and stylistic cracks in Joyce's early Italian.

The lectures to the Universita Popolare of Trieste pose another problem. Joyce did not trust his Italian sufficiently to deliver his lectures from notes, and so he wrote the texts out in full. Yet they remain lectures, not finished essays. The mode of argument and the overall flow of these pieces are more suited to the spoken than to the written word. Allowances have to be made for this in a written translation and I have occasionally changed the punctuation or order where sense demands.

It would have been at best pointless, and at worst irritating, for the reader had I remarked upon every oddity of syntax, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary in the early lectures or the articles in II Piccolo della Sera. Joyce's Italian in 1907 was faulty enough, but no more so than might be expected of any young student of a foreign language. What is interesting, however, is the nature of some of his errors; Joyce had a tendency to use Dantesque archaicisms and Latinate vocabulary. Whether or not he was aware of the odd effects in his Italian, the original Italian texts provide an interesting insight into the literary and semantic influences behind his work. Unfortunately, the idiosyncrasies and archaicisms, whether intentional or not, are

rendered invisible in the translation. In short, some of the strange flavour of Joyce's Italian prose has unavoidably been lost.

The Mangan lecture brings these translation problems to a head. In the original paper on Mangan delivered in 1902 to the University College Literary and Historical Society and published in the University magazine, St Stephen's, Joyce used a self-conscious, overwrought style that is influenced by Walter Pater. By 1907, when he intended to deliver his lecture on the same subject before an Italian audience (a quixotic enough gesture in itself), his view of Mangan had altered. The first part of the lecture is more or less new and reflects the modification of his opinion of Mangan since his original paper in 1902. He is now more critical of his subject, more incisive and lucid in his expression. This is not simply because he has moved on from the high-flown rhetoric of youth, but because he is more carefully composing and expressing his thoughts in a foreign tongue.

The second part of the lecture, however, is for the most part lifted directly from his 1902 version. In this case, then, Joyce is translating his own work. This leads to three distinct problems. In the first place, there is the inevitable distortion that occurs in translating one's thoughts into a foreign language. The influence of Joyce's mother-tongue occasionally overwhelms his ear for Italian idiom. In other words, his lecture sounds like what it is, a translation. The second problem is that, as anyone familiar with the 1902 paper will know, the original English is itself particularly ornate and studied. Joyce seems to have made few allowances for this when he came to revise it in 1907. The third problem is that there is only one solution to the other two - namely, to return to the 1902 text wherever Joyce is simply translating rather than modifying. Although there is no alternative to this, it is an unsatisfactory solution in that it fails to reflect the flaws of Joyce's Italian. It is not that I wish to underline his failings; indeed, as I have

already said, my practice in these translations has been to eliminate petty errors without even footnoting them. Readers of the early 1902 paper on Mangan may enjoy the eloquence and pomp of Joyce's Pateresque periods where the Italian audience hear only an eccentric and strangely flawed (but not always inelegant) Italian. Conversely, however, where Joyce interrupts his earlier paper to add new observations or wry comments, an Italian might notice a more natural flow to the style where an English reader will register only a sudden simplification or even deterioration. So

the consequence of returning to the original has been to create a translation that is rather like a photographic negative of the original. My aim has been to disguise the fine shift in style as much as possible. On the other hand I did not attempt at any point to imitate the style of Joyce's original.

Finally, the articles in II Piccolo della Sera are notably simpler and more accessible than the lectures, probably because they were written for a more general audience. Here Joyce adopts a more direct style, shorter periods, and simpler concepts. All the same, this has not prevented him from his usual allusiveness or from sprinkling his articles with the occasional Latin word or phrase. In the case of'The City of the Tribes', the article ends on a strange and ambiguous note, to some extent reminiscent of the way the stories in Dubliners come to a close. For the most part, however, the articles are direct, polemical, and even journalistic. I do not think they require further comment.

NOTE ON THE TEXTS

The manuscripts and typescripts of a large proportion of the texts collected here can be located in The Janies Joyce Archive, edited by Michael Groden and others (63 volumes, New York, 1977-80). Previous editions of these texts include The Critical Writings of James Joyce edited by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1959); Scritti Italiani, edited by Giorgio Melchiori and others (Milan: Mondadori, 1979), James Joyce: CEuvres, vol. 1, edited by Jacques Aubert (Paris: Gallimard, 1982); Daniel Defoe by James Joyce, edited by Joseph Prestcott, University of Buffalo Studies, (1964); James Joyce in Padua, edited by Louis Berrone (New York: Random House, 1977). Corrections have silently been made to some errors of transcription that appear in earlier editions; inconsistent spellings and punctuation have been retained. I am indebted to previous editors for certain annotations and for the location of non-manuscript sources. My own researches have been assisted by many who offered information or responded to enquiries: Giorgio Melchiori, Louis Dupre, Fritz Senn, John McCourt, Kevin Whelan, Aoife Feeney, Herman Rasche, Patrick Sheeran, Mairin Ni Dhon- nchadha, Frank Callanan, Riana O'Dwyer, John O'Hanlon, Seamus Deane, Donncha O hAodha, Gearoid O Tuathaigh, Colm Luibheid, John O'Meara, Pascale McGarry, Carla de Petris, Sean Ryder, Una Bradley. I wish to thank Donna Monroe for her invaluable assistance. Translations from the Italian are by Conor Deane; all other translations are my own. I am grateful to the library staff of National University of Ireland, Galway, University College Dublin, the National Library of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, Yale University, Cornell University, University of Buffalo, and University of Padua. I acknowledge the generous support of the Millennium Research Fund of the National University oflreland, Galway.

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A CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES JOYCE

1882 (2 Feb.) Born James Augustine Joyce, eldest surviving son of John Stanislaus Joyce ('John'), a Collector of Rates, and Mary Jane ('May') Joyce née Murray, at 41 Brighton Square West, Rathgar, Dublin. (May) Phoenix Park murders. (Aug.) Maamtrasna murders. (Dec.) Execution of Myles Joyce.

1884 First of many family moves, to 23 Castlewood Avenue, Rathmines, Dublin. (17 Dec.) John Stanislaus Joyce ('Stanislaus') born.

1886 Gladstone's Home Rule bill defeated.

1887 Family (now four children: three boys, one girl) moves to 1 Martello Terrace, Bray, south of Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire). JJ's uncle, William O'Connell, moves in with family, as does Mrs 'Dante' Hearn Conway, who is to act as a governess.

1888 (1 Sept.) JJ enrols at Clongowes Wood College, near Sallins, County Kildare, a Jesuit boys' school.

1889 After his first communion, JJ becomes altar boy. (At his later confirmation, also at Clongowes, JJ takes 'Aloysius' as his saint's name.) Given four strikes on the back of the hand with a pandvbat for use of'vulgar language'. (24 Dec.) Captain O'Shea files for divorce from Katherine ('Kitty') O'Shea on grounds of her adultery with Charles Stewart Parnell, MP, leader of the Irish Home Rule Party.

1890 Parnell ousted as leader of Home Rule Party.

1891 (June) JJ removed from Clongowes as family finances fade. John Joyce loses job as Rates Collector (pensioned off at age of 42). (6 Oct.) Parnell dies. JJ writes 'Et Tu, Healy', identifying Tim Healy, Parnell's lieutenant, with Brutus and indicting Ireland's rejection of Parnell as treachery.

1892 Family (now eight children: four boys, four girls) moves to Black- rock, then into central Dublin.

1893 Children sent to the Christian Brothers School on North Richmond Street. (6 Apr.) JJ and his brothers enter Belvedere College, Jesuit boys' day-school, fees having been waived. Last Joyce child born (family now four boys, six girls). Gaelic League founded.

1894 JJ travels to Cork with John Joyce, who is disposing of the last of the family's Cork properties. Family moves to Drumcondra. JJ wins first of many Exhibitions for excellence in state examinations. (Summer) Trip to Glasgow with John Joyce. Family moves again, to

North Richmond Street. JJ reads Lamb's Adventures of Ulysses and writes theme on Ulysses as 'My Favourite Hero'.

1 895 JJ enters the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

1896 JJ chosen prefect of the Sodality, attends retreat, later claims to have begun his 'sexual life' in this, his fourteenth year.

1897 JJ wins prize for best English composition in Ireland for his age group.

1 898 JJ begins to read Ibsen, attends and reviews plays. Leaves Belvedere. (Sept.) Enters Royal University (now University College, Dublin). Writes essay on subjugation. Family continues to move from house to house.

1899 JJ writes essay on 'The Study of Languages'. (8 May) Attends premiere of Yeats's The Countess Cathleen y refuses to sign students' letter of protest to the Freeman's Journal against the play. (Sept.) Writes essay on Munkacsy's Ecce Homo on exhibition at the Royal Hibernian Academy.

1900 (20 Jan.) JJ delivers paper 'Drama and Life' before the university Literary and Historical Society. (1 Apr.) JJ's review of Ibsen's When We Dead Awaken, 'Ibsen's New Drama', published in Fortnightly Review. Ibsen responds with pleasure. JJ visits London, attends Music Hall, writes prose and verse plays, poems, begins to keep 'epiphany' notebook.

1901 JJ writes 'The Day of the Rabblement', an attack on the Irish Literary Theatre and its narrow nationalism, and publishes it privately in a pamphlet with Francis Skeffington's essay arguing for equality for women.

1902 (Feb.) JJ delivers paper to Literary and Historical Society praising the Irish poet James Clarence Mangan and advocating literature as 'the continual affirmation of the spirit'. (Mar.) JJ's brother George dies. JJ leaves university and registers for the Royal University Medical School. (Oct.) Meets Yeats and, later, Lady Gregory. Leaves Medical School and (1 Dec.) departs for Paris, ostensibly to study medicine. Passes through London where Yeats introduces him to Arthur Symons. Reviews books for Dublin Daily Express. Returns to Dublin for Christmas.

1903 JJ meets Oliver St John Gogarty. (17 Jan.) Returns to Paris by way of London. Giving up on medical school, spends days in Bibliotheque Nationale, nights in Bibliotheque Sainte-Genevieve. Writes notes on aesthetics. (Mar.) Meets Synge. (11 Apr.) Returns

to Dublin due to mother's illness; she dies (13 Aug.). JJ continues to contribute short pieces to the Daily Express, the Irish Times, and the Speaker.

1904 JJ writes essay 'A Portrait of the Artist', first seeds of later novel A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Begins writing stories, which will become Dubliners, and publishes three in the Irish Homestead. Begins work on Stephen Hero. Writes and publishes poems which will be collected later as Chamber Music. Leaves the family home, takes rooms in Dublin, teaches at Clifton School, Dalkey. Joins Gogarty (for one week) in the Martello Tower, Sandycove. Writes 'The Holy Office', a satirical poem about the contemporary Dublin literary scene. (10 June) Meets Nora Barnacle and on 16 June first goes out with her. (8 Oct.) JJ and Nora leave Dublin together for the Continent, first to Zurich, then to job with the Berlitz School in Pola where JJ will teach English. Writes further notes on aesthetics.

1905 JJ and Nora move to Trieste, where JJ teaches English for Berlitz School. (27 July) Son, Giorgio, born. Chamber Music submitted to (and refused by) four publishers in Dublin and London. First version of Dubliners submitted to Grant Richards, Dublin publisher, who contracts to publish it, but later withdraws. Stanislaus moves to Trieste (where he stays until his death in 1955).

1906 (July) Family moves to Rome where JJ accepts abortive job in bank. (30 Sept.) JJ writes to Stanislaus, 'I have a new story for Dubliners in my head. It deals with Mr. Hunter'; later (13 Nov.) identifies it: 'I thought of beginning my story Ulysses' Begins 'The Dead' instead.

1907 (Jan.) Riots at the Abbey Theatre over J. M. Synge's The Playboy of the Western World. (7 Feb.) JJ writes to Stanislaus: ' Ulysses never got any forrader than the title.' (Mar.) Family returns to Trieste. Death of John O'Leary, the subject of the first article JJ writes for II Piccolo della Sera on Ireland. (Apr.) Lectures on 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages', at the Universita del Popolare in Trieste. (May) Elkin Matthews (London) publishes Chamber Music. First essay on Home Rule published in II Piccolo della Sera. (July) JJ contracts rheumatic fever and is hospitalized; beginnings of his eye troubles. (26 July) Daughter, Lucia, born. Scraps the 26 chapters of Stephen Hero and begins to

rework entirely as Portrait. (Sept.) Essay on Maamtrasna murders, 'Ireland at the Bar', published in II Piccolo della Sera. Completes 'The Dead'.

1908 JJ completes first three chapters of Portrait, but then sets them aside. Family troubles and continued poverty.

1909 Friendship with Ettore Schmitz (Italian author 'Italo Svevo'), whose high opinion of Portrait fragments spurred JJ to revise and continue. (Mar.) JJ writes article on Oscar Wilde for II Piccolo della Sera. (Apr.) Revised Dubliners sent to Maunsel & Co. in Dublin. (July) JJ and Giorgio go to Dublin and Galway. JJ signs contract with Maunsel & Co. and meets old acquaintances. One, Vincent Cosgrave, who had also wooed Nora, claimed that she had been unfaithful to JJ with him. JJ's '1909 Letters' to Nora written as result, first, of his doubting and, later, of his reconciliation with, her. (Sept.) Essay on Bernard Shaw appears in II Piccolo della Sera. JJ, Giorgio, and JJ's sister Eva return to Trieste. (Oct.) JJ returns to Dublin as agent for Triestine consortium to open first cinema in Dublin. (20 Dec.) The 'Volta' cinema opens.

1910 (2 Jan.) JJ returns to Trieste with another sister, Eileen. 'Volta' fails. Publication of Dubliners delayed. (Dec.) Second essay on Home Rule published in II Piccolo della Sera.

1911 Continuing delay of Dubliners. JJ writes open letter, published in Arthur Griffiths's Sinn Fein, complaining of his mistreatment at the hands of his publishers. Home Rule passed in House of Commons, defeated in Lords.

1912 JJ lectures on Blake and Defoe at the Universita Popolare. (Apr.) For the purpose of taking Italian state examinations for teachers at Padua JJ writes essays on Dickens and on the Renaissance. (May) Essay on Parnell published in II Piccolo della Sera. Nora and Lucia travel to Ireland, followed quickly by JJ and Giorgio. (JJ's last trip to Ireland.) (Aug., Sept.) Essays on Galway, 'The City of the Tribes' and 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran', published in II Piccolo della Sera. Essay on 'Politics and Cattle Disease' published in Freemans Journal. Negotiations with Maunsel & Co. finally fail; proofs destroyed. JJ writes broadside 'Gas from a Burner' in response and publishes it on his return to Trieste (15 Sept.). JJ begins his (twelve) Hamlet lectures at the Universita. Begins writing poetry again.

1913 JJ continues Hamlet lectures. Grant Richards again shows interest in Dubliners. Ezra Pound writes (having been told by Yeats of JJ).

1914 JJ revises Portrait, sends first chapter and Dubliners to Pound. Pound asks to publish poem ('I Hear an Army') in Imagist anthology in USA, and begins serialization of Portrait (beginning 2 Feb.) in the Egoist (originally called the New Freewoman and edited by

Dora Marsden and Rebecca West). Under demand of publishing, JJ finishes last two chapters. (June) Harriet Shaw Weaver takes over editorship of Egoist. (15 June) Grant Richards publishes Dubliners. (Aug.) World War I begins. JJ writes Giacomo Joyce. (Nov.) JJ drafts notes for Exiles. Begins Ulysses.

19 1 5 (9 Jan.) Stanislaus arrested, interned in Austrian detention centre for remainder of war. Exiles completed. (15 May) Italy enters war. (June) In return for a pledge of neutrality, Joyce family allowed to leave Austrian Trieste and move to neutral Swiss Zurich. Through the intercession of Yeats and Pound, JJ awarded a grant (£75) from the Royal Literary Fund. Ulysses in progress.

1916 Easter Rising in Dublin. (Aug.) JJ granted £100 from the British Civil List (again at Pound's instigation). (Dec.) B. W. Huebsch (New York) publishes Dubliners and Portrait. JJ writes 'A Notebook of Dreams' - record of Nora's dreams with JJ's interpretations.

1917 (Feb.) English edition of Portrait published by Egoist Press. JJ suffers eye troubles which lead to his first eye operation (Aug.). (Feb.) Harriet Shaw Weaver begins anonymous benefaction to JJ; her financial support will continue until (and beyond) JJ's death (when she pays for his funeral). (Oct.) Family goes to Locarno for winter. Ulysses continues; first three chapters ('Telemachia') written and sent to Pound. JJ contracts with Weaver to publish Ulysses serially in the Egoist.

1918 (Jan.) Family returns to Zurich. Pound sends 'Telemachia' to Jane Heap and Margaret Anderson, editors of the Little Review. Serial publication begins with March issue. Under pressure of serialization, JJ continues writing. (May) Exiles published by Grant Richards. JJ receives financial gift from Mrs

Harold McCormick. JJ forms theatrical group, the English Players, with Claud Sykes, and writes programme notes for the plays. First performance: The Importance of Being Earnest. JJ meets Frank Budgen. Further eye troubles. (11 Nov.) Armistice signed. By New Year's Eve, Ulysses drafted through episode 9, 'Scylla and Charybdis'.

1919 (Jan.) Irish War of Independence begins. Publication of Ulysses continues in Little Review. January (first part of 'Lestrygonians') and May (first half of 'Scylla and Charybdis') issues confiscated and burned by US Postal Authorities. Egoist publishes edited versions of four episodes (2, 3, 6, and 10). (7 Aug.) Exiles performed (unsuccessfully) in Munich. Mrs McCormick discontinues financial

support, ostensibly because JJ refused to be psychoanalysed by her analyst, Carl Jung. (Oct.) Family returns to Trieste.

1920 (June) JJ and Pound meet for the first time. (July) Family moves to Paris. JJ meets Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach, later T. S. Eliot and Wyndham Lewis and, later still, Valery Larbaud. (Sept.) JJ sends first Ulysses 'schema' to Carlo Linati. Ulysses composition and serialization continue. January (second half of 'Cyclops') and July-August (second half of 'Nausicaa') issues of the Little Review confiscated by US Postal Authorities. (20 Sept.) Complaint lodged by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, specifically citing 'Nausicaa' issue. What was to be the final Little Review instalment of Ulysses (first part of 'Oxen of the Sun') published in Sept.-Dee. issue.

1921 (Feb.) Editors of Little Review convicted of publishing obscenity; publication ceases. Sylvia Beach offers to publish Ulysses under the imprint of Shakespeare and Company (her Paris bookshop), to be printed in Dijon by Maurice Darantiere, to be funded by advance subscription. JJ agrees. Episodes sent seriatim to printers; JJ continues to compose while also adding to and correcting returned proofs. Manuscript of episode 15, 'Circe', thrown in fire by typist's outraged husband. (29 Oct.) JJ 'completes' ithaca' (last episode to be drafted), continues correction and addition. (7 Dec.) Valery Larbaud delivers lecture on Ulysses at Shakespeare and Company; uses another 'schema' of the book provided by Joyce (the 'Gilbert schema'). (Dec.) Treaty granting southern Ireland dominion status signed, the war having ended in July.

1922 (2 Feb.) First two copies of Ulysses delivered by express train from Dijon in time for celebration of JJ's fortieth birthday. Irish Civil War. (1 Apr.) Nora and children visit Ireland where their train is fired upon by troops. Return to Paris. JJ's eye troubles recur. (Aug.) Family travels to England where JJ meets Harriet Weaver for the first time. (Sept.) Return to Paris and trip to Cote d'Azure.

1923 (Mar.) JJ begins Work in Progress (working title of Finnegans Wake). (May) Irish Civil War ends.

1924 (Apr.) First fragments from Work in Progress published in transatlantic review. French translation of Portrait published.

1927 (June) Instalments of Work in Progress begin to be published in Eugene Jolas's transition. (July) Pomes Penyeach published by Shakespeare and Company.

1928 Anna Livia Plurabelle published in New York.

1929 (Feb.) French translation of Ulysses published by Adrienne Mon- nier's La Matson des Amis des Livres. Samuel Beckett et al. publish Our Exagmination Round his Factification ... as aide d'explication and defence of Work in Progress. Tales Told of Shem and Shaun published in Paris. Roth's pirated edition of Ulysses published in New York.

1930 Publication of Stuart Gilbert's fames Joyce 's ' Ulysses ', critical study of Ulysses, written with JJ's assistance, llaveth Childers Everywhere published in Paris and New York.

1931 (May) French translation (completed with JJ's assistance) of Anna Livia Plurabelle published in Nouvelle Revue. (4 July) JJ and Nora Barnacle married in London to ensure the inheritance of their children. (29 Dec.) John Joyce dies.

1932 (15 Feb.) Son, Stephen James Joyce, born to Giorgio and Helen Joyce. JJ writes 'Ecce Puer'. Lucia's first breakdown and stay in Maillard clinic. Essay on John Sullivan, 'From a Banned Writer to a Banned Singer', published in the New Statesman and Nation. The Odyssey Press edition of Ulysses, 'specially revised ... by Stuart Gilbert', published in Hamburg.

1933 Lucia’s initial hospitalization in Nyon near Zurich. (6 Dec.) Judge John M. Woolscy, US District Court, delivers opinion that Ulysses is not obscene and can be published in the USA.

1934 Random House publishes US edition of Ulysses. Lucia again hospitalized. JJ returns to Work in Progress. The Mime of Mick Nick and the Maggies, published in The Hague. Frank Budgen’s James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses' (written with JJ’s assistance) published in London. Lucia under the care of Carl Jung.

1935 Publication of Limited Editions Club edition of Ulysses with illustrations by Henri Matisse.

1936 (Oct.) Bodley Head publishes Ulysses in London. (Dec.) Collected Poems published in New York.

1937 (J une) JJ speaks at Paris PEN Congress on the moral right of authors. (Oct.) Storiella She is Syung published in London.

1938 (13 Nov.) Finishes Finnegans Wake. Douglas Hyde becomes Eire’s first president.

1939 (Jan.) Yeats dies. (4 May) Finnegans Wake is published in London and New York, though advance copy reaches JJ in time for his 57th birthday on 2 Feb. (1 Sept.) Germany invades Poland; two days

later France and Great Britain declare war on Germany. Family leaves Paris for St Gerard-le-Puy, near Vichy. Herbert Gorman’s biography, commissioned and abetted by JJ, published in New York.

1940 France falls to the Nazis. Family moves to Zurich.

1941 (13 Jan.) JJ dies after surgery on a perforated ulcer, buried in Fluntern cemetery, Zurich, without the last rites of the Catholic Church. Nora dies in 1951, buried separately in Fluntern, though both bodies were reburied together in 1966.