

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

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

CW	The Critical Writings of James Joyce, ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (London: Faber, 1959).
D	Dubliners, ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
FW	Finnegans Wake (London: Faber, New York: Viking, 1939)
JJ	James Joyce, by Richard Ellmann, revised edition (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1982).
JJA	The James Joyce Archive, eds. Michael Groden and others, 63 volumes (New York and London: Garland, 1977-80).
Letters	The Letters of James Joyce, vol. i ed. Stuart Gilbert (London: Faber, New York: Viking, 1957, revised 1966); vols. ii and iii ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber, New York: Viking, 1966).
My Brother's Keeper	Stanislaus Joyce, <i>My Brother's Keeper</i> , ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber, 1958).
Poems & Exiles	Poems and Exiles, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1992).
Portrait	A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
SH	Stephen Hero, ed. with Introduction by Theodore Spencer, revised edition with additional material and Foreword by John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon (London: Cape, 1956).
U	Ulysses, ed. Hans Walter Gabler and others (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986).

TRUST NOT APPEARANCES

MS Cornell, JJA 2.1-3. This essay, a holograph surviving Joyce's papers, dates from his years at Belvedere College, 1893-8. In both 1897 and 1898 Joyce won the prize for the best English composition in the national Intermediate Examinations, prizes of £3 and £4 respectively.

1. Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam : 'To the greater glory of God', the Jesuit motto conventionally placed at the beginning of a pupil's essay, along with LDS, Laus Deo Semper. 'Praise to God forever', at its end. See Portrait 58-9.

2. 'O, how wretched | Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours', Shakespeare, Henry VIII, ill. ii.

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[SUBJUGATION]

MS Cornell, JJA 2.5-14. This fragment, a holograph, survives among manuscripts of which Stanislaus Joyce used the blank versos for his Dublin Journal, 'My Crucible'. The title is lost but its date, 27

September 1898, and corrections in another hand indicate that it is a part of Joyce's matriculation course at university. The title 'Force' supplied in CW has been altered here to 'subjugation' in order to correspond more accurately to the essay's keyword and its theme.

1. Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'Queen Mab; a philosophical poem', III, line 111.
2. John Milton, 'Il Penseroso', line 50.
3. See Frederick Tennyson, *The Isles of Greece: Sappho and Alcaeus*, London: Macmillan (1890), 'The Armoury', IX, lines 157-66.
4. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822). See Portrait 80 for Stephen's reflections on Shelley's ineffectualness.
5. Hamlet, ill. i. This paragraph may be indebted to Hegel's idea of symbolic, in contrast to classic, art; see *The Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art*, trans. Bernard Bosanquet, London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. (1886), 145.
6. John Milton, 'L'Allegro', line 119.
7. Sir Thomas Henry Hall Caine (1853-1931), British novelist and writer of melodramas.
8. Thor and Oskar feature as heroic figures in Norse sagas and Jason in Greek myth. Daniel Mylrea features in Hall Caine's novel, *The Deemster* (1887).
9. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), Scottish author and historian.
10. James 3: 17.
11. Peter Abelard (1079-1142), French scholastic philosopher, lover of Hcloise.

THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES

MS Cornell, JJA 2.32-41. This fragment, a holograph, survives among manuscripts of which Stanislaus Joyce used the blank versos for his Dublin Journal 'My Crucible'. Its likely date is 1899 and corrections in another hand place it with the previous essay as part of Joyce's matriculation course at university.

1. See John Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence*, Orpington, Kent: George Allen, 1875 - 7, 'The Fifth Morning', p.125. Joyce owned an 1894 edition of this work. The frescoes are in the Spanish Chapel of the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. The chapel is dedicated to the honour of St Thomas Aquinas and the series of the Seven Liberal Arts faces that of the Seven Divine Arts. The work is not that of Memmi, i.e. Simone Martini (1283-1344), but of Andrea Di Buonaiuti (c.1338 - 77).
2. Matthew Arnold (1822-88), 'Literature and Science' (Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge University, 1881): see *The Works of Matthew Arnold*, 15 volumes, London: Macmillan & Co. (1903-04), iv. 279, 317-48.

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3. See Bernard Bosanquet, *A History of Aesthetic*, London: Swann Sonnenschein Sc Co., New York: Macmillan Sc Co. (1892), 33.
4. Shakespeare, *Henry V*, prologue.
5. *The Christian Year* (1827), a volume of sacred verse by the Anglican John Keble (1792-1866), Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1831-41) and a leading figure in the Oxford Movement.
6. In the novel, *Heart and Science* (1882), by Wilkie Collins (1824-89).
7. *Heart and Science*, chap. 62.

ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY 'ECCE HOMO'

MS Cornell, JJA 2.42-55. This essay, a holograph, survives among manuscripts of which Stanislaus Joyce used the blank versos for his Dublin Journal, 'My Crucible'. Its date, September 1899, suggests that it is part of Joyce's work at University College Dublin. 'Jesus came out, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple cloak. "Behold the Man!" said Pilate', John 19: 5.

1. Mihaly Munkacsy, pseudonym of Mihaly (Miska) Leo Lieb (1844-1900), Hungarian painter. The exhibition of his work at the Royal Hibernian Academy, which included his *Ecce Homo* (1896) and other paintings of Christ's Passion, caused some controversy: see Sarah Purser's comments in *The*

Leader, 24 November 1900. Munkacsy's Christ trilogy can be found at the Deri Museum, Debrecen, Hungary. Joyce may also have in mind a controversy which had continued to surround an essay, first published anonymously, by John Robert Seeley, *Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ*, London: Macmillan & Co. (1866).

2. In French, to address familiarly as tu (instead of the more formal vous).

3. Maurice, Count Maeterlinck (1862-1949), Belgian poet and dramatist whose fame began in 1892 with his play *Pelleas et Melisande*.

4. The muscular protestant is an ideal espoused by Charles Kingsley (1819 - 75); see, for example, his *Discipline and other Sermons* (1872).

5. Horace Van Ruith (1839-1923), English painter of figurative and Italianate subjects.

6. Richard Wagner, in 'The Art-Work of the Future', contrasts the mentality of the folk with the mentality of the town. See Richard Wagner's *Prose Works*, translated by William Ashton Ellis, 8 volumes, London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Triibner & Co. (1892-9), 73 ff., 82-8, 145.

DRAMA AND LIFE

MS Cornell, JJA 2.56-73. This essay, a holograph, the author's fair copy, is textually complete and survives among manuscripts of which Stanislaus Joyce used the blank versos for his *Dublin Journal*, 'My Crucible'. Its date, 10 January 1900, allows for the probability that the essay was read, and disapproved of, by the President of University College Dublin, Fr. William Delaney, before Joyce delivered it on 20 January at a meeting of the college's Literary and Historical Society. Joyce celebrates these events in chapters 16,

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18, 19, and 20 of *Stephen Hero*, where he moves the date forward to the end of March in order that Stephen represent his performance as an Easter sacrifice after his 'forty days' of Lenten preparation. For the circumstances of Joyce's giving this paper see JJ 70-3.

1. See Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic*, 162: 'shakespeare in every way marks not the opening but the close of a period. Since him there has been no national drama. To-day in England the drama, in the sense of stage-plays which are poetic literature, does not exist.' For the distinction between literature and drama, see also Richard Wagner, 'Art-Work of the Future', 144-5. Joyce's essay, in its title, its ideas and its tone, is deeply indebted to Wagner's essay: see, for example, Wagner's assertion that 'The dramatic Action is thus the bough from the Tree of Life' ('Art-Work of the Future', 197).

2. *Macbeth*, 1, iii.

3. Pierre Corneille (1606-84), French dramatist; Metastasio, pseudonym of Pietro Trapassi (1698-1782), Italian poet and the creator of opera seria; Pumblechook, a fawning character in Dickens's *Great Expectations*; Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-81), Spanish dramatist and poet.

4. Charles Haddon Chambers (1860-1921), author of comedies and melodramas; Douglas William Jerrold (1803-57), man of letters and author of comedies and melodrama; Hermann Sudermann (1857-1928), German novelist and dramatist; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), German dramatist and critic. For Joyce's response to Sudermann see *My Brother's Keeper*, 102.

5. Vincenzo Bellini (1801-35), Italian composer whose opera *I Puritani* (1835) provides the music for George Linley's lyric, 'Arrayed for the Bridal', in Joyce's 'The Dead'.

6. What follows in this paragraph re-uses a passage in 'Royal Hibernian Academy "Ecce Homo"', pp.17-18 above.

7. From the death-speech of the Countess in W. B. Yeats, *The Countess Cathleen* (1892): 'Do not weep | Too great a while, for there is many a candle | On the High Altar though one fall.' This speech is also quoted in *Portrait* 190. See 'The Day of the Rabblement', pp.50-1, where the context would suggest that Joyce is here deliberately baiting his audience with a quotation from a play which they, but not he, had condemned.

8. See 'James Clarence Mangan', p.54: 'Literature is the wide domain which lies between ephemeral writing and poetry (with which is philosophy).' Some confusion has arisen here, especially in Ellmann's suggestion that Joyce gives up this idea when he comes to write *Portrait*. In SH 82, the distinction is

made between 'the literary form of art as the most excellent' (in contrast with music, painting etc.) and in Portrait the same contrast is intended when Stephen contrasts sculpture with 'literature, the highest and most spiritual art' (Portrait 180). Such a hierarchy of the arts, in which the art of language is pre-eminent, is no more than a post- Enlightenment cliché. Such a concept is only in apparent conflict with the idea that 'The term "literature" now seemed to him a term of contempt

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and he used it to designate the vast middle region which lies between apex and base, between poetry and the chaos of unremembered writing' (SH 82). Compare Paul Verlaine (1844-96), *Art Poétique*: '*Et tout le reste est littérature' (which, according to the French idiom Verlaine is playing with, means 'everything else is literature' or 'everything else is irrelevant').

9. See *What To Do? Thought Evoked by the Census of Moscow* by Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910), Russian novelist and dramatist, translated by I. F. Hapgood (1887).

10. 'My dear friend, clear your mind of cant' (James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 15 May 1783).

11. Wagner, 'Art-Work of the Future', 73 ff., 145.

12. 'Untroubled, the world judges', St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), *Contra Litteras Parmeniani*, iii.

24. Joyce found the sentence in *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864) by John Henry Newman (1801-90), founder of the Catholic University which became University College Dublin. See also, 'securest jubilends albas Temoram' (FW 593.13).

13. 'Litterateurs': 'men of letters'.

14. *The Master Builder* (1892), one of the later plays of Henrik Ibsen (1828- 1906), Norwegian dramatist. Joyce is here answering a previous paper delivered to the Literary and Historical Society on 11 February 1899, 'The Theatre, Its Educational Value', reproduced by its author Arthur Clery in *Dublin Essays* (1919). Clery had championed Greek drama along with Macbeth and asserted that 'The effect of Henrik Ibsen is evil.'

15. 'A common impulse toward dramatic art-work can only be at hand in those who actually enact the work of art in common.' Wagner, 'Art-Work of the Future', 140; and see p.136 where Wagner identifies tragedy as a communal art.

16. Ibsen's *The Wild Duck* (1884). See SH 91: 'But the play which she (Stephen's mother) preferred to all others was the Wild Duck ... It's so sad: it's terrible to read it even ... I quite agree with you that Ibsen is a wonderful writer.'

17. Wagner, 'Art-Work of the Future', 198-201.

18. 'In the dramatic Action, therefore, the Necessity of the art-work displays itself. [...] The first and truest fount of Art reveals itself in the impulse that urges from Life into the work of art; for it is the impulse to bring the unconscious, instinctive principle of Life to understanding (verstdtidniss) and acknowledgement as Necessity' (Wagner, 'Art-Work of the Future', 197)-

19. Wagner's last work, *Parsifal*, was produced in 1882.

20. 'At the end of each stanza 1 score a hit', *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1897) by Edmond Rostand (1869-1918), French dramatist.

21. *Monsieur Coupeau* in *L'Assommoir* (1877), a grisly depiction of alcoholism, by Emile Zola (1840-1902); surplices and dalmatics are ecclesiastical vestments; Mr Beoerly remains untraced.

22. In Hinduism an earthly paradise on Mount Meru.

23. 'The House Beautiful' is the title of a poem by Robert Louis Stevenson

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and also of a popular interior-decoration magazine, ed. Clarence Cook, New York: Scribner (1881).

24. Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1853-1917), British actor-manager and founder of the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. See his *Some Interesting Fallacies of the Modern Stage* (1892).

25. Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn (1606-69), Dutch painter; Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), Flemish painter.

26. Alfred de Musset, Rolla: 'Je suis venu trop tard dans un siècle trop vieux.'
27. 'Who would fardels bear?' (Hamlet, ill. i).
28. For a comparable attack on fashion see Wagner, 4 Art-Work of the Future', 82-8.
29. A city mentioned in the Old Testament: 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold' (1 Kings 22: 48).
30. The gardens of the voluptuous sorceress in *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1574) by Torquato Tasso (1544-95), Italian poet.
31. Richard Wagner, *Lohengrin* (1847).
32. Henrik Ibsen, *Ghosts* (1881).
33. Yggdrasil, the great tree of Scandinavian mythology: its branches extend through, and its roots support, the universe.
34. Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, Canto IV, line 124.
35. From Act I of Henrik Ibsen, *Pillars of Society* (1877).

IBSEN'S NEW DRAMA

Fortnightly Review NS, 67 (London, 1 Apr. 1900), 575-90. Joyce had proposed to the Fortnightly 's editor, W. L. Courtney, a general essay on Ibsen's work. Courtney's reply, that he would consider a review of Ibsen's new play, *When We Dead Awaken* (1899), arrived on the day that Joyce delivered his paper, 'Drama and Life'. Joyce would later learn that Ibsen had read the article and judged it 'very benevolent'. Joyce wrote to Ibsen in March 1901, described this article as 'immature and hasty' and indicated that he had defended Ibsen 'in debating societies' at the University. 'But we always keep the dearest things to ourselves,' Joyce continued. 'I did not tell them what bound me closest to you ... how your wilful resolution to wrest the secret from life gave me heart and how in your absolute indifference to public canons of art, friends and shibboleths you walked in the light of your inward heroism. And this is what I write to you of now' (Letters i. 51-2). For the circumstances of Joyce's publishing this essay JJ 73-4.

1. George Bernard Shaw, *Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1891, 2nd edn., 1913), 89, had cited this phrase under the heading 'Descriptions of Ibsen's Admirers'. The original phrase, 'Educated and muck-ferreting dogs', had appeared anonymously in a journal called *Truth* and was reprinted with a note of protest in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

2. Joyce does not include Ibsen's dramas of the 1850s, the satirical *Love's Comedy* (1862), the verse dramas, *Brand* (1866) and *Peer Gynt* (1867), nor *Emperor and Galilean* (1873).

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3. A play with close narrative parallels with *Portrait*.
4. The German version of *Lohengrin* (knight of the swan), who is guided by the swan to discover his wife, is based on two motifs: that of the metamorphosis of humans into swans and that of the wife whose question brings disaster
5. 'j fjaeir: 'mountain'.
6. *The Master Builder* (1892).
7. Yégof and Herne of the myth of the Wild Huntsman.
8. Thomas Hardy (1840-1928), English poet and novelist; Ivan Sergeievich Turgenev (1818-83), Russian writer; George Meredith (1828-1909), English novelist and poet.
9. In *The Wild Duck* (1884).
10. Compare Matthew Arnold, 'To a Friend' on Sophocles who 'saw life steadily, and saw it whole', *Works*, i. 4.
11. In *A Doll's House* (1879).
12. In, respectively, *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* (1890).
13. In *Hedda Gabler*.

14. That is, *Ghosts* (1881) and *The Enemy of the People* (1882).
15. See 'Drama and Life' p.26.
16. In *The Wild Duck*.

THE DAY OF THE RABBLEMENT

Published 1901. A copy marked up for some of the many typographical errors and subsequently acknowledged by Joyce's signature in 1930 is in the Slocum Collection at Yale, JJA 2.76-9. I have allowed uncorrected errors to stand. Written 15 October 1901 and, according to Stanislaus Joyce, 'written rapidly in one morning', this essay was submitted by Joyce to Hugh Kennedy, editor of the new literary magazine of the University, *St Stephen's*. The essay was refused by the magazine on the advice of a Fr. Henry Browne, who objected to its mentioning Gabriele D'Annunzio's *Il Fuoco* (1900), a novel about the city of Venice, which Joyce, according to Stanislaus, 'considered the highest achievement of the novel to date' but which had been placed on the Vatican Index of Prohibited Books. *St Stephen's* also refused at this time an essay by a friend of Joyce, Francis Skeffington, later Sheehy-Skeffington (1878-1916), 'A Forgotten Aspect of the University Question', which advocates equal status for women as students of the University. Joyce and Skeffington, therefore, had the essays printed at their own expense. Eighty-five copies were printed for £2. 5s. 0 d. on 21 October 1901. 'In the end,' commented Stanislaus, 'Jim's article ... got more publicity than if it had not been censored ... for he and I distributed it to the newspapers and people of Dublin that my brother wished to see it. A mention of it appeared in the *United Irishman*, and I remember handing it in at Ely Place to George Moore's pretty servant.' See *My Brother's Keeper*, 151-3. Skeffington and Joyce prefaced their essays with the following note: 'These two Essays were commissioned by the Editor of *St Stephen's* for that paper, but were subsequently refused insertion by the Censor. The

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writers are now publishing them in their original form, and each writer is responsible only for what appears under his own name. F.J.C.S. J.A.J.' The subsequent issue of *St Stephen's* (Dec. 1901) replied to Joyce's essay. For the circumstances of Joyce's publishing this essay see jfff &&-<).

1. Giordano Bruno (c.1548-1600), Italian philosopher, born near Nola. According to Stanislaus, Joyce 'intended that the readers of his article should have at first a false impression that he was quoting some little-known Irish writer - the definite article before some old family names being a courtesy title in Ireland - so that when they discovered their error, the name of Giordano Bruno might perhaps awaken some interest in his life and work' (*My Brother's Keeper*, 153). For the quotation from Bruno see I. Frith, *Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan* (1887), 165: 'No man truly loves goodness and truth who is not incensed with the multitude.'

2. The Irish Literary Theatre was founded at the end of 1898 by W. B. Yeats (1865-1939), Augusta, Lady Gregory (1852-1932), and Edward Martyn (1859-1924). Yeats's intention had been to produce the work of European as well as Irish dramatists. The theatre encountered some resistance from the Irish-Ireland movement led by D. P. Moran (1872-1936) and from the Catholic Church. Joyce had supported the ILT's first play, Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen* (1892), when it was premiered amid hisses and boos on 8 May 1899. Cardinal Michael Logue (1840-1924) had accused it of heresy and Edward Martyn, a devout Catholic, had responded by almost withdrawing his financial support from the ILT. Skeffington and other students composed a letter of protest against this play on the grounds that it 'offers as a type of our people a loathsome brood of apostates'. Joyce refused to sign it. The ILT's second play, Edward Martyn's *The Heather Field*, was liked so well by Joyce that he would produce it in 1919 in Zurich with the English Players and would then write of Martyn that 'as a dramatist he follows the school of Ibsen and therefore occupies a unique position in Ireland, as the dramatists writing for the National Theatre have chiefly devoted their energies to peasant drama.' (See 'Programme Notes for the English Players', p.210.) As late as February 1900 Joyce had enjoyed at the ILT *The Bending of the Bough*, a play co-written by Edward Martyn and George Moore (1852-1933), the Irish novelist and dramatist who had returned from England in 1901 as a 'convert', in Joyce's phrase, to the literary revival and as a director of the ILT. However, the decision by the ILT in October 1901 to produce *Casadh an tSugáin* (*The Twisting of the Rope*) by the Gaelic scholar Douglas Hyde (1860-1949) and

Diarmuid and Gráinne by Moore and Yeats, indicated to Joyce that the ILT had betrayed itself and become narrowly nationalist in its policies.

3. Bealtaine was the 'official organ' of the ILT Both Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Tolstoy's *The Power of Darkness* (1888) had been banned by the Lord Chamberlain of England, but his censorship did not apply to theatres in Ireland. See 'The Battle between Bernard Shaw and the Censor', p.152, where Joyce celebrates the decision of the Abbey Theatre to perform a play banned on the English stage.

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4. Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946), German dramatist, novelist and poet It is probable that Joyce, who during the summer of 1901 had translated Hauptmann's *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (1889), under the title *Before Sunrise*, and Michael Kramer (1900), intended to submit these to the ILT. However, he waited three years and submitted them to W. B. Yeats for the Abbey Theatre in 1904. Yeats, in a letter of 2 October 1904, rejected both translations with the explanation, 'We must get the ear of our public with Irish work.' See also 'A Painful Case', D 82.

5. That is, Hermann Sudermann (1857-1928), German novelist and playwright; Bjornstjerne Bjornson (1832-1910), Norwegian novelist, playwright, poet, and journalist; Giovanni Giacosa (1847-1906), Italian dramatist and librettist, whom Joyce would later angrily describe as 'a paunchy vulgarian whose highest ideal in life is a bellyfull of pasta asciutta' (*My Brother's Keeper*, 252).

6. That is, 'the triumphant beast' from Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* (1583); Jose Echegaray (1832-1916), Spanish mathematician, statesman, and dramatist; Maurice Maeterlinck, *Pelleas et Melisande* (1892).

7. *Esther Waters* (1894) is generally considered to be one of Moore's most distinguished works whereas *Vain Fortune* (1891) is not.

8. Jens Peter Jacobsen (1847-1885), Danish novelist.

9. That is, George Moore, *Celibates* (1895).

10. George Moore's island is in Lough Cara, Co. Mayo, near the family house, Moore Hall. Joyce, with his phrase 'George Moore and his island', is punning on a title of one of Moore's books, *Parnell and his Island*

(1887).

11. Joyce places himself in the line of succession from Ibsen and Hauptmann. He is quoting from the first act of Ibsen's *The Master Builder*. 'I tell you the younger generation will one day come and thunder at my door.' See also *Epiphany* 177.

JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN (1902)

St Stephen's, 1/6 (May 1902), 116-18. This essay was first read by Joyce to the Literary and Historical Society of University College Dublin on 15 February 1902. In chapter 19 of *Stephen Hero*, Joyce gives Stephen a version of this essay, omitting any mention of Mangan, under the title 'Drama and Life', 'a careful exposition of a carefully meditated theory of esthetic. When he had finished he found it necessary to change the title from "Drama and Life" to "Art and Life" ...' (SH 85). According to Stanislaus, the essay on Mangan 'bore witness to a determined struggle to impose an elegance of thought on the hopeless distortion of the life that surrounded him' (*My Brother's Keeper*, 168), a comment which may refer, among other things, to their brother George's dying of peritonitis at that time. For the circumstances of Joyce's presentation of this paper see JJ 93-6.

James 'Clarence' Mangan (1803-49), Irish poet, a contributor to *The Comet*,

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an anti-tithes newspaper of the 1830s, to the *Dublin University Magazine*, the journal of Tory unionism, and to the *Young Ireland* journals, *The Nation*, which was co-founded in 1842 by Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903), John Blake Dillon (1816-66) and Thomas Davis (1814-45), and the *United Irishman*, which was founded in 1847 by John Mitchel (1815-75).

1. This quotation remains untraced.

2. According to Stanislaus, a deliberately enigmatic reference to William Blake (1757-1827) (*My Brother's Keeper*, 171).

3. See SH 84.

4. The question recurs in Act 1 of Richard Wagner, *Parsifal*.

5. According to Stanislaus, a deliberately enigmatic reference to Robert Browning (1812-89) (*My Brother's Keeper*, 171).

6. Joyce would seem to have in mind various perpetrators of the inconsistent myth of Mangan as *poète maudit*: C. F. Meehan represents Mangan's weakness to be for alcohol, 'the poppy of the West', in his edition of *The Poets and Poetry of Munster: A Selection of Irish Songs by the Poets of the Last Century*, trans. James Clarence Mangan, 3rd [sic] edn. (Dublin: James Duffy, n.d. [1884]), p.x. D. J. O'Donoghue, *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan* (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1897), represents it as opium; Charles Gavan Duffy, *Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History, 1840-1850* (London: Cassell, Fetter, Calpin, 1880), asserts that Mangan 'cared nothing for political projects'; John Mitchel, however, represents Mangan as a nationalist rebel, 'a rebel with his whole heart and soul against the whole British spirit of the age' and also as one who 'sought at times to escape from consciousness by taking for bread, opium, and for water, brandy' (biographical introduction to John Mitchel (ed.), *Poems by James Clarence Mangan*, New York: Haverly (1859), 8, 12-13).

7. Both Mitchel and O'Donoghue classify Mangan's problematic translations as 'Apocrypha' and 'Perversions'.

8. Novalis, pseudonym of Friedrich Leopold, Freiherr von Hardenberg (1772-1801), German philosopher and poet, *Fragmente, Vermischten Inhalts*, p.135.

9. Joyce is quoting here from Mangan's 'Fragment of an Unpublished Autobiography', *Irish Monthly*, 10 (1882), 678. This autobiographical fragment was also available to Joyce in Meehan ([1884]), pp.xxi-lvi. See also David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Irish Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 162, 167 ff., 178. Joyce's misapprehension that Mangan's sentences are about one's 'associates' and not, as they were in fact for Mangan, about 'serpents and scorpions' makes it clear that Joyce here identifies both with Mangan's paranoia and with his idea of the father. Compare Shem, 'Mynfader was a boer constructor' (FW 180. 35).

10. Meehan, p.xli.

11. 'The artist, he imagined, standing in the position of mediator between the world of his experience and the world of his dreams' (SH 82). Such a

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principle opposes that of W. B. Yeats, 'Poetry is the utterance of desires that can be satisfied only in dreams.' See *My Brother's Keeper*, 169.

12. See Mangan on the strategy of dandyism in his 'An Extraordinary Adventure in the Shades', *Comet* (27 Jan. 1833), 319: 'You shall tramp the earth in vain for a more pitiable object than a man with genius, with nothing else to back it with. He was born to amalgamate with the mud we walk upon, and will, whenever he appears in public, be trodden over like that. Transfuse into this man a due portion of mannerism; the metamorphosis is marvellous. Erect he stands and blows his trumpet, the sounds whereof echo into the uttermost confines of our magnificent world ... Mannerism! destitute of which we are, so to speak, walking humbugs. It was Charles Gavan Duffy who remembered Mangan's hair 'as fine and silky as a woman's', according to D. J. O'Donoghue, in *Poems of James Clarence Mangan* with biographical introduction by John Mitchel (Dublin: O'Donoghue, M. H. Gill, 1903), p.xxv.

13. Mangan's poem 'On the Death of a Beloved Friend' (1833) is written on the death of his pupil, Catherine Hayes.

14. D. J. O'Donoghue (1897) adds this supposition to Mangan's celebrated *grande passion*, for which the locus classicus is Mitchel: 'It is a vacuum and obscure gulf which no eyes fathomed or measured; into which he entered a bright haired youth and emerged a withered and stricken man ... he had loved, and was deceived' (Mitchel (1859), 11).

15. Meehan, pp.xv-xvi.

16. Frédérique Hauffe, an early nineteenth-century victim of psychosomatic hallucination. See Mangan's poem, 'To the Spirit-Seeress of Prevorst, as She Lay on Her Death-Bed'.

17. Antoine Watteau (1736-1819), French painter.
18. This is the final sentence of 'A Prince of Court Poets' in Walter Pater, *Imaginary Portraits* (1887).
19. Joyce exaggerates Mangan's obscurity. The editions to which he refers are John Mitchel's (see note 6 above); Louise Imogen Guiney (ed.), *James Clarence Mangan, His Selected Poems* (Boston: Lamson, Wolfe, 1897); C. p. Meehan (ed.), *Essays in Prose and Verse* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1884).
20. Thomas Moore (1779-1852), Irish poet; Edward Walsh (1805-90), Irish poet and folklorist.
21. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry* (composed 1821, published 1840). See *Portrait 179 and U 9*. 381-2.
22. Mangan, 'The Last Words of Al-Hassan', in Mitchel (1859), 322.
23. The idealized beloveds of Michelangelo, Petrarch, and Dante.
24. Compare Walter Pater's description of this painting in his essay 'Leonardo da Vinci' (1869).
25. *The Gulistan* (1258), or *Rosegarden*, of the Persian poet S'adi (c.1184- c.1291).
26. Guiney, 263.
27. Walt Whitman (1819-92), American poet.
28. See John Mitchel, 'Mangan's pathos was all genuine, his laughter hollow

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and painful. In several poems he breaks out into a sort of humour, not hearty and merry fun, but rather grotesque, bitter, fescennine buffoonery; which leaves an unpleasant impression, as if he were grimly sneering at himself and at all the world' (Mitchel (1859), 23).

29. Conrad Wetzel, 'Good Night', in Mitchel (1859), 333-4.
30. William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793), plate 9, line 56.
31. John Dowland (1563 - 1626), English composer and poet. Joyce's 'favourite poem in Dowland's *Songs* was "Weep you no more, sad fountains"' (*My Brother's Keeper*, 166).
32. Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49), American author.
33. Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), Swedish philosopher; the phrase 'vastation of soul' is used in an essay on Swedenborg by Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men* (London: Bohn, 1847), 328.
34. Naomi, Hebrew for 'pleasant'; Mara, Hebrew for 'bitterness'. After famine and the death of her menfolk Naomi returned to Bethlehem: 'and the women said, "Can this be Naomi?" But she said to them, "Do not call me Naomi, call me Mara"' (Ruth 1: 19-20).
35. Giacomo, Count Leopardi (1798-1837), Italian poet and philosopher.
36. John Keats, 'for many a time | I have been half in love with easeful Death', 'Ode to a Nightingale' (1819).
37. In Islam, the angel of death, from which Mangan's poem 'The Angel of Death' takes its title.
38. Dante, *Inferno*, v.
39. 'Vision or Imagination is a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really & Unchangeably. Fable or Allegory is Form'd by the daughters of Memory' (William Blake, *A Vision of the Last Judgment* (1810), plate 68).
40. 'Every time less than a pulsation of the artery | Is equal in its period & value to six thousand years; | For in this period the poet's work is done' (William Blake, *Milton* (1809), plate 28, lines 62-4; U 9. 86-8).
41. 'his history and fate were indeed a type and shadow of the land he loved so well' (Mitchel (1859), 15).
42. See the description of Davin (*Portrait 152*), whom the students thought of 'as a young fenian. His nurse had taught him Irish and shaped his rude imagination by the broken lights of Irish myth. He stood towards this myth upon which no individual mind had ever drawn out a line of beauty and to its unwieldy tales that divided themselves as they moved down the cycles in the same attitude as towards the Roman catholic religion, the attitude of a dull witted loyal serf. Whatsoever of thought or feeling came to him from England or by way of English culture his mind stood armed against ...' Compare Mitchel (1859): 'throughout his whole literary life of twenty years he [Mangan] never deigned to attorn to English criticism, never published a line in any English periodical, or through any English bookseller.'

43. See 'An Irish Poet' p.62.
 44. Novalis, *Fragmente*, Fortsetzung, p.452.
 45. Compare Mitchel on Mangan as the epitome of the Irish 'national

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character': 'More than in any other mood of song he seemed to revel in the expression of passionate sorrow'; 'This character of extravagant but impotent passion greatly prevails throughout the Irish ballads at all times, expressing not only that misery produced by ages of torture and humiliation, but the excessively impressible temperament of the Gael, ever ready to sink into blackest despondency and blind rage, or to rise into rapturous triumph' (Mitchel (1859), 20, 22-3). See also Guiney: 'It may be unjust to lend him the epitaph of defeat, for he never strove at all' (Guiney, 5).

46. See SH 85.

47. 'This beautiful, marvellous life of earth, this inscrutable life of earth' (Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, Act III).

48. See SH 85 and Portrait 174, where the definition (a translation of the Latin phrase *splendor veri*) is attributed to Plato, as it is by Flaubert in a letter to Mile Leroyer de Chantepie, 18 March 1857.

49. Joyce is in this paragraph translating from the final speech of the father in Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer*. See also 'Death is the highest form of life. Ba!' (U 15. 2099).

50. Joyce is citing a concept borrowed by Yeats from the *anima mundi* of the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More (1614-87), and from the Theosophists.

51. 'Thus the spirit of man makes a continual affirmation' (SH 85). 'Bloom dissented tacitly from Stephen's views on the eternal affirmation of man in literature' (U 17. 29-30).

AN IRISH POET

Daily Express (Dublin, 11 Dec. 1902). Written 4 December 1902. The editor of the Dublin Daily Express, E. V. Longworth, had agreed (on Lady Gregory's recommendation) to send books for review to Joyce in Paris. The Daily Express claimed to seek to reconcile 'the rights and impulses of Irish nationality with the demands and obligations of imperial dominions'. See Gabriel's exchange with Miss Ivors about his reviewing for the Daily Express in 'The Dead', D 187-8.

Joyce is here reviewing *Poems and Ballads* (n.d. [1902]) by William Rooney (1873-1901), with an introduction by Arthur Griffith (1871-1922) and a biographical sketch by Patrick Bradley. Rooney had been a journalist and Irish language teacher. He had worked with Arthur Griffith in the founding of the *United Irishman*. That newspaper ('headquarters' in Joyce's phrase) had published this posthumous collection of Rooney's verse and, on 20 December 1902, responded to Joyce by quoting his unsympathetic review as part of an advertisement for the book and inserting one word in order to make explicit an alternative value: 'And yet he might have written well if he had not suffered from one of those big words [Patriotism] which make us so unhappy.' See U 2.264: 'I fear those big words, Stephen said, which make us so unhappy.'

1. Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-45), poet, Young Irelander, journalist, and co-founder of *The Nation*.

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2. Thomas D'Arcy MacGee (1825-68), poet, Young Irelander, journalist, and contributor to *The Nation*, who entered Canadian politics in 1857, became a minister in the government of the federal union in 1867 when Canada acquired Dominion Home Rule status, denounced raids on Canada by the Fenians and was assassinated by them in Ottawa on 7 April 1868.

3. Denis Florence McCarthy (1817-82), poet and scholar, contributor to *The Nation* and to the *Dublin University Magazine*; Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810-86), poet and scholar, contributor to the *Dublin University Magazine* and, on one occasion, to *The Nation*; Timothy Daniel Sullivan (1827- 1914), poet, Young Irelander, contributor to, and editor of, *The Nation*, one of the first Irish Members of Parliament to repudiate Parnell, leader of the 'Bantry gang' (see p.346, n. 3), author of the ballad 'God Save Ireland'; Thomas Rolleston (1857-1920), scholar, poet, and leader-writer on the *Dublin Daily Express*.

4. 'Roilig na Riogh' is by Rooney and can be found in Poems and Ballads, 16; 'The Dead at Clonmaenose' is by Rolleston and can be found in his Sea Spray: Verses and Translations (1909), 47.
5. For Stanislaus's commentary on this apparent confusion see My Brother's Keeper, 203-4.
6. 'Aquinas says: ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur, integritas, consonantia, claritas. I translate it so: Three things are needed for beauty, wholeness, harmony and radiance' (Portrait 178; SH 101).
7. Douglas Hyde (1860-1949), scholar and politician, founder-president of the Gaelic League (1893-1915). His works include Love Songs of Connacht (1894).

GEORGE MEREDITH

Daily Express (Dublin, 11 Dec. 1902). Written 4 December 1902. Joyce is here reviewing George Meredith: An Essay towards Appreciation (1902) by Walter Jerrold (1865-1929). This is one of the series English Writers of Today and not, as Joyce states below, 'the English men of letters series'. For Joyce's attitudes to Meredith see My Brother's Keeper, 95, 204-5.

1. Arthur Wing Pinero (1855-1934), British playwright.
2. 'There was a spice of malice in the phrase,' according to Stanislaus. 'It was exactly what my brother was striving heroically not to be' (My Brother's Keeper, 204-5). Also W. B. Yeats recalled Joyce's accusation at their first meeting: 'You do not talk like a poet, you talk like a man of letters. . JJ 101 n.).
3. Meredith, Modern Love, and Poems of the English Roadside, with Poems and Ballads (1862); Dante Alighieri, Vita Nuova (c.1295). Joyce satirizes this levelling in 'Catilina'. 'For every true-born mysticist | A Dante is, unprejudiced' ('The Holy Office' (1904) lines 15-16).
4. George Meredith, 'The Appeasement of Demeter'.
5. King Lear, 1. ii.

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TODAY AND TOMORROW IN IRELAND

Daily Express (Dublin, 29 Jan. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing Today and Tomorrow in Ireland: Essays on Irish Subjects (1903) by Stephen Gwynn (1864- 1950), scholar, poet, and a Nationalist MP from 1906 to 1918.

1. See SH 66, where it is stated that Arthur Griffith, who is 'the editor of the weekly journal of the irreconcilable party [Sinn Fein] reported any signs of Philocelticism which he had observed in the Paris newspapers.' Canada had expressed its imperial preference in its support for Britain during the Boer War (1899-1902), a war which turned much moderate Irish opinion towards anti-imperialism. The issue of the Boer War recurs: 'Colonial Verses', p.70, and 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages', p.117.
2. 'By the way I wrote nothing in my review ... about the printing and the binding. My little editor must have added that' (Letters, ii. 27, to Stanislaus, 8 Feb. 1903). The 'Dublin firm' was Hodges, Figgis & Company.

A SUAVE PHILOSOPHY

Daily Express (Dublin, 6 Feb. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing The Soul of a People (1898, 4th edn. 1902) by Harold Fielding-Hall (1859-1917).

1. Joyce substitutes 'flower' twice for 'blossom' and 'has' for 'hath'.

AN EFFORT AT PRECISION IN THINKING

Daily Express (Dublin, 6 Feb. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing Colloquies of Common People (1902) by James Anstie.

COLONIAL VERSES

Daily Express (Dublin, 6 Feb. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Songs of an English Esau* (1902) by Sir Clive Phillipps Wolley (1854-1918).

1. Phillipps Wolley has altered the biblical story (Genesis 25: 23-34). Esau is the son of Isaac and Rebecca and elder twin brother of Jacob. Yahweh had spoken to the pregnant Rebecca: 'There are two nations in your womb, your issue will be two rival peoples. One nation shall have the mastery of the other, and the elder shall serve the younger.' Jacob is the quiet one, Esau the hunter. When Esau returns exhausted and hungry Jacob secures his elder brother's birthright in exchange for pottage, that is for a bowl of soup. Esau and Jacob continue their conflict in FW.

CATILINA

The Speaker (London: ns, 7, 21 Mar. 1903), 615. W. B. Yeats had approached the editor of The Speaker on Joyce's behalf (Letters, ii. 19). See also Joyce's letter to Stanislaus, 8 February 1903: 'I am feeling very intellectual these times and up to my eyes in Aristotle's psychology [that is DeAnima]. If the editor of

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the "Speaker" puts in my review of "Catilina" you will see some of the fruits thereof' (Letters, ii. 28).

Joyce is here reviewing *Catilina: drame en 3 actes et en vers* by Henrik Ibsen, translated into French by de Coleville and de Zepelin (Paris: [1903]). Ibsen's *Catilina* first appeared in 1850.

1. Lucius Sergius Catilina (c.108-62 bc), son of an impoverished patrician family of Rome. His conspiracy against the city is condemned in speeches by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC) and in the history by Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86-34 bc).

2. See 'Ibsen's New Drama', p.30.

3. This quotation remains untraced.

4. A slip for Furia in Ibsen's play.

5. 'CURIUS. Did you love them both at once? I do not understand it at all. CATILINA. Indeed it is strange and I do not understand it myself.'

6. Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), French novelist.

7. Bootes is a constellation of the northern hemisphere. The quotation is from Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* (1836), Book 1, chap. 3.

THE SOUL OF IRELAND

Daily Express (Dublin, 26 Mar. 1903). This review alone appears over Joyce's initials: Longworth 'the editor wishing by this signature to disclaim any personal responsibility for the article' (My Brother's Keeper, 218). Longworth delayed printing the review and urged Joyce in future to write more favourably. In 'The Dead' it is Gabriel Conroy's initials which betray to Miss Ivors that he is a reviewer with the Daily Express (D 147).

Joyce is here reviewing *Poets and Dreamers: Studies and Translations from the Irish* (1903) by Lady Gregory. Longworth may have sent this book to Joyce because it was Lady Gregory who had recommended him. Joyce wrote to his mother on 20 March 1903: 'I sent in my review of Lady Gregory's book a week ago. I do not know if Longworth put it in as I sent it: the review was very severe. I shall write to I[^]dy Gregory one of these days' (Letters, ii. 37-8). See also Mulligan's exclamations to Stephen: 'Longworth is awfully sick ... after what you wrote about that old hake Gregory. O you inquisitional drunken jew jesuit! She gets you a job on the paper and then you go and slate her drivell to Jaysus. Couldn't you do the Yeats touch?' (U 9. 1158-60).

1. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1. ii. 9.

2. Contrast Joyce's later estimate of peasant intelligence and dignity in 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran', p.204.

3. Ben Jonson (1572-1637), *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman* (1609), II. ii.

4. W. B. Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight* (1893).

5. Antoine O Reachtabhra, or Raftery (c.1784-1835), Irish poet and musician. In the same year as this article Douglas Hyde edited Raftery's verse, *Abhrain atd Leagtha ar an Reachtuire* (1903).

6. James Abbott Meneill Whistler (1834-1903), American painter whose *Nocturnes* (1877) derive their title from a term in music ('night piece');

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Stephane Mallarme (1842-98), French poet; 'Recapitulation' is in Catulle Mendes (1841-1909), French poet. The link between these in Joyce's mind appears to be an assumption that the art of each aspect is to the condition of music.

7. See notes to 'The Day of the Rabblement', pp.295-7.

8. Joyce is contrasting different attitudes (both dramatized in 'The Dead') of two pieces from Walt Whitman, the first chosen as an epigraph by Lady Gregory, the second suggested by Joyce himself. Both pieces are from *Leaves of Grass* (1855). The first is from 'A Song for Occupations', 6:

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

and the second is from 'Song of Myself', 18:

With music strong I come, with my cornets and my 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!

THE MOTOR DERBY

Irish Times (Dublin, 7 Apr. 1903). Joyce had hoped to become the French correspondent of this newspaper, but without success. He sent two pieces from Paris to the *Irish Times*, but the second piece, about a Paris carnival, was not accepted.

The motor derby, the Gordon Bennett race, took its name from James Gordon Bennett, US newspaper proprietor, who gave the trophy that bore his name for a series of international motor races. The fourth race in the series would take place in Ireland on 2 July 1903. It forms the basis of the story 'After the Race', in *Dubliners*.

1. A rule of the Gordon Bennett race was that a country might enter a team of three cars every part of which had to be made in that country.

2. The Paris-Madrid race which, after many fatalities, was stopped at Bordeaux.

3. The 370 mile Irish course was completed in 6 hours, 36 minutes, 9 seconds. The winner, Camille Jenatzy, a Belgian, drove a Mercedes. The French came second and third.

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ARISTOTLE ON EDUCATION

Daily Express (Dublin, 3 Sept. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing Aristotle on Education, being Extracts from the *Ethics and Politics* (1903), trans. and ed. John Burnet (1863-1928), Scottish classical scholar.

1. Burnet twice refers to Aristotle as 'first and foremost a biologist' (*Aristotle on Education*, 2, 129).

2. A reference to Emile Combes (1835-1921), French politician who initiated a definite separation of church and state. See Aristotle on Education, 106: 'The sort of question that Aristotle raises here is really the same as that which divides France at the present moment. The objection of the French government to the teaching of the religious orders is just that it does not produce a "Republican spirit" in the pupils, that it is not, in Aristotle's phrase, an education in conformity with the constitution.'

3. 'Maestro di color che sanno' translates as 'master of those who know' (Dante, *Inferno*, iv. 131). See also U 3. 6-7.

[A NE'ER DO WEEL]

Daily Express (Dublin, 3 Sept. 1903). The review has no title; it appears as A Ne'er Do Well in CW hi. Joyce is here reviewing A Ne'er Do Weel (Pseudonym Library, 1903) by Valentine Caryl, pseudonym for Valentina Hawtrey.

1. 'In dismissing this novel cursorily, my brother condemns pseudonyms; however, when a year later his own first stories were published [in the *Irish Homestead*], he yielded to the suggestion (not mine) and used a pseudonym, "Stephen Daedalus", but then bitterly regretted the self-concealment' (Stanislaus Joyce in *The Early Joyce: The Book Reviews, 1902-1903*, ed. Stanislaus Joyce and Ellsworth Mason, Colorado Springs (1955), 25).

NEW FICTION

Daily Express (Dublin, 17 Sept. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *The Adventures of Prince Aga Mirza* (1903) by James Aquila Kempster and *The Mettle of the Pasture* (1903) by James Lane Allen (1849-1925), American novelist and essayist.

1. 'sir John Mandeville', supposed author of the *Travels* (English version c.1375), a fantastic guide for pilgrims to the Holy Land.

2. James Lane Allen, *The Increasing Purpose* (1900).

3. Henry V, ill. i.

4. *longo intervallo*: 'at a great distance'.

5. A character in *The Mettle of the Pasture*.

6. Joyce is remembering *The Mettle of the Pasture*, 125.

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A PEEP INTO HISTORY

Daily Express (Dublin, 17 Sept. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *The Popish Plot: A Study in the Reign of Charles II* (1903) by John Pollock.

1. A supposed plot to murder Charles II of England and to re-establish Catholicism. The evidence of Titus Oates (1649-1705) secured the execution of many innocent Roman Catholics during 1678-1680.

2. Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (1621-78), English magistrate and politician, before whom, in September 1678, Titus Oates and others had sworn the truth of their information and whose murder the following October appeared to confirm the evidence of a 'plot'.

3. Joyce is paraphrasing *The Popish Plot*, pp.vii, 3, 83. One of Thomas De Quincey's (1785-1859) most famous essays is titled 'On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts'; Lord Acton (1834-1902) discussed the murder in 'The Rise of the Whigs' in *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1930), 213-14.

4. Robert Green, Henry Berry, and Laurence Hill were hanged for the murder in 1679 on the evidence both of Miles Prance, who subsequently pleaded guilty to perjury, and of William Bedloe.

5. Bedloe was merely following Oates's footsteps.

6. A misquotation from *The Popish Plot*, 80.

7. John Mabillon (1632-1707), French Benedictine monk and palaeographer: 1 *Donner pour certain ce qui est certain, pour faux ce qui est faux, pour douteux ce qui est douteux*: 'To claim as certain that which is certain, as false that which is false, as doubtful that which is doubtful.'

8. Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), Royalist pamphleteer attacked the Whigs and Titus Oates in his periodical *The Observer* (1681-7).

A FRENCH RELIGIOUS NOVEL

Daily Express (Dublin, 1 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *The House of Sin* (1903), a translation by A. Smyth of *La Maison du péché* (1899) by Marcelle Tinayre (1872-1948), French woman of letters. The novel had been serialized in *La Revue de Paris* from May to August 1902.

1. Blaise Pascal (1623-62), French philosopher, mathematician, and defender of Jansenism.
2. *King Lear*, 1. ii.
3. Joyce abbreviates a passage in *The House of Sin*, 163.
4. Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907), French novelist, whose quintet of 'politico-religious' novels *A Rebours* (1884), *Le bas* (1891), *En Route* (1895), *La Cathédrale* (1898), and *L'Oblat* (1903) were highly influential.
5. Joseph Bourget (1852-1935), *Mensonges* (1887).
6. Jansenism, founded by Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), opponent of scholastic philosophy, emphasized predestination and 'conversion' at God's pleasure, and discovered in Pascal a defender against the Jesuits.

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UNEQUAL VERSE

Daily Express (Dublin, 1 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Ballads and Legends* (1903), by Frederick Langbridge (1849-1922).

1. *Ballads and Legends*, 3.
2. That is, maudlin drama.

MR ARNOLD GRAVES'S NEW WORK

Daily Express (Dublin, 1 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Clytæmnestra: A Tragedy* (1903) by Arnold F. Graves (1844-1914), Irish playwright.

1. Robert Yelverton Tyrrell (1844-1914), Irish classical scholar at Trinity College, Dublin.
2. *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865) by Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909), English poet and playwright.
3. That is, Egisthus.

A NEGLECTED POET

Daily Express (Dublin, 15 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *George Crabbe* (1903) by Alfred Ainger (1837-1904), chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria and man of letters.

1. See *George Crabbe*, 118.
2. Edmund Burke (1729-97), Irish politician and political philosopher; Charles James Fox (1749-1806), English Whig politician; Walter Scott (1771-1832), Scottish novelist; Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), English poet; William Lisle Bowles (1762-1850), English poet; Edward Fitzgerald (1809-83), English poet and translator, editor of a selection of Crabbe's verse.
3. The Kailyard school of Scottish writing was one of parochial sentimentality. Among its main exponents was J. M. Barrie (1860-1937), author of *A Window in Thrums* (1889) and *Peter Pan* (1904); see 'Programme Notes for the English Players', p.209.

4. Auburn is the name of *The Deserted Village* (1770) by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74), Irish author; *The Village* (1783), *The Borough* (1810), and *The Parish Register* (1807) are by Crabbe.
5. Dutch landscape painters from Adriaen van Ostade (1610-84) to Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709).

MR MASON'S NOVELS

Daily Express (Dublin, 15 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing three novels, *The Courtship of Morrice Buckler* (1896), *The Philanderers* (1897), *Miranda of the Balcony* (1899), by Alfred Edward Woodley Mason (1865-1948).

1. 'You may readily deceive yourself by selecting such faces as bear a resemblance to your own, since it would often seem that such similarities please

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us; and if you were ugly you would not select beautiful faces, but would be creating ugly faces' (Leonardo da Vinci, *Notebooks*, ed. Edward McCurdy, 1938).

2. The Elzevir family of printers, at Leyden in the seventeenth century, produced books of unsurpassed beauty, perhaps about 1,600 in all, including a series of Latin authors such as Horace.

3. Belgravia is a wealthy London suburb; George Bernard Shaw, *The Philanderer* (1893), a play on Ibsenism and the 'new woman'; the battle of Sedgemoor took place in 1685.

THE BRUNO PHILOSOPHY

Daily Express (Dublin, 30 Oct. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Giordano Bruno* (1903) by J. Lewis MacIntyre.

1. I. Frith, *Life of Giordano Bruno* (1887).
2. 'Ghezzi ... said Bruno was a terrible heretic. I said he was terribly burned' (Portrait 210).
3. The Campo dei Fiori is in Rome.
4. Giordano Bruno, *Ars Memoriae* and *De compendiosa architectura et complemento artis Lullii*, from his earlier, Paris period, along with *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, appear to be the works to which Joyce refers. These can only be 'middle-aged' in the sense of 'medieval' as opposed to 'modern'. Raymond Lully (c.1235-1315), Catalan author and mystic.
5. Francis Bacon (1561-1626), English statesman and philosopher; Rene Descartes (1596-1650), French philosopher. For this comparative estimate of Bruno see *Giordano Bruno*, 324.
6. That is, one half of the opposition between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* : 'nature naturing' or in process, and 'nature natured' or as it is.
7. The Scholastics are the professors of the theological and philosophical system of Christian Europe in the medieval period. The 'formidable names' in this context are the terms 'matter and form'.
8. Benedict Spinoza (1632-77), Dutch pantheist philosopher. Joyce is paraphrasing *Giordano Bruno*, 338.
9. Heraclitus (c.544-483 bc), Greek philosopher.
10. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), *The Friend* (1818), Essay xiii, explicitly derives this argument from Heraclitus and from *Giordano Bruno*.
11. That is, fundamental matter.
12. That is, the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and of his successors.
13. This remark is found in *Giordano Bruno*, 110.
14. Miguel de Molinos (1640-97) and St John of the Cross (1542-91), Spanish mystics.
15. Ibn Roshd (1126-98), known as Averröes, philosopher of Cordova, Spain; John Scotus Erigena (c.815-77), Irish philosopher.

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HUMANISM

Daily Express (Dublin, 12 Nov. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Philosophical Essays* (1903) by Ferdinand Canning Scott Schiller (1864-1937).

1. The philosophy founded by Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914) and developed by William James (1842-1910), of whom Schiller remains the leading European disciple.
2. That is, philosophies which argue 'from what comes before', or from given causes to supposed effects.
3. These quotations are from the preface to Schiller's *Philosophical Essays*.
4. '*der Geist der stets verneint*': 'the Spirit always says no' (Goethe, *Faust*, 1808, 1. i). See Joyce's explanation of Molly Bloom, '*Ich bin der [sic] Fleisch der stets bejaht*': 'I am the Flesh that always says yes' (Letters i. 170).
5. *Philosophical Essays*, 168.
6. Francis Herbert Bradley (1846-1924), English Hegelian philosopher, uses this phrase to dismiss the concept of the ultimate in Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), English Darwinian philosopher, and the remark is quoted from *Philosophical Essays*, 191.

SHAKESPEARE EXPLAINED

Daily Express (Dublin, 12 Nov. 1903). Joyce is here reviewing *Shakespeare Studied in Eight Plays* (1903) by Albert Stratford Canning (1832-1916).

1. *Shakespeare Studied in Eight Plays*, 6.

[BORLASE AND SON]

Daily Express (Dublin, 19 Nov. 1903). The review has no title. Joyce is here reviewing *Borlase and Son* (1903) by T. Baron Russell.

1. On 26 October, the president of the Armenian Revolutionary Society was assassinated at Peckham Rye; on 3 November, Panama declared its independence from Colombia and a revolution began; on 13 November, the USA recognized Panama's independence. For 'epitasis', or 'that part of a play where the plot thickens', see the epilogue to Act I of Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady* (1632).
2. Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (1883).
3. This comment appears to be a jibe by Joyce at Longworth, the editor of the *Daily Express*; see 'Today and Tomorrow in Ireland', p.66. At any rate this was to be Joyce's last book review and the story goes that Longworth threatened to kick Joyce downstairs if ever he came to the newspaper's offices again.

EMPIRE-BUILDING

MS Cornell, JJA 2.80-3. This fragment, a holograph, survives among manuscripts of which Stanislaus Joyce used the blank versos for his *Dublin Journal*, 'My Crucible'. It has neither title nor date, but on internal evidence can be

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dated to November 1903. It may have been intended by Joyce for publication in a Dublin newspaper. Jacques Lebaudy, an adventurer and self-styled emperor of the Sahara, had seized territory in order to build a colony in North Africa. Five sailors were captured by the native population and the French government sent a ship to secure their release. The sailors sued for compensation and the episode was widely reported in the French newspapers from August 1903 to January 1904.

1. Paul and Pierre Lebaudy were experimental fliers. The Palais is an abbreviated reference to the Palais de Justice.

2. The summons was reported issued on 6 November. Jacques Lebaudy's yacht was, in fact, the *Frasquita*.

3. In 1895, British Bechuanaland (properly Botswana) was annexed to the Cape Colony to become part of the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa.

4. Gabrielle Réjane, pseudonym of Gabrielle Réju (1857-1920), a French actress whose divorce had been announced in October 1903; *Les petits oiseaux*, 'the little birds': Jacques Aubert cites a paragraph in *Le Figaro* (i Oct. 1903) which describes how a number of aviaries containing brightly feathered birds were delivered to the Savoy Hotel, London, where Lebaudy had installed himself. The phrase has, perhaps, an ironic edge herefrom its proverbial use which derives from Racine, *Athalie*, 11. vii; 4 *Aux petits des oiseaux il [Dieu] donne leur pâture* 'God feeds the little birds'.

[AESTHETICS]

1. The first two items below survive on a single sheet in Joyce's hand; MS Yale, JJA 7.106-7. The subsequent items from the Paris Notebook are transcripts by Herbert Gorman, James Joyce (1940), 98-9. See also Joyce's letter from Paris to his mother, 20 March 1903: 'My book of songs will be published in the spring of 1907. My first comedy about five years later. My "Esthetic" about five years later again. (This *must* interest you!)' (Letters ii. 38).

2. See Portrait 172-4, where also Stephen identifies 'improper' arts as the pornographic and didactic. Joyce is adapting a Thomist definition of beauty: '*Ad rationem pulchri pertinet quod in ejus aspectu seu cognitione quietetur appetitus*' 'It appertains to the nature of beauty that, when it is seen or known, desire ceases' (*Summa Theologica*, 1 2ae, 1).

3. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449^b.

4. See Portrait 171-2. Joyce, in order to coincide with a quasi-Thomist aesthetic of stasis, revises Aristotle both in defining catharsis as arresting, that is bringing to a condition of stasis, the spectator. Stephen claims that 'Aristotle has not defined pity and terror. I have' (Portrait 171). However, Aristotle describes pity and terror as follows: 'terror is a sorrow or a trouble produced by the imagining of an evil, that could arrive, bringing pain and destruction' (*Rhetoric*, 1382^a); 'pity is a sorrow caused by a destructive and painful evil happening to an unmeriting person and that

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ourselves or somebody linked to us could expect to suffer' (*Rhetoric*, 1385^b). Joyce's own definitions derive more appropriately from the implications of Aristotle's insistence that 'since the pleasure the poet is to provide is that which comes from pity and fear through an imitation, clearly the effect must be embodied in the events of the plot' (*Poetics*, i 453 b)

5. This diverges entirely from Aristotle's brief definition of comedy as 'an imitation of persons worse than the average' (*Poetics*, 144^a).

Later, in 1906, Victor Hugo, in the preface to his drama *Cromwell* (1827), had enunciated the progress of poetry from the primitive to the modern as lyrical, epic, and dramatic. See also the adaptation of this historical model to Irish literature in an anonymous article, 'Recent English Poets, No. 1: Alfred Tennyson and E. B. Browning', *The Nation* (15 Feb. 1845), 314: the author, lamenting that 'the healthy growth of an Irish literature' has been 'thwarted and impeded' by English domination, asserts that 'The different stages of social development have their distinct characters written in the development of mind. First there is the ballad, simple, direct, and unadorned; then lyric poetry, the epic, the drama, history, philosophy, each growing naturally out of the other. So are all great national literatures built; ... so must it be here, if we are ever to have a literature of our own.'

7. Portrait 173.

8. Aristotle, *Physics*, 194^a 21-2.

9. Portrait 174. This statement condenses chapter 3, 'The Conception of Artistic Beauty', in *Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art*, trans. Bernard Bosanquet, 43-106.

10. On this method of argument see Portrait 180: 'That's a lovely one, said Lynch, laughing again. That has the true scholastic stink.'

11. The first item below' survives as a note in Joyce's hand: MS Yale, JJA 7.108. The subsequent items are transcripts by Herbert Gorman, James Joyce (1940), 133-5. The manuscript available to Gorman has been lost. See Joyce's letter from Pola, Austria, to Stanislaus, 19 November 1904: 'I have not written much of the novel - only the end of the 1 ith [Str] chapter in Zurich. I have written about half of "Xmas Eve" and about five long pages of "Esthetic Philosophy" ' (Letters, ii. 71).

12. 'Bonum est in quod tendit appetitus': 'The good is that towards which desire moves' (Summa Theologica, 1a 5, 4). Joyce, here and in the subsequent paragraphs, is commenting on the following section in Aquinas: 'Beauty and goodness in a thing are identical fundamentally; for they are based upon the same thing, namely the form; and consequently goodness is praised as beauty. But they differ logically, for goodness properly relates to the appetite (goodness being what all things desire); and therefore it has the aspect of an end (the appetite being a kind of movement towards a

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thing). On the other hand, beauty relates to the cognitive faculty; for beautiful things are those which please when seen. Hence beauty consists in due proportion; for the senses delight in things duly proportioned, as in what is after their own kind - because every sense is a sort of reason, just as is every cognitive faculty' (Summa Theologica, 1a 5, 4). See Portrait 156, 174-5; SH 100.

13. Portrait 211.

14. 'such things are beautiful as, when seen, give pleasure'; 'Pulcra sunt quae visa placent' (Portrait 156, 174; SH 100).

15. 'pulchra enim dicuntur ea quae visa placent': beautiful things are those which please when seen (Summa Theologica, 1a 5, 4). The threefold act of apprehension outlined here derives from the three requirements for beauty defined by Aquinas: integritas, consonantia, claritas (Summa Theologica, 1a 39, 8).

16. 'consequent satisfaction', crossed out.

17. 'beautiful', crossed out.

18. 'there is nothing which does not partake in the beautiful and the good' (Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, The Divine Names, 704b).

19. Portrait 176.

20. Portrait 178-81.

IRELAND. ISLAND OF SAINTS AND SAGES

MS Yale. Translated from the Italian, 'L'Irlanda: Isola dei Santi e dei Savi', a holograph of forty-six pages, numbered from 1 to 44 with successive insertions of pages 15a and 27a, heavily corrected by Joyce, in the Slocum Collection at Yale University, fJA 2. 85-130. There are also corrections in another hand, perhaps by Joyce's friend Alessandro Francini Bruni. Another friend, Attilio Tamaro, invited Joyce to deliver three lectures at the Università Popolare, Trieste, in April and May 1907. This, the first, is in two sections and was given on 27 April. The second and third lectures were 'Giacomo Clarenzio Mangan' and 'The Irish Literary Renaissance'.

Joyce's title derives from the Latin tag. *Insula sanctorum et doctorum*, which is usually translated as 'Island of Saints and Scholars'.

1. 'Patriotism is nationally that which egoism is individually' (Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, London (1888); Michigan (1961), 186-7).

2. A popular survey of this early Christian period, from which much of Joyce's material may derive, is p.W. Joyce, *A Short History of Gaelic Ireland* (1893). Almost all the saints and scholars mentioned below by Joyce are described in the *Short History*, 162-89. Such retrievals of Ireland's medieval 'golden age' are commonplace in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Many of these saints, scholars and heroes reappear in the mock invocations of U 12. 173-99 and 12. 1676-1739.

3. 'That other there, who looks so lean and small | In the flanks was Michael Scott, who verily | Knew every trick of the art magical' (*Inferno*, xx. 115- 17 (trans. Dorothy Sayers).

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4. The Bollandists - Belgian Jesuits - performed from the seventeenth century the huge task of compiling and editing the *Acta Sanctorum* which, with the *Analecta Bollandiana*, instituted historiographical standards for the study of hagiography.

5. John Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308), philosopher and theologian, nicknamed Doctor Subtilis, was not Irish. Joyce confuses John Scotus Erigena (fl. 850), Irish philosopher at the court of Charles the Bald, celebrated commentator on the writings of Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, with this John Duns Scotus, who was 'regent' of Paris University.

6. Guglielmo Ferrero, *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma* (1902-7).

7. Joyce has in mind such scholars as Johann K. Zeuss (1806-56), who in his *Grammatica Celtica* (1853), according to p.W. Joyce, provides 'a complete grammar of the four ancient Celtic dialects ... In this work he proves that the Celtic people of the British Islands are the same with the *Celtae* of the Continent' (*Short History*, 3).

8. The Gaelic League, dedicated to the de-anglicization of Ireland through the revival and preservation of the Irish language, was founded in 1893.

9. *Bearla*, the Irish word for English.

10. Charles Vallancey (1721-1812), *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language. Being a collation of the Irish with the Punic Language* (1772), 29ff.

11. Rufus Festus Avienus (fl. 366), Roman poet whose *Descriptio Orbis Terrarum* paraphrases the *Flcpijfyrian*; of Dionysius.

12. Joyce's Italian is so bad here that, perhaps by omitting a single accent, he has succeeded in making his sentence completely ambiguous. If we read 'Ne' with an accent, it means 'Neither' and has a negative force on the following 'bisogna tener poco conto di tali fatti', and I have chosen this as being the most likely interpretation. On the other hand, it may be the particle 'Ne' used pleonastically with 'di tali fatti, in which case the sentence should mean: 'such facts should not be considered ...'. 'Triviale' does not, of course, mean 'trivial', but 'vulgar'. I have translated it as 'trivial', ignoring what I take to be a very basic error. (Translator's note.)

13. St Mansuetus (fl. 350), first bishop of Toul in Lorraine; legend also identifies him as a disciple of St Peter and the earliest Irish saint.

14. St Cataldus (fl. 650), bishop of Tarentum.

15. Pelagius (fl. 400) is described also by p.W. Joyce as 'the great heresiarch' (*Short History*, 11).

16. There is no evidence that the early Christian poet Sedulius was Irish, but he is perhaps confused with Sedulius Scotus of Liege (fl. 850).

17. St Fridolin the Traveller (fl. 510), patron of Glarus in Switzerland, is credited with founding a double monastery on the island of Seckingen in the Rhine.

18. St Columbanus (c.543-615), after a life of controversies about the date of the celebration of Easter in the Celtic and Roman churches, about monastic discipline, and about the morality of bishops and kings in Merovingian Gaul, founded the monastery of Bobbio, which became his resting place. 'You were going to do wonders, what? Missionary to

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Europe after fiery Columbanus. Fiacre and Scotus on their creepy- stools ...' (£/ 3. 192-3).

19. St Frigidianus, or Frediano, was made bishop of Lucca c.560. He is often identified in Irish hagiography (and in 'The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran', p.203) with St Finnian of Moville, who studied on Aran under St Enda.

20. St Gall (ft. 600), hermit of Lake Constance, patron of the monastery later built in his name.

21. St Gozbert, abbot of the monastery of St Gall from 816 to 837.

22. St Finian of Clonard (ft. 525), whom legend describes as the 'tutor of the saints of Ireland'.

23. St Fiacre (ft. 630), patron saint of the French province of Brie and of French cab drivers either because the Hotel de St Fiacre in Paris, in 1650, was the first to let coaches on hire or because, as p.W. Joyce claims, he gave his 'name to a kind of vehicle called in French a fiacre, from the custom, in after ages, of using it in pilgrimages to his tomb' (*Short History*, 188).

24. St Fursa, or Furseay (ft. 640), a member of the Irish colony at Peronne and author of a celebrated Vision, recalled below, p.203.

25. St Argobast (ft. 670), bishop of Strasbourg.
26. St Disibod (ft. 660), an anchorite who, according to tradition, settled at Mount Disibod or Dysenberg.
27. St Rumold, or Rombaut (ft. 750), apostle of Malines (Mechlin), Belgium.
28. St Albinus (ft. 780), whom, according to p.W. Joyce, Charlemagne placed 'at the head of two great seminaries' (Short History, 188).
29. St Kilian (ft. 675), bishop of Wurzburg, who was killed at the instigation of Geilana, Duke Gosbert's wife, whom he had urged the duke to dismiss.
30. 'Citeriore' meaning 'hither' denotes the side nearest the speaker and is, like much of Joyce's phrasing, more Latin than Italian. (Translator's note.)
31. 'After the arrival of the Danes the national character seems to have deteriorated. Chiefs and people, forced continually to fight and kill for their very existence, came to love war for its own sake - to regard it as the chief business of life. Much of the native gentleness and of the respect for peaceful avocations disappeared; and as the people retaliated cruelty for cruelty on their savage invaders, they learned at last to be cruel and relentless to each other. They lost in a great measure the old veneration for schools and monasteries' (Short History, 193). In *Finnegans Wake* Joyce emphasizes the Scandinavian origins of his hero Earwicker.
32. St Virgilius (ft. 750), geometer, bishop of Salzburg. Joyce writes 're francese', 'the king of France', but Virgilius had been patronized by Pippin, the king of the Franks (an error made also by p.W. Joyce, Short History, 187).
33. Macarius (ft. 800) taught the doctrine of monopsychism, that each person's mind is only a part of a single universal mind. Joyce's allusion is to *Averroes et l'averroisme* (1852) by Ernest Renan (1823-92).
34. Joyce again confuses John Scotus Erigena (ft. 850), Irish philosopher and

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commentator on the writings of Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, with John Duns Scotus, 'regent' of Paris University. Joyce also repeats here a common confusion of Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite with St Denis, the patron saint of France.

35. Pico della Mirandola (1463-94), neo-platonist philosopher of the Italian Renaissance.
36. Where the prophet Ezra ate flowers and experienced visions (2 Esdras 9: 26).
37. John Holywood, or Halifax, in Latin Johannes de Sacro Bosco (ft. 1230), mathematician and astronomer.
38. Peter Hibernicus (ft. 1224), Professor of Law at the University of Naples.
39. MS reads *fecero causa* and Joyce may have intended the idiomatic expression 'far causa commune'. (Translator's note.)
40. Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763-98); Robert Emmet (1778-1803); Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-98); James Napper Tandy (1740-1803); Thomas Davis (1814-45); John Mitchel (1815-75); Isaac Butt (1813-79); Joseph Biggar (1828-90); Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91). Parnell's family tree is given in Richard Barry O'Brien, *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891* (1898, 3rd edn., 2 volumes, 1899), i. 31. Contrast D. p.Moran's attack on the anglicization of Irish culture by Molynx, Swift ('who had not a drop of Irish blood in his veins') and Grattan: 'No one wants to fall out with [Thomas] Davis's comprehensive idea of the Irish people as a composite race drawn from various sources, and professing any creed they like, nor would an attempt to rake up racial prejudice be tolerated by anyone. We are proud of Grattan, Flood, Tone, Emmett, and all the rest who dreamt and worked for an independent country, even though they had no conception of an Irish nation; but it is necessary that they should be put in their place ... The foundation of Ireland is the Gael ... The '98 and '48 movements, the Fenians and the Parnellite agitation, were Pale [that is, of Dublin and its environs] movements in their essence, even when they were most fiercely rebellious' (*The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, Dublin: James Duffy & Co., n.d. [1905], 34, 36-7).
41. The Norman-Welsh invasion by Richard Strongbow took place in 1168. The Act of Union, 1800, abolished the Irish parliament and allowed for Irish representation in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords at Westminster.

42. Dermot MacMurrough (c.m 0-71), king of Leinster and abductor of the wife of the prince of Breffni. See Mr Deasy's confusion on this matter (U 2. 392-4): 'A faithless wife first brought the strangers to our shore here, McMurrough's wife and her leman, O'Rourke, prince of Breffni'. See also U 5. 1156-8: 'The strangers, says the citizen. Our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them in. The adulteress and her paramour brought the Saxon robbers here.' See p.118, where Joyce correlates the idea of racial purity with that of virginal purity, and rejects both.

43. Henry II (1133-89), king of England.

44. The papal bull *Laudibiliter* (1155) of Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas

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Breakspear) conferred the sovereignty of Ireland on Henry II. See also U 14. 578-91. Three letters and a papal franchise of Pope Alexander III confirmed English sovereignty over Ireland.

45. Joyce could intend either Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769- 1822), Chief Secretary of Ireland, or Charles, first Marquess and second Earl Cornwallis (1738-1805), Viceroy and commander-in-chief in Ireland, who together secured the Act of Union for the Prime Minister, William Pitt (1759-1806). It is something of an anachronism for Joyce to describe the Protestant Irish parliament before 1800 as 'elected by the Irish people'.

46. 'My ancestors ... allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them. Do you fancy I am going to pay in my own life and person debts they made?' (Portrait 170); 'The programme of the patriots filled him with very reasonable doubts; its articles could obtain no intellectual assent from him' (SH 81).

47. Queen Victoria visited Ireland from 4 to 26 April 1900. In spite of Nationalist protests she was given an address of welcome by Dublin Corporation. Parnell, in 1890, had forbidden municipalities from officially receiving royalty, as Joyce recalls, p.195.

48. Dublin Corporation refused the customary address of welcome to King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra during their visit from 21 July to 1 August 1903. The king's advisers had postponed an earlier visit in 1902 for fear of an unfavourable reception. See 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' (D 94 and 101-2).

49. Joseph Patrick Nannetti became Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1906 and is a subject of discussion in Barney Kiernan's public house (U 12. 825- 59).

50. Queen Victoria first visited Ireland in June 1849, nine years after her marriage.

51. Albert (1819-61), the Prince-Consort, was the son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and of Louise, daughter of Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. See U 12. 1390 - 92: 'And as for the Prooshians and the Hanoverians, says Joe, haven't we had enough of those sausage eating bastards on the throne from George the elector down to the German lad and the flatulent old bitch that's dead.'

52. Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), Conservative politician and man of letters, British Prime Minister, 1868, 1874-80, supported Queen Victoria's opposition to Gladstone's Irish policies.

53. Contrary to popular rumour Queen Victoria donated £500 to the charity fund during the famine of 1878-80. The story that she sent £5 towards the relief of the Great Famine of 1848-9 was part of Irish folklore. In the manuscript, the figure 10 in the text is underlined and substituted by a 5, written in the margin by another hand.

54. Sir Frederick Sleight, Lord Roberts (1832-1914), soldier, was not born in Ireland but in Cawnpore, India. He was commander of the English army in Ireland. See U 14. 1331-2: 'darling little Bobsy (called after our famous

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hero of the South African war, lord Bobs of Waterford and Candahar'); see also U 15. 796 and 18. 378. Horatio Herbert, first Earl Kitchener (1850-1916), born in County Kerry, commander-in-chief at the conclusion of the South African war.

55. Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), was born at Dan- gan Castle, Dublin. See also U 12. 1459-60.

56. There is a note in English in the margin by, perhaps, Stanislaus Joyce: 'Explain why the soldiers were English.' The explanation in parentheses is given in Joyce's hand also in the margin. James

Stephens (1824-1901), Fenian, a leader of the 1867 rebellion, founder of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and of the newspaper *The Irish People*.

57. The street in London in which most newspaper offices were situated.

58. Joyce is arguing against the exceptionalism asserted about Ireland by Ernest Renan: 'Ireland in particular (and herein we perhaps have the secret of her irremediable weakness) is the only country in Europe where the native can produce the titles of his descent.' Renan (and to some extent his assumptions are similar to those of Joyce) took the view that a 'noble' nation is a mingling of elements: 'Racial considerations have then been for nothing in the constitution of modern nations ... The truth is that there is no pure race ... The most noble countries, England, France, Italy, are those where blood is most mingled.' See *The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies*[^] trans. William G. Hutchinson (1896), New York and London: Kennikat Press (1970), 5, 72.

59. Contrast D. P. Moran, who urges 'a separation of national personality, the keeping distinct and clear cut as many things as possible that may mark us off' from our neighbours ... We must retrace our steps, and take as much of our inspiration from our own country and its history. We must be original Irish, and not imitation English. Above all, we must relearn our language, and become a bi-lingual people' (*Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 26). Joyce is also rebutting the claims of Oliver St John Gogarty's series of articles under the title 'Ugly England' in *Sinn Fein*, 15 September, 24 November, and 1 December 1906. Gogarty had complained of England's 'venereal excess' and of the 'Jew mastery of England'. Joyce's letters to Stanislaus reject Gogarty's 'stupid drivel' and wish that 'some kind person would publish a book about the venereal condition of the Irish; since they pride themselves so much on their immunity It must be rather worse than England, I think' (*Letters* ii. 164, 170-1, 189-92, 200). See also U 5. 71-2; 12. 1197.

60. Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, 261a, also cited by Yeats, 'The Theatre' (1900) in *Ideas of Good and Evil*.

61. This was to happen in 1912 during the crisis of the third Home Rule Bill.

62. Barry O'Brien records such a tale in his *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (1899), i. 53-4.

63. Compare the Citizen, 'Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes? And our potteries and textiles, the finest in the whole world! And our wool that was sold in

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Rome' (U 12. 1240-3). See also D. P. Moran: 'We are ever laying contribution on poor history to explain away our shortcomings ... you will meet men every day who will ask you how in the world could Ireland be prosperous considering that England stole our woollen industry from us some hundreds of years ago. Heaven knows we have overdone that sort of nonsense ... I look in vain for that fiery hate of subjection we hear so much of from the political platforms' (*Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 2 - 3)-

64. Compare the editorial 'Finance and Devolution', *Sinn Fein*, 22 Sept. 1906.

65. Shane O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone (c. 1530-67).

66. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester (c. 1208-65).

67. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was sent to Ireland as commander-in-chief and Lord Lieutenant in 1649; the storming and massacre of Drogheda took place on 2 September, the attempt on Waterford from 2 November to 2 December. The Treaty of Limerick (1691), which ended the Williamite wars in Ireland, guaranteed Irish Catholics religious toleration. The Protestant Irish parliament broke this clause and passed a system of penal laws which disabled Catholics both economically and politically throughout the eighteenth century.

68. Martin Luther, summoned to the city of Worms by Charles V in 1521, refused to renounce his Protestant teachings. Also compare Stephen, 4 'What kind of liberation would that be to forsake an absurdity which is logical and coherent and to embrace one which is illogical and incoherent?' (*Portrait* 205).

69. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gerald of Wales* (f.i 146-1223), *The History and Topography of Ireland*, ed. John O'Meara (Penguin, 1982), Third Part, 107, pp.115-16.

70. It may be that Joyce is referring to Giacomo Boncompagni, the illegitimate son of Pope Gregory XIII (1502-85), who availed of Ireland in his counter-reformation attack upon Queen Elizabeth I.

71. That is, 'in the regions of the infidels'.
72. Alphonso XIII (1886-1941) acceded to the Spanish throne in 1902. 'Hidalgo' is Spanish for a 'nobleman'.
73. Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74), Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), dramatist, William Congreve (1670-1729), dramatist, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) and Edmund Burke (1729-97), all Irish writers who spent some or all of their professional lives in metropolitan London.
74. Both of these newspapers were published from London.
75. Edward Fitzgerald (1809-83) published a version of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam; Sir Richard Burton (1821-90) translated *A Thousand and One Nights*; Henry Francis Cary (1772-1844) translated the *Divine Comedy*.
76. Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan (1842-1900), composer of comic operas with the librettist W. S. Gilbert; Feargus O'Connor (1794-1855), Chartist leader and editor of *The Northern Star*; Oscar Wilde was the son of Jane

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- Francesca Wilde (1826-69), who contributed poems to *The Nation* under the pseudonym Speranza.
77. Compare D. p.Moran: 'The Irishman of modern times has succeeded in every land but his own. For at home is the only place he cannot make up his mind ... he will not be English or Irish' (*Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 113)-
78. Luke Gardiner, Viscount Mountjoy (1745-98), MP for County Dublin and Irish Privy Councillor, killed at the battle of New Ross.
79. John Tyndall (1820-93), natural philosopher and pioneer of popular scientific writing; Frederick Temple Blackwood, Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826-1902); Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903), Young Irelander and co-founder of *The Nation* who emigrated to Australia in 1856 and became Governor-General of Victoria; John Bobanau Nickerlieu Hennessey (1829-1910), Deputy Surveyor-General of India; Leopold O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan (1809-67), Spanish general and statesman; William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925), political orator. Secretary of State, Democratic candidate for the presidency of the USA, 1896, 1900, 1907/1908; Marie Edmé Patrice, Comte de MacMahon (1808-93), Marshal of France, President of the French Republic from 1873 to 1879; Lord Charles William de la Poer, Baron Beresford (1846-1919), commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet; Garnet Joseph, first Viscount Wolseley (1833-1913), field marshal and military reformer.
80. 'God, Kinch, if you and I could only work together we might do something for the island. Hellenise it' (U 1.157-8).
81. Compare Sinn Fein, 15 September 1906, and see p.140. See also U 12. 1572-6, where it is proposed that Bloom suggested some of these ideas to Griffith to put in his newspaper, *Sinn Fein*.
82. It used to be common, on a supposed Greek and Latin model, to distinguish a triple order of the learned professions in the Celtic world: druidh, filidh, and baird.
83. That is, W. B Yeats.

JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN (1907)

MS Yale and Cornell. Translated from the Italian, Giacomo Clarenzio Mangan, an incomplete and heavily corrected holograph of twenty-four pages numbered 1-4, 6-10, 12-22, 24-6 in the Slocum Collection at Yale University, plus one unnumbered holograph leaf preserved among Stanislaus Joyce's papers (Cornell 42), JJA 2. 131-54. This leaf constitutes the conclusion to the first section and, for the first time in English translation, is inserted below. This lecture, the second intended to be given by Joyce at the Università Popolare, Trieste, is in two sections. It is an expanded and modified version, with much of the original retained especially in its second section, of the Mangan essay of 1902 printed above, with also some repetitions from 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages'. Only such notes as are additional to the 1902 essay are supplied below.

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1. 'The poet is the intense centre of the life of his age to which he stands in a relation than which none can be more vital. He alone is capable of absorbing in himself the life that surrounds him' (SH 85).
2. Joyce is exaggerating Mangan's obscure reputation, as he had done before in 1902. Since that date celebrations of the centenary of Mangan's birth included two editions by D. J. O'Donoghue, *Poems of James Clarence Mangan*, with biographical introduction by John Mitchel (Dublin: O'Donoghue, M. H. Gill, 1903) and *The Prose Writings of James Clarence Mangan*, with an essay by Lionel Johnson (Dublin: O'Donoghue, M. H. Gill, 1904).
3. That is, 'Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages', from which many of these sentences are borrowed.
4. That is, 'The Irish Literary Renaissance'.
5. The National Library of Italy.
6. Cormac MacArt, to whom, as High King of Ireland, *The Book of Aicill* (which Joyce confuses with *The Yellow Book of Lecan*) is attributed.
7. Mitchel (1859), 13.
8. A rather humdrum translation of Joyce's 'etere' I chose 'harlot' as it has the advantage of being English rather than Greek. (Translator's note.)
9. Joyce forgets to close his parentheses here. He uses the word 'quistioni' for what I take to have been 'questioni'. The classical influence is obviously very strong here, though, despite appearances, 'quistioni' is not a Latin word either. (Translator's note.)
- to. From here to the end of the paragraph the text is that of MS Cornell 42.
11. The allusions are to Joan of Arc and to John the Baptist, to Mangan's narcotic addictions and to Parnell's relationship with Katherine O'shea.
12. See p.30 and p.294, n. 1.
13. Joyce makes an odd substitution here for Mangan's boa-constrictor: 'Caudisona' is not Italian, but Latin for 'rattlesnake'. (Translator's note.)
14. U 7. 721-2. The Florentine theologian is Dante (*Paradiso*, xxxi. 127).
15. The lines are taken in fact from Mangan's 'O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire'.

[THE IRISH LITERARY RENAISSANCE]

MS Yale, JJA 2. 156. Translated from the Italian, a single unnumbered holograph leaf from a notebook, in the Slocum collection at Yale University, and at one time appended to the 1907 Mangan lecture by John J. Slocum. It is likely that this page is the only surviving fragment of the third lecture in the series which Joyce intended to deliver at the Università Popolare, Trieste, in May 1907

1. The rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798.
2. The Young Irelanders split with Daniel O'Connell on the issue of physical force and proceeded with an insurrection, triggered by the onset of famine and European events, in 1848.

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FENIANISM: THE LAST FENIAN

Translated from the Italian 'II Fenianismo: L'ultimo Feniano', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (Trieste, 22 March 1907). This newspaper, nationalist in character, 'kept its readers up to date on events in Italy, included reports on international politics, fashion, culture, gossip, serialised versions of popular novels, and cartoons. *Il Piccolo della Sera* rarely missed an opportunity to write about countries which suffered under foreign domination and so the Irish question received a lot of coverage - even if it was usually through the filter of English news agencies. So when Joyce wrote his leading articles he knew he was writing for a readership already reasonably acquainted with matters Irish.' (John McCourt, 'Joyce on National Deliverance: The View from 1907 Trieste,' *Prospero: Rivista di Cultura Anglo-Germaniche*, 5, (1998), 34). Roberto Prezioso, a student of Joyce, was familiar with Joyce's views on Ireland and invited these articles. In an exchange of letters with his brother, Stanislaus, in 1912, Charles Joyce recalls that in reply to a charge that *Dubliners* is not a book which betters his country or people, Joyce

invoked these articles: 'Jim replied that he was probably the only Irishman who wrote leading articles for the Italian press and that all his articles in "Il Piccolo" were about Ireland and the Irish people' (Letters, ii. 316). In a letter to the Italian publisher Angelo Fortunato Formiggini, 25 March 1914, Joyce made the following proposal: '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.' See Giorgio Melchiori, 'The Language of Politics and the Politics of Language', *James Joyce Broadsheet*, 4 (Feb. 1981), 1. Transcriptions and unsigned typescript translations of these articles can be found in JJA 2. 653-703.

1. John O'Leary (1830-1907), died at 5.20 p.m. on 16 March, the day before St Patrick's Day.
2. The Whiteboys were a secret agrarian society of the eighteenth century; the Invincibles were founded in 1881 as an extremist breakaway group from the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Joyce, here and below, uses the terms with little historical exactness.
3. Robert Emmet, whose rebellion took place in 1803. There is a parodic version of this rebellion and of Emmet's execution in U 12. 525-678.
4. This is an exaggeration by Joyce: the Irish population which stood at just over eight million in 1841 had, as a result of famine, reduced to under six million in the 1860s.
5. James Stephens (1824-1901), Fenian leader and founder of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. 'James Stephens' idea was the best. He knew them. Circles of ten so that a fellow couldn't round on more than his own ring' (U 8. 457-8).
6. James Stephens established the newspaper *Irish People* in 1863 with O'Leary and Thomas Clarke Luby (1821-1901).

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7. 'How the head centre got away, authentic version. Got up as a young bride, man, veil, orangeblossoms' (U 3. 241-2). Desmond Ryan tells the story of how a Mrs Washington Downey, the popular poetess 'Christabel, returning to her house in London, aided Stephens's escape and gave rise to this version of events: 'Mrs Washington Downey went on board the *Sabania* accompanied by Stephens, who in the character of her personal servant, carried her little boy. This led to the legend that Stephens escaped disguised as a lady's maid, a plan which was in fact proposed, because, as the *Kilkenny Aloderator*, 21 September 1865, explained with malicious delight in circulating this myth, "being low in stature, and of slight build, effeminate in appearance and without a beard, the idea of dressing him as a female naturally occurred to those aiding his flight; and in the character of a rather respectable female on board a vessel at Cork, and in the same capacity passed from the *Dover Steamer* safely into France"' (The *Fenian Chief* (1967), 42). Stephens was vehemently to deny this story. For an alternative version which includes a collier or 'charcoal boat', see The *Fenian Chief* 229, and John Devoy's more reliable account in *Recollections of an Irish Rebel* (1929), chap. 13. Stanislaus Joyce suggests that his father knew the anti-Parnellite captain of this boat and tells the story with much the same relish as Joyce does (*My Brother's Keeper*, 77-8, 93). The expression 'There's the man that got away James Stephens' was a catchphrase in Dublin and recurs in U 4. 491-2, 12. 880-81, 15. 15-33.

8. Compare Stephens's comments on 'the indispensable informer' (Portrait 169). In the case of the Fenians other factors contributed to their failure, not least the open avowal by Stephens and the other leaders, through *Irish People*, that 1865 would be the year of insurrection.

9. The attempt to rescue Colonel Richard O'sullivan Burke from Clerkenwell House of Detention in London, which caused twelve deaths, took place on 13 December 1867. See U 3. 245-50.

10. The rescue of three Fenians from custody in Manchester on 18 September 1867 resulted in the killing of Sergeant Charles Brett, for which three men, the 'Manchester Martyrs', were executed on 23 November 1867.

11. Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke were assassinated outside the Vice-Regal Lodge in Dublin's Phoenix Park on 6 May 1882.

12. The Irish population had reduced to below four and a half million by 1907.

13. The Sinn Fein (literally, 'ourselves') movement developed, from 1905 to 1908 under Arthur Griffith, out of Cumann na nGaedheal, which he had founded in 1900 with William Rooney.

14. Sinn Fein, 26 May, 9 June, 16 June, 15 September 1906.

15. Joyce's opposition to physical force places him alongside Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein policy of non-violence which had been opposed by Bulmer Hobson (1883-1969) and others in Sinn Fein through Hobson's weekly paper, *The Republic*, a paper Joyce was reading while in Rome and which appeared from 13 December 1906 to 16 May 1907. See Letters ii. 205.

16. John O'Leary had himself made such an observation, to the effect that the

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great funeral is the only recognition allowed to an Irish leader; see Denis Gwynn, *Edward Martyn and the Irish Revival*, London: Jonathan Cape (1930), 297. Joyce exaggerates O'Leary's isolation. From his arrival back in Ireland in 1885 O'Leary had, while cultivating a detachment from the new generation, been active in literary culture and the Young Ireland Society. He actively supported Parnell after the divorce case. He was President of the National Literary Society on its foundation by W. B. Yeats and others in 1892. During the 1898 celebrations of the United Irishmen and 1798 O'Leary laid the foundation stone for the Wolfe Tone monument at Stephen's Green, a ceremony Stephen, with little enthusiasm, remembers attending with his father (Portrait 154). O'Leary became President of Arthur Griffith's *Cumann na nGaedheal* in 1900. An accurate characteristic in Joyce's sketch is the purchase at the antiquarian book stall by O'Leary, whose library Yeats described in 1889 as 'the best I know'.

HOME RULE COMES OF AGE

Translated from the Italian 'Home Rule maggiorenne', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (19 May 1907). The title of this essay is borrowed by Joyce from a leading article in Sinn Fein (13 Apr. 1907). Also Joyce's rhetorical device of beginning his first paragraphs with 'Twenty-one years ... Seven years ...' derives from Arthur Griffith's article 'Devolution' in Sinn Fein, 11 May 1907.

1. The first Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on 8 April 1886, by the Liberal Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone. The second Home Rule Bill was introduced in the Commons, also by Gladstone, in January 1893. Both of these Bills were defeated.

2. 'scene in House of Commons Today (by telegraph). At half-past five this morning before the doors of the House of Commons were opened or even the servants astir, members began to present themselves for admission' (*Dublin Evening Alai* 1, Thursday 8 Apr. 1886).

3. 'The infant born on the morrow of its publication has come of age. He is a man - he demands his birthright' (Sinn Fein, 13 Apr. 1907).

4. Archibald Philip, fifth Earl of Rosebery (1847-1929), succeeded Gladstone as leader of the Liberals.

5. Augustine Birrell (1850-1933), lawyer, politician, and man of letters. Chief Secretary of Ireland, 1907-16.

6. On 7 May 1907 Augustine Birrell introduced in the House of Commons the Irish Council Bill which the National Convention would reject on 21 May. Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), leader of the Liberal Unionists against the Gladstonian Liberals, had presented in 1885 a plan for a 'Central Board' or national council in Ireland with very limited powers.

7. The term 'boycott' derives from Captain Charles Boycott (1832-97), land agent for Lord Erne's estate at Lough Mask in Co. Mayo during the Land League agitation of 1873.

8. Sinn Fein, 17 May, 14 July, 22 September 1906.

9. 'In Ireland the Tory is regarded as an open enemy; the Whig as a treach-

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erous friend. It is the Whigs, not the Tories, who have habitually sapped the integrity of Irish representation' (O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (1899), i. 90).

10. 'At present what takes place is this: the Duke of Norfolk visits the Vatican three times each year as the representative of the Catholics of the "United Kingdom". Of course this mean-souled man whose hatred of Ireland and the Irish is perhaps the most intense part of his nature does not "represent" the

Irish Catholics ... Every slander this man pours out on Irish Nationalism is accepted at the Vatican as the views of an accredited representative' (Sinn Fein, 15 Dec. 1906).

11. Sinn Fein, n August, 25 August 1906. See also Arthur Griffith, *How Ireland Is Taxed*, Dublin: National Council Pamphlets, No. 6 (1907), 3.

12. Sinn Fein, 6 June, 25 August, 29 September 1906.

13. 'Then one of the Twelve, the man called Judas Iscariot, went to the chief priests and said, "What are you prepared to give me if I hand him over to you?" They paid him thirty pieces of silver and from that moment he looked for an opportunity to betray him' (Matthew 26: 14-16). Parnell was stripped of his leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party in December 1890. Joyce's version of the 'selling' of Parnell in response to Gladstone's demands derives from the story of how Parnell insisted that the Irish Parliamentary Party should demand from Gladstone as the price for dismissing him nothing less than Home Rule: 'Mr Redmond: "When we are asked to sell our leader to preserve the English alliance, it seems to me that we are bound to inquire what we are getting for the price we are paying." "Don't sell me for nothing," interrupted Parnell. "If you get my value you may change me tomorrow"' (O'Brien (1899), ii. 278). An instance of English, nonconformist outrage at Parnell's relationship with Katherine O'shea is given in O'Brien, ii. 275.

IRELAND AT THE BAR

Translated from the Italian, 'L'Irlanda alia sbarra', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (16 Sept. 1907). The title presents the image of Ireland in the dock and unable to defend itself against the charges of the international press and popular opinion. When Joyce in 1914 planned to gather together his articles from *Il Piccolo* into a volume of essays about Ireland for Italian readers his intention was to place this article first and to give the book its title. See Giorgio Melchiori, 'The Language of Politics and the Politics of Language', *James Joyce Broadsheet*, 4 (Feb. 1981), 1.

1. On the night of 17 August 1882 John Joyce, his wife, mother, and children were murdered in their house at Maamtrasna, an isolated townland on the shore of Lough Mask in Connemara. The crime was thought to be an agrarian outrage committed by a secret society. Ten men, Joyces and Caseys from neighbouring townlands, were accused of the crime and trials took place in November. On 15 December three of the accused were hanged in Galway jail. One of these three, Myles Joyce, was subsequently

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thought to be innocent. An account of Joyce's interest in these events and their probable use in *FW* is given by John Garvin, *James Joyce's Disunited Kingdom* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976), 159-69.

2. For a transcript of the trial, which Joyce knew inaccurately and by hearsay, see T. Harrington, *The Maamtrasna Massacres* (Dublin, 1884). However, the role of the interpreter for the Gaelic-speaking defendants was as Joyce describes it.

3. At his execution Myles Joyce continued to proclaim his innocence. The hangman, Marwood, failed to place the noose correctly and Myles Joyce was strangled with Marwood kicking down at him through the open trapdoor in an attempt to correct the rope and hurry his death.

4. Joyce is referring to the riots in Belfast, which had begun on 4 August and continued into September, and also to various incidents in an anti-cattle-grazing agitation during July, August, and September 1907. These 'outrages' dominated the reporting from Ireland by *The Times* during these months. A state of emergency was declared in the counties of Clare, Galway, Leitrim, Roscommon.

5. Joyce's reference is to the Land League and its policies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

6. The 'Maiming Outrages' at Great Wyrley are reported in *The Times* from 28 August to 16 September 1907.

OSCAR WILDE: THE POET OF 'SALOME'

Translated from the Italian, 'Oscar Wilde: il poeta di "Salome"', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (24 Mar. 1909). The article was published on the occasion of a performance in Trieste of the opera *Salome* (1905) by

Richard Strauss (1864- 1949), which is based on the play of the same title written in French by Wilde in 1892.

1. Oscar Wilde, *Poems* (1881).
2. 'From the fierce O'Flaherties, deliver us, Lord', an inscription on one of the medieval gates of the city of Galway.
3. 'Wilde's love that dare not speak its name' (U 3. 451). Lady Wilde is reported to have wished for this, her second child, to have been a girl.
4. John Ruskin (1819-1900), art critic and socialist, organized his students to work at mending country roadways around Oxford.
5. Oscar Wilde edited a magazine. *The Woman's World*, in November 1887.
6. The eighth Marquess of Queensberry, whom Wilde sued for libel with disastrous consequences, was the father of Lord Alfred Douglas (1870- 1945), English poet, lover of Wilde, and the translator into English in 1894 of Wilde's *Salome*.
7. Wilde died in Paris on 30 November 1900.
8. See W. B. Yeats's report of Joyce's comment to him in 1902 about Wilde's deathbed conversion: 'He said that he hoped his conversion was not sincere. He did not like to think that he had been untrue to himself at the end' (JJ 102).

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9. In reply to a negative review of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), Wilde wrote 'Each man sees his own sin in Dorian Gray. What Dorian Gray's sins are no one knows. He who finds them has brought them' ('Mr Wilde's Rejoinder', *Scots Observer*, 4/86 (12 July 1890), 279).
10. 'and in my misery it was revealed to me that man can only come to that Heart through the sense of separation from it which we call sin' (W. B. Yeats, *The Tables of the Law*).
11. Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis* (1905) and *A House of Pomegranates* (1891). Varius Avitus (203-22), Roman Emperor, adopted the name of a Syrian god, Heliogabalus, whom he proclaimed god of Rome and to whom, until slain with his mother by the offended citizens, he offered profligate worship.
12. 'They divide my garments among them and cast lots for my clothes' (Psalms 22: 18-19). The inscription on Wilde's gravestone at Bagneux (from where his remains were removed to Père Lachaise in 1909) read: 'Verbis meis addere nihil audebant et super illos stillebat eloquium sum': 'To my words they durst add nothing and my speech dropped upon them' (Job 29: 22).

THE BATTLE BETWEEN BERNARD SHAW AND THE CENSOR

Translated from the Italian 'La battaglia fra Bernard Shaw e la censura. "Blanco Posnet smascherato"', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (5 Sept. 1909). This piece was sent from Dublin by Joyce, who had returned to the city in the hope of finalizing the publication of *Dubliners*.

1. Bernard Shaw's *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet* had been banned in England. W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory availed of the technicality by which the Lord Chamberlain's authority did not extend to Ireland and, having overcome the objections of the Viceroy, produced the play from 25 August at the Abbey Theatre. There is a report on Joyce's article in Dublin's *Evening Telegraph*, 8 September 1909 (Letters ii. 238, 252).
2. Bernard Shaw, *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1898) and *Press Cuttings* (1909); Leo Tolstoy, *The Power of Darkness* (1888); Oscar Wilde's *Salome* was staged first in Paris in 1896 and in London in 1905.
3. A typewritten copy of this article in the Slocum Collection in the University of Yale Library has a handwritten note by Shaw: 'There was no exchange of letters between myself and Dublin Castle. The campaign was conducted by Lady Gregory and W. B. Yeats. I did not interfere. G. Bernard Shaw, 21 July 1949.' Joyce attributes the correspondence to Shaw.
4. Bernard Shaw, *The Devil's Disciple* (1901).
5. Bernard Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island* (1904).

THE HOME RULE COMET

Translated from the Italian, 'La Cometa dell' "Home Rule" ', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (22 Dec. 1910). There is an authorial fair copy of this article in the

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Slocum Collection at Yale University. However, this manuscript did not serve as printer's copy. See JJA 2. xxvii-xxviii. The title of the article is taken by Joyce from that of a cartoon in *Sinn Fein*, 11 June 1910.

1. The dissolution of parliament had been brought on by the refusal of the House of Lords to accept the 'people's budget' of David Lloyd George (1863-1945), Welsh Liberal politician, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1908-15.

2. Herbert Asquith (1852-1928), Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Party, needed the support of John Redmond (1856-1918), leader of the reunited Irish Parliamentary Party, in his struggle against the right of the House of Lords to veto legislation. During the election campaigns of 1910 Asquith made a public commitment to Home Rule for Ireland. The Parliament Act of 1911 restricted the power of the House of Lords and asserted the legislative supremacy of the House of Commons. In return Redmond got the Home Rule Bill of 1912. Arthur James Balfour (1848- 1930), Scottish politician, was leader of the Conservative Party, 1902-11.

3. Frederick Edwin Smith, Earl of Birkenhead (1872-1930) and Sir Edward Carson (1854-1935) were both leaders of unionist opinion; the editor of the *National Review* was Leopold James Maxse (1864-1932). The two Irish factions were the nationalist and unionist interests.

4. Joyce refers to Winston Churchill (1874-1965), who became Home Secretary in 1910; to Arthur Balfour, who had published *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt* (1879); and to William O'Brien (1852-1928), land agitator, nationalist politician, and journalist who re-entered parliament in 1910 after founding, in the interests of 'conciliation' and 'conference' with unionists, a new party, the All-for-Ireland League.

5. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903), Conservative politician and Prime Minister.

6. The double balance between the Liberal Party and the Conservative and Unionist Party, each of which won 272 seats in the election, rested on the Labour Party, with 47 votes, and the Irish Party, with 84 votes.

7. George V (1865-1936), king of Great Britain, acceded to the throne in 1910.

8. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, fifth Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927), served as Foreign Secretary, 1900-1905, and was succeeded by Edward Grey, first Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862-1933), who held the position 1905-16.

[A CURIOUS HISTORY]

MS Cornell. Joyce sent copies of this letter about the fate of Dubliners at the hands of various publishers to several newspapers; it was published in full in *Sinn Fein* on 2 September 1911 and, with the controversial passage omitted, in the *Northern Whig* (Belfast) on 26 August 1911. Ezra Pound published an article which included this account by Joyce under the title 'A Curious History' in the *New Freewoman*, 15 January 1914.

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1. Grant Richards, the publisher to whom Joyce first sent the manuscript of *Dubliners* on 3 December 1905 and who, after many reversals, finally published the collection of stories on 15 June 1914.

2. See JJ 231 for Joyce's visit to the lawyer St Lo Malet in Rome.

3. Joseph Maunsel Hone (1882-1959), Irish literary historian and biographer.

4. George Roberts, managing director of Maunsel and Co.; see 'Gas from a Burner' (1912), *Poems and Exiles*, 107-10.

5. In the later published version of the story, another sentence was introduced here: 'He's a man of the world, and he means well by us.' See D 102.
6. This whole quotation from the story is pasted in printed form on the second page of Joyce's letter.

REALISM AND IDEALISM IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

Joyce returned to deliver two lectures in March 1912 at the Università Popolare, Trieste, under the announced title, 'Verismo ed idealismo nella letteratura inglese (Daniele De Foe - William Blake)'.

1. MS Buffalo, JJA 2. 170-213. Translated from the Italian, 'Daniele Defoe', a complete author's fair copy of forty pages (Buffalo VII, A. 1-2) in two parts, the first numbered 1 to 17 and the second 1 to 22, with two pages numbered 8. A second holograph of four pages (Buffalo VII. A. 3), numbered 33 to 36, which appears to be a fragment of a draft version of the lecture, also survives. This second MS provides a copy of an earlier conclusion to the lecture: see note 49 below. Joyce's main sources of information about Defoe appear to be William Minto, Daniel Defoe (London: Macmillan, 1879), and John Masefield (ed.) Defoe (London, 1909).

2. William III (1650-1702), Prince of Orange, born at The Hague, declared King of England by declaration of right, thereby establishing the Protestant succession after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688.

3. See the Orange toast to William III of 'Glorious, pious and immortal memory' (U 2. 273).

4. Joyce is elaborating on the theme of Defoe's *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr* (1701), in which Defoe ironically undermined English objections to the 'foreign' King William III. 'What were the English, he demanded, that they should make a mock of foreigners? They were the most mongrel race that ever lived upon the face of the earth; there was no such thing as a true-born Englishman; they were all the offspring of foreigners; what was more, of the scum of foreigners' (Minto, 26).

5. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), Italian poet.

6. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), Italian poet and author of the *Decameron* (1348-58); Tommaso Guardati, pseudonym Masuccio (c.1420-80), Italian author of *Il Novellino* (1476).

7. Felix Lope de Vega (1562-1635), Spanish poet and dramatist.

8. Plutarch (c.46-120), Greek biographer; Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86-34 bc), Roman historian.

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9. James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch (1649-85), natural son of Charles II, whom he plotted to murder, executed in the Tower of London.

10. Masefield, p.xi.

11. Masefield, pp.xi - xii.

12. Daniel Defoe, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702).

13. Minto, 39.

14. Daniel Defoe, *A Hymn to the Pillory* (1703). 'His ears were not cropped ... The author of the True-Born Englishman was a popular favourite, and his exhibition in the pillory was an occasion of triumph and not of ignominy to him. A ring of admirers was formed round the place of punishment, and bunches of flowers instead of handfuls of garbage were thrown at the criminal. Tankards of ale and stoups of wine were drunk in his honour by the multitude whom he had delighted with his racy verse and charmed by his bold defiance of the authorities' (Minto, 41-2).

15. Defoe edited the *Review* from 1704 until its suppression in 1713.

16. Defoe's anti-Jacobite pamphlets appeared during 1712 and 1713.

17. Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), British author and creator of Sherlock Holmes in *A Study in Scarlet* (1887).

18. Daniel Defoe, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: with his Visions of the Angelick World* (1720).

19. [Charles Gildon (1665-1724)], *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr D - De F -, of London, Hosier ; Who Has liv'd above fifty Years by himself in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain* ([1719]), is the correct title and Joyce's error derives from Minto, 151-2.

20. 'He did not mind the sneers of hostile critics. They made merry over the trifling inconsistencies in the tale. How for example, they asked, could Crusoe have stuffed his pockets with biscuits when he had taken off all his clothes before swimming to the wreck? How could he have been at such a loss for clothes after those he had put off were washed away by the rising tide, when he had the ship's stores to choose from? How could he have seen the goat's eyes in the cave when it was pitch dark? How could the Spaniards give Friday's father an agreement in writing, when they had neither paper nor ink? How did Friday come to know so intimately the habits of bears, the bear not being a denizen of the West Indian islands?' (Minto, 146, summarizing Gildon's parodic life of Defoe).

21. Joyce may use this unusual term because, according to Minto's final chapter, 'The Mysterious End', Defoe 'at a distance from London in Kent' writes that his circumstances 'make it impossible that he could receive a visit from anybody' (Minto, 164).

22. Joyce rehearses the facts in much the same order as Minto, 168-9, but Joyce gives to Defoe's wandering and lonely death a mythical quality which Minto does not. See also U 6. 837-8.

23. This is the term used also by Minto, 134-5.

24. Joyce appears to derive these objections from Leslie Stephen (1832-

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1904), 'De Foe's Novels', Hours in a Library, 3 volumes (London, 1874- 9), i. 1-58. especially pp.24-5, 47, 56-8.

25. Daniel Defoe, *The Storm: or, a Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters Which Happened in the Late Dreadful Tempest* (1704).

26. *The Storm* 'enables the modern meteorologist to construct a complete chart of the tempest's progress' (Masefield, p.xvi).

27. Daniel Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722).

28. Sir Walter Scott, 'Advertisement' in *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel De Foe* (London, 1855), p.[vii].

29. 'Time of the plague. Quicklime feverpits to eat them' (U 6. 985-6).

30. Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946), German dramatist, novelist and poet. 'He has written two or three masterpieces - "a little immortal thing" like *The Weavers*, for example' (Letters ii. 173). Leo Tolstoy made his name with *Tales from Sebastopol* (1856); see Stanislaus's comments to Joyce about this work and the writing of internal monologue such as Bloom's (Letters iii. 106).

31. Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Duncan Campbell* (1720).

32. Daniel Defoe, *The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern* (1726). 'His Political History of the Devil is nauseating' (Masefield, p.xx).

33. Daniel Defoe, *The Dumb Philosopher: or. Great Britain's Wonder* (1719), the story of Dickory Cronke.

34. Daniel Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier: or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany, and the Wars in England* (1720).

35. *The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton* (1728) is generally considered not to be a work by Defoe.

36. 'Defoe was essentially a journalist' (Minto, 134).

37. *The Life and Adventures of Mrs Christian Davies commonly called Mother Ross* (1740) cannot be by Defoe, who died nine years before its publication and eight years before the death of its heroine, Christian Davies (1667- 1739)-

38. Leslie Stephen, in his essay 'De Foe's Novels', does not make this charge against Defoe's heroines.

39. Masefield, p.xxvii. Lucy Walter (1630-58), mistress of Charles II and mother of James, Duke of Monmouth; Eleanor (Nell) Gwynne (1650-87), actress, fruit-seller, mistress of Charles II and mother of the Duke of St Albans; Martha Blount (1690-1762), woman of letters to whom Alexander Pope dedicated his 'Epistle of Women'; Susannah Centlivre (1667- 1723), actress and dramatist; Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), woman of letters and wife of the ambassador to Constantinople.

40. The allusion here seems to be to Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde* (1865).

41. St Joan of Arc (1412-31), heroine of France who raised the siege of Orleans and had Charles VII crowned at Reims. She had been canonized in 1909. For Voltaire's ridicule of Joan see his *La Pucelle*; for iconography from the nineteenth century see A. Marby, *L'Histoire de Jeanne D'Arc*

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(1907); Anatole France, pen-name of Jacques Anatole Thibault (1844- 1924), French author of *Vie de Jeanne D'Arc* (1908).

42. Maxim Gorky, pen-name of Alexei Peshkov (1868-1936), Russian writer; Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-81), Russian novelist.

43. Defoe's Captain Singleton soldiered in Africa; Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), English imperialist in Africa, head of De Beers, founder of the British South African Company which annexed the territories which became Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe; Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928), British suffragette activist, founder of the Women's Social and Political Union.

44. Joyce ignores the fact that Robinson Crusoe (1719) antedates both Captain Singleton (1720) and Colonel Jack (1722).

45. From this point there survives a second holograph of four pages (Buffalo VII. A. 3), a fragment of an earlier draft version. Joyce's revisions to the draft Italian text are not significant.

46. Both of these caricatures conventionally are found under the name of John Bull.

47. Contrast Leslie Stephen on Crusoe: his morality is that of 'sturdy Englishmen in their passage through the world, and has enabled them to do excellent service to mankind' ('De Foe's Novels', *Hours in a Library*, i. 43 - 4)-

48. Revelation i: 9-20.

49. The draft version (Buffalo VII. A. 3) continues beyond this point at which Joyce decided to conclude the delivery of his lecture. 'The narrative that pivots upon this simple marvel is a whole, harmonious and consistent national epic, a solemn and triumphant music which the mournful chant of the savage and innocent soul accompanies. Our century which loves to trace present phenomena back to their origins to convince itself once more of the truth of the theory of evolution, which teaches us that when we were little we were not big, might profitably re-read the tale of Robinson Crusoe and his servant Friday. It would find therein many extremely useful tips for that international industry of our times - the cheap manufacture of the English imperialist type and its sale at knock-down prices.'

50. MS Cornell, JJA 2. 214-35. Translated from the Italian, a fragment of a lecture on William Blake, a holograph of twenty-two pages, numbered 11 to 30 plus two unnumbered pages on the reverse of 28 and 29. This lecture was given, with the lecture on Daniel Defoe, at the Università Popolare, Trieste, in March 1912.

51. William Blake, 'London', *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1794).

52. William Blake, 'Proverbs of Hell', *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793)

53. Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), British feminist, author of *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792); Tom Paine (1737-1809), British radical, author of *The Rights of Man* (1792).

54. Edwin Ellis, *The Real Blake* (1907), 164-5.

55. Ellis, 184, describes this loss to Blake of his pupils, an account to which Joyce adds little more than the epithet 'lower-class'.

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56. Ellis, 437.

57. Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), Jesuit theologian, 'the teacher of Europe and of the universal world, the eye of the people of Christ'; Juan Mariana de Talavera (1771-1861), Jesuit historian and author of *De Rege et Regis Institution* (1599), which includes a justification of tyrannicide. See *Portrait* 207.

58. 'Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire' (William Blake, *The Book of Thel*, (1789), plate 6, line 20).

59. These charities are recounted in Ellis, 185.

60. 'Jonathan's soul became closely bound to David's and Jonathan came to love him as his own soul' (1 Samuel 18: 1-2).

61. 'He saw the soul spring from the suddenly still, blind body, and ascend upwards, clapping its hands for joy. Then taking this sight with him Blake went to bed, and slept continuously for three days and nights' (Ellis, 100).

62. William Blake, *Poetical Sketches* (1783); *Songs of Innocence* (1789).

63. Ellis, 37-8.

64. William Blake, *Vala, or the Four Zoas* (1797-1810).

65. Catherine Boucher: Joyce repeats the error in spelling her surname from Ellis, 38-9, which recounts this courtship in these same terms.

66. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, 1. iii.

67. Compare the argument about Bertha between Robert Hand and Richard Rowan in Act II of *Exiles* (*Poems and Exiles*, 189).

68. 'Like a fiend hid in a cloud' (William Blake, 'Infant Sorrow' in *Songs of Innocence and Experience*).

69. Ellis, 435.

70. Each of these figures in Blake's prophetic books after 1789.

71. 'He claimed the right of Abraham to give to Hagar what Sarah refused' (Ellis, 90). 'Abraham's wife Sarah had borne him no child, but she had an Egyptian maidservant named Hagar. So Sarah said to Abraham, "Listen, now! Since Yahweh has kept me from having children, go to my slave-girl. Perhaps I shall get children through her." Abraham agreed to what Sarah had said' (Genesis 16: 1-2).

72. Ellis, 91.

73. William Blake, 'The Crystal Cabinet' (c.1803).

74. This list of animals, with the insertion of a flea for a gnat, derives from *Auguries of Innocence* (c.1803), lines 13-46.

75. William Blake, *Auguries of Innocence*, lines 85-90.

76. Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 bc), Roman statesman.

77. Ellis, 402-3.

78. The portrait is by Thomas Phillips (1770-1845).

79. Ellis, 436.

80. George Berkeley (1685-1753), Irish philosopher; David Hume (1711-76), Scottish philosopher and historian.

81. Upanishads (800-200 bc), one of a collection of Hindu sacred treatises, monistic, pantheistic, and developing the theory of the transmigration of souls.

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82. Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541), known as Paracelsus, Swiss physician; Jakob Boehme (1575-1624), German author of the mystic text *Aurora* (1612).

83. Juan de Yepes y Alvarez (1542-91), known as St John of the Cross, author of *En una noche oscura* (c. 1578), *The Dark Night*, one of the greatest of all mystical poems.

84. That is, 'painted by Michelangelo'.

85. This is a detail from Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St Peter* in the Pauline chapel. Joyce's mistaken account derives from Ellis, 222-3.

86. William Blake, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures* (1809).

87. Swedenborg populated heaven only with the spirits of the dead and his anthropocentric mysticism imagines all men to be figures in a *maximus homo*.

88. Joyce refers to the apostle John and his vision of the new Jerusalem; to St Augustine of Hippo, author of the *City of God*; to Dante's *Paradiso*; to Swedenborg's human form divine as defined in his *Arcana Coelestia* (1749-56); and to Matthew 24: 26-44.

89. See 'James Clarence Mangan (1902)', p.59.

90.

For every space larger than a red globule of man's blood
Is visionary & is created by the hammer of Los;
And every space smaller than a globule of man's blood opens
Into Eternity, of which this vegetable world is but a shadow.

- Milton (1809), plate 29, lines 19-22

We are led to believe a lie
When we see not through the eye
Which was born in a night to perish in a night,
When the soul slept in beams of light.

- Auguries of Innocence, lines 125-8.

91. 'But the real truth of these matters is in fact far beyond us. That is why their preference is for the way up through negations, since this stands the soul outside everything which is correlative with its own finite nature. Such a way guides the soul through all the divine notions, notions which are themselves transcended by that which is far beyond every name, all reason and all knowledge. Beyond the outermost boundaries of the world, the soul is brought into union with God himself to the extent that every one of us is capable of it' (Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, *The Divine Names* 981b).

92. 'Eternity is in love with the productions of Time' (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, plate 7, line 10).

THE CENTENARY OF CHARLES DICKENS

MS Padua. This is the text of an examination essay submitted by Joyce at the Università degli Studi di Padua in late April 1912. The manuscript on eight numbered sheets of official university paper is reproduced in *JJA* 2. 249-67.

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The centenary of Charles Dickens's birth occurred on 7 February 1912.

1. Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (1842), *Pictures from Italy* (1846), and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-4).
2. To be within sound of the bells of St Mary-le-Bow church in Cheapside is to be at the centre of the City of London, and to be born within hearing of their chimes is the definition of a Cockney.
3. Charles Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge* (1841).
4. Lord George Gordon (1751-93) led the so-called Gordon Riots of 1780 in protest against the Catholic Relief Act of that year. The Reform Bill of 1832 extended the franchise to include the rich middle class.
5. John Milton, 'L' *Allegro*', line 75.
6. Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), Foreign Secretary, who delivered his 'I am a Roman citizen' speech in the House of Commons, 24 June 1850. For Gladstone's reply see G. Barnett Smith, *The Life of the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone* (1881), 115. 'Little Englander' was a phrase applied to those writers opposed to imperial adventurism in the early decades of the twentieth century.
7. Richard 'Dick' Whittington (c.1358-1423) heard, according to the old tale, Bow Bells calling, 'Turn again, Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London.'
8. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94), Scottish author; Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), born in Bombay and a writer on imperial themes; George Moore (1852-1933), Joyce's compatriot and older contemporary.
9. William Hogarth (1696-1764), English satirical painter and engraver.
10. Characters, respectively, in the following novels by Dickens: *David Copperfield*, *Great Expectations*, *Barnaby Rudge*, *David Copperfield*, *The Pickwick Papers*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Great Expectations*.
11. The Tabard is the inn at Southwark where Geoffrey Chaucer imagines his pilgrims to have assembled for their pilgrimage in *The Canterbury Tales*.

12. Characters, respectively, in the following novels by Dickens: *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Bleak House*, *The Pickwick Papers*, *David Copperfield*, *Oliver Twist*.

13. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63), novelist and author of *Vanity Fair* (1847-8).

THE UNIVERSAL LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE RENAISSANCE

MS Padua. Translated from the Italian, 'L'influenza letteraria universale del rinascimento', an examination essay submitted by Joyce at the Università degli Studi di Padua in late April 1912. The manuscript on six numbered sheets of official university paper is reproduced in fJA 2. 237-47.

1. A repetition from the Defoe essay, p.332, n. 49.

2. That is, 'Praisers of times past' (Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, line 173).

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3. Joyce uses the Latin word *ima* here. (Translator's note.)

4. 'For my yoke is easy and my burden is light' (Matthew 11: 30).

5. Marco Praga (1862-1929), Italian novelist and playwright, *La Crisi: commedia in tre atti* (1907); Anatole France, *L'Affaire Crainquebille* (1901); Ivan Turgenev, *Smoke* (1867).

6. The allusion, as in the lecture on Defoe, is to Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.

7. 'The ancient map-makers wrote across unexplored regions, "Here are lions"' (W. B. Yeats, 'Village Ghosts' in *The Celtic Twilight*, 1893).

8. St Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), Jesuit commentator on Aquinas, graduate of the University of Padua; for Giovanni Mariana Talavera see the essay on Blake, p.176.

9. A contrast which recalls that of John the Evangelist with Robinson Crusoe in the essay on Defoe, p.174.

THE SHADE OF PARNELL

Translated from the Italian, 'L'ombra di Parnell', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (16 May 1912). The title of this article is taken by Joyce from that of a cartoon in *Sinn Fein* (8 Jan. 1910).

1. The third Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons in April 1912. It was January 1913 before it passed its third reading. The House of Lords delayed it until it was signed into law in September 1914. Suspended for the duration of the Great War it was finally superseded by the Government of Ireland Act 1920. Gallina ... um mese, Tuscan proverb: 'The hen of Mugello: twenty years old, looks a month'.

2. Joyce refers to the Act of Union of 1800 and to the Arbitration Treaty between England and the United States signed in August 1911. There is no foundation for his view that the Home Rule Bill of 1912 was linked to this treaty, although it is true that the issue of the Arbitration Treaty had aroused the opposition of Irish-Americans to any hint of an alliance of England and the USA at least since 1904.

3. These movements would include O'Connell's campaign for Catholic emancipation; his later campaign for repeal of the Act of Union; the Tithe War of 1834; the Young Ireland movement and the insurrection of 1848; the Fenian organization and the insurrection of 1867; the Invincibles' outrages of 1882; the Land War of the 1880s; and the obstructionism of the Irish Parliamentary Party under Parnell.

4. The original Italian is 'Più che perfetto' (most perfect) and is a pun by Joyce on *piuccheperfecto* (pluperfect). The translation of the phrase as 'pluterperfect' derives from Mr Deasy's neologism, 'The pluterperfect imperturbability of the department of agriculture' (U 2. 328-9). See Giorgio Melchiori, 'Two Notes on "Nestor"', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 22/4 (1985), 416-17.

5. This appears to be a confused version of an explanation of how 'The Bill reduces the number of Irish members in the British Parliament from 103

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to 42' (Arthur Griffith, *The Home Rule Bill Examined*, Dublin: The National Council (1912), 15).

6. 'The Committee on Irish Finance proposed a surplus, the Government a deficit'; 'some optimists look to an increasingly prosperous Ireland under Home Rule yielding in income-tax and Custom and Excise duties the required amount without any increase of taxation. Others think the problem will be solved by effecting economies'; if a Home Rule government in Ireland increases taxes it will 'face the hostility of the Orange North with an economic footing for its bigoted opposition. It must face an industrial antagonism in the urban South and a general dissatisfaction among all classes. In short, no Irish Government can vindicate the finance of the proposed measure in practice without committing political suicide' (Arthur Griffith, *The Finance of the Home Rule Bill*, Dublin: The National Council (1912), 5-6, 7, 9). In his perception that England was running Ireland at a gain and not at a loss to itself, Griffith is arguing against Thomas Kettle's *Home Rule Finance: An Experiment in Justice* (1911), a copy of which Joyce had sent to him in Trieste (Letters, ii. 287).

7. Arthur Griffith, leader of the 'separatist party' Sinn Fein, argued against the British parliament's continuing right to impose taxes on Ireland and 'the acceptance of an enormous reduction in Irish representation at Westminster whilst Westminster holds Irish services and Irish revenues in its hands' (*Home Rule Bill Examined*, 3, 15).

8. Arthur Griffith similarly appeals to the memory of Parnell as a caution against the new Home Rule Bill: 'But it is to be remembered that Mr Parnell who held the view that Ireland, after Home Rule, should not send members to the British Parliament, held at the same time that so long as any Irish service was retained in English control the Irish representatives in the English Parliament should not be diminished' (*Home Rule Bill Examined*, 15). The 'nephew' of Gladstone referred to here was in fact his son, Herbert John (Viscount) Gladstone (1854-1930).

9. See Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* (1904), 653, for such a criticism of Parnell, and also O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (1899), who credits the Irish parliamentarians Joseph Biggar and Joseph Ronayne (1822-76) with the invention of obstructionism (i. 83-4, 92-3); he credits Sir Charles Gavan Duffy with the foundation of the Irish Party (ii. 229); and he credits Davitt's priority in the Land League (i. 194).

10. The use of Moses as a figure for Irish political independence is used by Joyce in U 7. 845-70, where he embellishes the parallel he had heard from the orator John F. Taylor at a University debate in 1901. See JJ 91.

11. 'You must have a certain fascination: Parnell. Arthur Griffith is a squareheaded fellow but he has no go in him for the mob' (U 8. 462).

12. For a description of Parnell's 'cold-blooded, businesslike speeches' and their effect on his audience see O'Brien (1899) i. 193.

13. The Parnell Tribute of 1883 raised over £37,000.

14. Parnell put his finger on the S, 'as if it were a matter of the utmost indifference: "I did not make an S. like that since 1878"' (O'Brien (1899)

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ii. 198-9). For the forged letter and the role played by *The Times* see *Parnellism and Crime*: reprinted from *The Times*, second series, Including the Facsimile of Mr Parnell's Letter (London, 2nd edn., 1887).

15. Richard Pigott (1828-89) forged letters, which he sold to *The Times*, in an attempt to implicate Parnell and his party in agrarian crime and in the Phoenix Park murders. The exposure of Pigott and his suicide is told in O'Brien (1899), ii. 217. Pigott's sons were pupils at Clongowes Wood College with Joyce.

16. Gladstone declared, 'Parnell was the most remarkable man I ever met. I do not say the ablest man; I say the most remarkable and the most interesting. He was an intellectual phenomenon' (O'Brien (1899), ii. 357).

17. 'The title that the people gave him - the "uncrowned King of Ireland"' (O'Brien (1899), i. 105). The wag and the orator are, respectively, Disraeli and Gladstone.

18. Disraeli published a large number of novels, including *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845); Gladstone's copious writings include his *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (1858) and eight volumes of *Gleanings of Past Years* (1879-90).

19. For Parnell's description of Gladstone as 'an unrivalled sophist' see O'Brien (1899), ii. 279.

20. Gladstone objected to O'Connell's pact with Lord Melbourne during the Tithe War of 1834.

21. Nathan, Baron Rothschild (1840-1915), the first member of a Jewish family to become a peer.
22. At the battle of Majuba Hill in February 1881, during the first Boer War, a British force was annihilated. In August 1881 the Pretoria Convention ended the war. By this agreement Britain recognized the independence of the Transvaal.
23. Abdul Hamid II, sultan of Turkey, denounced for 'inhumanity' in a letter of Gladstone, 13 March 1897, later published as a pamphlet, *Letter to the Duke of Westminster*, the issue of which was the behaviour of the Turks during the Greco-Turkish war.
24. The Kilmainham Treaty of April 1882 was an agreement between Parnell and Gladstone, designed to defuse the increasingly violent situation in Ireland.
25. See 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages', p.116.
26. John Morley (1838-1923), English politician, man of letters, and Chief Secretary of Ireland, to whom Gladstone addressed his letter requiring the Irish Parliamentary Party to dismiss their leader after Parnell was cited in the divorce case between Captain William O'Shea (1840-1905) and Mrs Katherine (Kitty) O'Shea (1845-1921), whom Parnell married in June 1891. How Gladstone's letter, when made public, was seen as an ultimatum to Irish MPs by an English minister is described in O'Brien (1899), ii. 248-52.
27. The vote in Committee Room No. 15 of the House of Commons was forty-four against and twenty-six for Parnell's continuing as leader.

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28. A revisionist account of this episode, reported without reference to quicklime by O'Brien (1899), ii. 300-3, and immortalized by Joyce in 'Gas from a Burner', lines 19-20, runs as follows: 'Parnell was to speak in the square of Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny, and Michael Davitt, who had split with Parnell over the Kilmainham Treaty and opposed his leadership after the divorce case, was to speak there too on the same day. Davitt, the town's favourite, urged his supporters not to attend the Parnellite meeting: to the crowd this sounded like a call to battle, the battle being what was familiarly known in the locality as a "croosting match", "croost" being Irish for pelting or throwing missiles'; in the event bags of plaster-of-paris were thrown at Parnell and 'some of the powder entered Parnell's eye. Dr Hackett, who accompanied Parnell, applied customary first aid by licking the powder from Parnell's eye. When they got clear of the town they stopped at the cottage of the good lady who supplied a folk eye-wash based on white of egg to soothe the irritated eye. Dr Hackett dramatized the affair by referring to the powder as "quick-lime" and Parnell put the drama to good effect by wearing an eye cloth at future meetings. Some allege that he would not put on the cloth until nearing the approach of venue' (Tom Lyng, *Castlecomer Connections*, Castlecomer (1984, 132-3).
29. 'He looked like a hunted hind,' a remark recorded on a visit by Parnell to Cork after his defeat in Committee Room 15 (O'Brien (1899), ii. 298). Yeats recalled that 'During the quarrel over Parnell's grave a quotation from Goethe ran through the papers, describing our Irish jealousy; "The Irish seem to me like a pack of hounds, always dragging down some noble stag"' (Autobiographies, New York (1953), 190). The same figure recurs in Yeats, 'Parnell's Funeral'. The common source appears to be: 'The Catholics, though they do not agree among themselves, will always unite against a Protestant. They are like a pack of hounds who will be biting one another until a stag comes in view, when they all unite to run it down' (Johann Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, 7 Apr. 1829). See also Joyce's poem 'The Holy Office' (1904), line 88 (*Poems and Exiles*, 105).
30. Psalms 45: 13-14, 'girded with fringes of various golds', found also in 'The Little Office' designed to honour the Blessed Virgin, recalled in *Portrait* 88.
31. The comparison is between Judas and Timothy Healy (1855-1931), nationalist politician and first Governor-General of the Irish Free State, a leader of the opposition to Parnell's leadership, and the victim of Joyce's first publication, 'Et Tu, Healy'.
32. 'Was he now to be thrown to the "English wolves" because an Englishman forsooth had cast the first stone' (O'Brien (1899), ii. 273). 'Do not flingamejig to the twolves!' (FW 479. 14). Parnell himself inaugurated the phrase in his manifesto of 1890, *To the People of Ireland*: 4 ... understand the measure of the loss with which you are threatened unless you consent to throw me to the English wolves now howling for my destruction.'

THE CITY OF THE TRIBES

Translated from the Italian, 'La citta delle tribu; Ricordi italiani in un porto irlandese', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (11 Aug. 1912).

A considerable amount of the information arranged here by Joyce is taken from James Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of Galway* (1820). Joyce embellishes the Italian connection, whereas a main theme of Hardiman is the Spanish connection. This and the following article about Aran were sent by Joyce from Galway, where he was staying at Nora's mother's house during his last visit to Ireland, July to September 1912. Galway is described as the 'city of the tribes', according to Hardiman, 'an expression first invented by Cromwell's forces, as a term of reproach against the natives of the town, for their singular friendship and attachment to each other, during the time of their unparalleled troubles and persecutions, but which, the latter afterwards adopted, as an honorable mark of distinction between themselves and those cruel oppressors' (*History of Galway*, 6-7).

1. Compare the description of Bray Head in U 1. 181-2.
2. Hardiman in fact cites Henry Cromwell (1628-74), son of Oliver Cromwell and Governor-General of Ireland: 'noe towne or port in the three nations (London excepted) was more considerable' (*History of Galway*, 25). Neither Cromwell nor Hardiman refers to Italy.
3. 'The trade of the town was so much impeded that Andrew Gerrard, a Florentine merchant, who was keeper of the customs in 1310, had a considerable abatement'; in the lists of mayors, bailiffs, and sheriffs of the seventeenth century there is no Giovanni Fante to be found, but the lists include a Martin Founte, an Adam Faunte, and a Geffry Font (*History of Galway*, 56-7, 218, 219, 221).
4. St Nicholas (ft. 340), bishop of Myra, whose relics were stolen thence in 1087 by merchants from the sea port of Bari. The church of St Nicholas in Galway stands opposite the junction of Lombard Street and Bowling Green where Nora's mother lived and Joyce stayed at the time he wrote this article.
5. Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592-1653), papal nuncio, came to Ireland with money and weapons to support the Catholic revolt in the reign of Charles I, the 'martyr king'. Hardiman's account of Rinuccini's efforts in Galway includes all these details and concludes: 'In a fit of rage he ordered their bell to be pulled down and placed two priests at the entry to their chapel, to keep the people from resorting there to prayers' (*History of Galway*, 129).
6. Hardiman identifies two bulls issued by the Borgia, Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503) (*History of Galway*, 237).
7. 'The annals relate, that an Italian traveller, induced by its fame in foreign parts visited the town, and that he carefully remarked and noted its situation and extent, the style of its buildings, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and every other particular worthy of attention. They further state, that being at mass in a private house, (its celebration in

public having been in that year, 1568, first prohibited) he saw, at one view, the blessed sacrament in the hands of the priest, boats passing up and down the river, a ship entering the port in full sail, a salmon killed with a spear, and hunters and hounds pursuing a deer; upon which he observed, that although he had travelled the greater part of Europe, he had never before witnessed a sight which combined so much variety and beauty' (*History of Galway*, 89).

8. 'We had our trade with Spain and the French and with the Flemings before those mongrels were puffed, Spanish ale in Galway, the winebark on the winedark waterway' (U 12. 1296-9).

9. 'The Hollanders, as the story goes, contracted to cover over as much ground, as they wished to obtain, with a certain species of silver coin ... This glittering proposal was at first agreed to by the town's-people; but, upon further reflection, they prudently considered that these industrious settlers might monopolize all their trade, and injure the town, and they accordingly had recourse to a most ingenious artifice to get rid of the agreement when it came to be carried into effect, by insisting that the ground was to be covered with the coin, placed not on the sides, as had been supposed, but close on the edges. This unexpected turn created so material a difference, that it soon put an end to the treaty, which,

if the entire be not, as is most likely, a fable, might have been a service to the country' (History of Galway, 107).

10.

'There were fourteen families ... found in the following verse:

Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, Deane, Darcy, Lynch,
Joyces, Kirwan, Martin, Morris, Skerrett, French.'

The fourteenth family was Ffont (History of Galway, 7, n. 21).

11. 'In the year of 1651 the Marquis of Clanricarde, then Lord Deputy of the kingdom, entered into a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, to obtain twenty thousand pounds for the King's [i.e. Charles II] service in Ireland; for this sum, he agreed to give the City of Limerick and town of Galway as security; and directed his Commissioners ... particularly to describe unto the Duke, the value of the security, the strength and situation of the places and the goodness and conveniency of the harbours, &c.'" For this purpose, a map of the town was made, which, after the restoration, (when the antient inhabitants were restored by the Crown, to their freedoms and estates,) was finished blazoned and described by the Rev. Henry Joyce, then warden; and afterwards elegantly engraved, at the expense of the Corporation, and dedicated to King Charles II' (History of Galway, 25). A copy of Henry Joyce's map is included in Hardiman's History of Galway; the original is held in the Library of Trinity College Dublin.

12. This analysis of the map abbreviates the elaborate description of its symmetries, based on lists of seven and of fourteen items, concluding with the pigeon house, in History of Galway, 25-33. The following lines of verse translated from the map are also given:

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Rome boasts sev'n hills, the Nile its sev'n-fold stream,
Around the pole sev'n radiant planets gleam;
Galway, Conation Rome, twice equals these.

13. This story is told by Hardiman (History of Galway, 75-80).

14. That is, Lynch's Castle at the junction of Shop Street and Abbeygate Street.

15. 'He embraced his unfortunate son and launched him into eternity!' (History of Galway, 79).

16. The Armorial Ensigns of the fourteen ancient families of Galway are given in History of Galway, 8-9. The Roman wolf that fed Romulus and Remus is not included. The two-headed eagle of the Hapsburgs is part of the arms of both the Browne and the Joyce families.

17. 'As described by Lord Clanricarde in 1641 they "were not without a large proportion of pride" '; there is no mention of lust, although Joyce may have in mind 'The following extract [which] is taken from the observations of a lively French traveller ... "There are public assemblies daily, at a moderate price. Sometimes the ladies are dressed, sometimes half-dressed, and sometimes undressed; and, according to these different degrees, these meetings are called assembly, drum, or promenade. The price of entrance differs according to the name" ' (History of Galway, 325, 326-7, n. 18).

18. Nora Barnacle had worked at the age of 12 as portress in the Presentation Convent.

THE MIRAGE OF THE FISHERMAN OF ARAN

Translated from the Italian, 'Il miraggio del pescatore di Aran: La valvola dell'Inghilterra in caso di guerra', *Il Piccolo della Sera* (5 Sept. 1912). Mr Deasy makes reference to the Galway Harbour Scheme in his letter on foot and mouth disease (U 2. 326); and a brief account of the *Il Piccolo* article on Aran and the Galway harbour scheme 'by Mr James Joyce, an Irish-Italian journalist' appears under Joyce's own editorial on 'Politics and Cattle Disease', *Freeman's Journal* (10 Sept. 1912).

Joyce's title makes reference first to Hy-brasil, the illusory western land imagined by the Aran islander, and second to the new Galway harbour scheme, which is described in the prospectus booklet (with map attached), Galway as a Transatlantic Port (n.d. [1912]), a copy of which Joyce consults on his boat journey to and from the island. A copy of this booklet and map is in the archive of the Galway

Harbour Commissioners. The booklet emphasizes the eventuality of war: 'The Question from an Imperial Standpoint ... the expenditure on Galway would in that respect alone be not only recommendable but to most persons seem a work of absolute Imperial necessity ... The construction of the works projected at Galway for a pier at Mutton Island would, with little, if any, additional outlay make invulnerable defences for that coast. A fort at Mutton Island could protect the whole Bay and any fleet inside it ... The German fleet recently visited Galway in the course of its strategic

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cruise around Ireland [which] ... shows what is in the mind of that astute rival of British trade and commercial supremacy' (Galway as a Transatlantic Port, 30-2).

1. Hardiman supplies the basis of Joyce's account of the Claddagh village and its ceremonies (History of Galway, 302-7).

2. A reference to Mutton Island in Galway Bay, a proposed site since 1852 of a new harbour.

3. Joyce closely summarizes arguments and statistics put forward in Galway as a Transatlantic Port, which include the importance to England of alternative shipping routes to those monopolized by America and the control of naval strategy: 'More than all, perhaps, in this question of new routes is the wonderful and rapid developments of Canada. Its recent industrial growth into becoming the granary of Great Britain makes the Dominion in self-interest seek new openings and better trade routes'; 'Galway stands on the highway to America, which is the great industrial storehouse of the future. It is the nearest part of Europe to that great and prosperous land. Communications between Newfoundland, New York, or Boston and Galway is nearer by two days of time and many hundred miles of distance than either Liverpool or Queenstown. The consequent saving in time and money would be of incalculable advantage to British and American commerce, yet because it is Galway and in Ireland, this benefit which God intended as a blessing is of no avail to them' (Galway as a Transatlantic Port, 1-4).

4. Joyce is comparing the recurrent historical aspiration of Galway to be a great transatlantic port with the mythical sighting of Hy-brasil. St Brendan (484-577), author of the *Navigatio* (Brendan's Voyage), charts the discovery of the 'land of promise of the saints', which is often identified both as the mythical island of the west and as America.

5. Inis Mor, the largest of the three islands which, according to Hardiman, 'were anciently overshadowed with wood, of which there are still very evident remains' (History of Galway, 332).

6. St Enda (fl. 550) is patron of Aran, where he was the teacher of Brendan, Fursa (or Fursey), and Finnian. The identification of St Brendan's *Navigatio* as a precursor both of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and of Columbus's choice of his route to America is made in *Le Comte de Montalembert, Les Moines d'Occident*, 6 volumes (Paris, 1860-77), iii. 90-1. The 'hagio-graphic calendar' is that of the Very Rev. Canon John O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints, with special Festivals, and the Commemoration of Holy Persons*. Compiled from Calendars, Martyrologies and various sources, 10 volumes (Dublin: James Duffy, 1875-1903). O'Hanlon states that 'Fursey had angelic apparitions during his lifetime. The sublime Dante has even borrowed the plot of his *Divina Commedia* from the celebrated vision of this saint' (i. 223). For the identification of St Finnian with St Frigidianus, bishop of Lucca, see p.315, n. 19.

7. Synge's description of the Aran islander, so different in its values from that of Joyce, coincides in the matter of dress: 'their flannel shirts and the piquant colour and [shape] of their tam-o-shanters and pampooties' (The

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Aran Islands (1907), in J. M. Synge, *Collected Works*, 4 volumes, London: Oxford University Press (1966), ii. 54). See also, 'The tramper Synge is looking for you, he said, to murder you. He heard you pissed on his hall-door in Glashule. He's out in pampooties to murder you' (U 9. 569-71).

8. See p.148.

9. St Columba who, according to legend, discovered on Aran the grave of an abbot of Jerusalem.

10. Contrast Synge's more naive account of a storyteller on Aran: 'He told me that he had known Petrie and Sir William Wilde, and many living antiquarians, and had taught Irish to Dr Finck, and Dr Pedersen, and given stories to Mr Curtin of America ... As we talked he sat huddled together over the fire, shaking and blind, yet his face was indescribably pliant, lighting up with an ecstasy of humour when he told me of anything that had a point of wit or malice, and growing sombre and desolate again when he spoke of religion or the fairies. He had great confidence in his own powers and talent, and in the superiority of his stories over all other stories in the world' (Synge, *The Aran Islands*, in *Works*, ii. 50).

11. Joyce introduces an Italian neologism, *fumolento*' (Translator's note.)

12. This is an oblique self-reference by Joyce. According to Hardiman's detailed description of the 1657 map of Galway, Henry Joyce had inscribed among the armorial bearings of the four Irish provinces, 'Quasi terebinthus extendens ramos suos' and among the names of such colonies as Virginia, Jamaica, and Montserrat, 'Quasi liliurn germinans germiniabit, et laetabuntur deserta et in via' (*History of Galway*, 267). Joyce runs these together and allows also for a visual comparison with the curved lines on the map (illustrated p.202). 'It will flourish like a lily growing and like a terebinth tree spreading its branches' (*Ecclesiasticus* 24).

POLITICS AND CATTLE DISEASE

Freeman's Journal, (10 Sept. 1912). The text is unsigned but two factors identify it as by Joyce: a letter from Charles Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, 6 September 1912 (Cornell University Library), states that Joyce wrote a sub-editorial on foot and mouth disease in the *Freeman's Journal*, a short article beneath this sub-editorial summarizes Joyce's article on Aran and the Galway harbour scheme and identifies Joyce as its author.

The history of Joyce's interest in solutions to the problem of foot and mouth disease in Irish cattle is available in JJ 325-7 and Letters ii. 300. See also U 2. 321-420, 12. 831-45).

1. Irish Members of Parliament (often anti-Parnellites) who continued to remain outside the Irish Parliamentary Party of John Redmond.
2. John Dillon (1851-1927), Irish politician and supporter of John Redmond.
3. Henry Chaplin, first Viscount Chaplin (1840-1923), and Charles Bathurst, first Viscount Bledisloe (1867-1958), both English politicians and spokesmen for agricultural interests.

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4. Walter Runciman, first Baron Runciman (1847-1937), English shipowner opposed to the protectionist policies of Chaplin and Bathurst.
5. *The Globe* was a conservative London newspaper.
6. *The Irish Times*, a newspaper which had supported the Unionist interest since its foundation in 1859.
7. An eleven-months' man is one who, under the *conacre* system, rents land without full tenant's rights on an annual eleven-month lease.
8. George Russell, 'AE', editor of the *Irish Homestead* which (besides publishing Joyce's first three short stories) devoted most of its space to agricultural economy.

PROGRAMME NOTES FOR THE ENGLISH PLAYERS

CW 250-2. These programme notes date from 1918/1919. Joyce wrote to his friend Georges Borach that he composed them for the English Players (JJ 446-7, 454), an acting group formed by Claud Sykes, an English actor, and by Joyce himself. The group put on these and other plays in Zurich. In June 1918 they presented a triple bill (by Barrie, Synge, Shaw), and in March 1919 on Joyce's advice a single play (by Edward Martyn).

1. *The Twelve Pound Look* (1910) by James Matthew Barrie (1860-1937), Scottish novelist and playwright.

2. Joyce had read the manuscript of Synge's play in Paris in 1902 and condemned it to Stanislaus: 'It is tragic about all the men that are drowned in the islands: but thanks be to God Synge isn't an Aristotelian' (Letters ii. 35). Joyce collaborated in an Italian translation of the play and attempted to organize a production in 1909 for which the Synge estate refused to give the rights.

3. That is, the Greek for 'necessity'.

4. Joyce is reported to have said (5 May 1907) that Synge's art 'is more original than my own' JJ 267).

5. George Bernard Shaw, *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (1911).

6. Mary Fitton (Jl. 1600), maid of honour to Elizabeth I, identified as the 'dark lady' of Shakespeare's sonnets by Thomas Tyler, in his facsimile edition of the Sonnets (1886); Frank Harris (1856-1931), Irish journalist, author of *The Man Shakespeare* (1909).

7. 'To the onlie begetter of these insuing sonnets Mr W. H. all happiness ... - the dedication to Shakespeare's Sonnets (1609).

8. Edward Martyn, *The Heather Field* (1899). For Joyce's earlier relation to Martyn's work see 'The Day of the Rabblement', p.51.

FROM A BANNED WRITER TO A BANNED SINGER

The New Statesman and Nation, NS, 3/53 (27 Feb. 1932), 260-1. Also published in *Hound and Horn*, 1932. See also JJA 2. 310-30 for MSS variants. Joyce published this piece, a model of devices complicated and refined in *Finnegans Wake*, in order to further the declining career of John Sullivan, an

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Irish-French tenor whom Joyce befriended in Paris in 1929. *The New Statesman and Nation* provides an introduction to Joyce's text:

In this remarkable document, Mr. James Joyce gives his impressions of his friend, Mr. Sullivan of the Paris Opera, in several of his leading roles. Many competent critics regard Mr. Sullivan as the most extraordinary dramatic tenor that Europe has listened to for the last half century. Mr. Joyce complains that Mr. Sullivan is 'banned' or at least unknown in England. The reflections written here were sent in a letter to Mr. Sullivan by Mr. Joyce after an occasion on which the singer was carried shoulder high by his Marseilles admirers after an astonishing performance in 'Guillaume Tell'. One knows of no other similar documents, no letters in a tone of intense admiration and sardonic banter sent by, say, Manzoni to Rubini, or by Flaubert to Gilbert Duprez, or by Ibsen to the Swedish Nightingale. Lovers of grand opera will recognise the operatic situations and phrases with which the text is studded and detect under the mask of their Christian names the three divi who figure in the final quartette. The document which the singer has kindly placed at our disposal is published with Mr. Joyce's permission.

1. Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868), *William Tell* (1829), an opera in which Sullivan sang the role of Arnold. 'Fidelson' is a pun on Fido, on Beethoven's *Fidelia*, and on the emblem of the faithful lion of Zurich. 'Mastiff' is a pun on His Masters Voice, a trade mark of RCA Victor recording company.

2. Sullivan's family came from Co. Cork and, originally, from Co. Kerry. Collard is a manufacturer of grand pianos. The Macgillicuddy Reeks are mountains in Co. Kerry. In *William Tell*, Act IV, Arnold sings an aria on visiting his paternal home 'for the last time'.

3. The 'Bantry gang', named from Bantry in Co. Cork, opposed Parnell after the divorce case. It included Timothy Healy and his uncle Timothy Daniel Sullivan, who set his ballad 'God Save Ireland' to the tune of 'Tramp, tramp, tramp, The boys are marching'. Philip O'Sullivan Beare (c.1590-1660) served in the army of the king of Spain. John ('Jay') L. Sullivan (1858-1918), American heavyweight boxer. Barry Sullivan (1821-91) was a 'barnstorming' actor from Cork. Arthur Sullivan (1842- 1900), whose varied works include a *Te Deum* (1872) and 'The Lost Chord', and who created with W. S. Gilbert in their light opera, *Pinafore*, a gallant captain who cannot utter the 'great big D-'.
4. Hector Berlioz (1803-69), *The Damnation of Faust* (1846). 'Parigot' is the argot of Paris. The Trocadero was the concert hall of Paris. Balaclava is the Crimean town which gives its name to the battle of the 'Charge of the Light Brigade', and puns on klavier, German for piano. The 'Impressario'

is Mephistopheles in Faust and the 'garden in the cool of the evening' parodies Genesis 3: 8. 'Thank you, gentle twilight' is the devil's aria in Act III of The Damnation of Faust .

5. Camille Saint-Saens (1835-1921), French composer in whose opera Samson et Delila (1877) Joyce imagines Sullivan taking the part of Samson. In

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the opera's last scene Samson is led by a child, as is the virtuous king in Isaiah 11:6. Simpson's is a restaurant in the Strand, London. Timnath is the city of Samson's first wife. Joyce alludes to the prophet's treading in the winepress, Isaiah 63: 3-4, and to Samson's destruction of the temple. B flat is the last note sung by Samson in Saint-Saens's opera.

6. 'Laib' is German for 'loaf' and proposes a pun on Leib, German for 'body', and Leben, German for 'life'. 'Dr' is an abbreviation for 'debit'. 'Braun' and 'Brot' are German for 'meat' and 'bread'. Liebfraumilch is a German white wine.

7. Sullivan sang Verdi's Otello in Dublin on 27 April 1930 and, afterwards, was urged to make a speech. Daniel Sullivan (c.1739-64), Irish countertenor, and Daniel O'Connell, orator and politician from Co. Kerry, provide a pun on Dan, the native land of Samson. Muskerry is a barony in Sullivan's Co. Cork and provides a pun on the final lines of Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost : 'The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.' Compare also the motto of the Irish-French family, Rohan: 'Roy tie puys, Due tie dayctie, Rohan suys ': 'I cannot be king, deign not to be duke, I am a Rohan.'

8. *Durch diese hohle Gasse muss er kommen*: 'He will have come through this narrow pass' (J. C. F. von Schiller, William Tell. iv. iii). Melckthal is a valley in Switzerland and the name of Arnold's father in Rossini's William Tell. 'Wartemal' is German for 'let's see'. '*Gewittermassen*' is a pun on the German for 'in a certain way' and for 'storm'. 'Heitna' is German for 'home'. The 'ritzprinz' is Cesar Ritz (1850-1918), founder of the Ritz hotel chain. 'Chyberschwitzerhoofs' includes among its puns 'low-class Swiss hotels'. The 'Feuerzauber' is the fire music in Richard Wagner's Die Walküre. 'Pass auf' is German for 'pay attention'. Thalwil is a Swiss commune. Rossini's William Tell ends with the words: "Liberté redescend des cieux ': 'Liberty comes down again from heaven'. Calville is a kind of apple.

9. Richard Wagner, Tannhauser (1845). Castle Wartburg was Tannhauser's home before Venus dominated him and its name is the same as the castle in which Luther sought refuge after the Diet of Worms. 'Montague de passe' puns on maison de passe : 'a brothel' and Venus' mount. 'Casheselks' derives from 'cachesexe': 'G-string'. 'Pierreuse' is French for 'streetwalker'. 'The harp that once thro' Tara's halls' is by Thomas Moore.

'Puttana madonna', a Triestine curse meaning 'God's whore of a mother', recurs in U 16. 14. 'Simplicissima' means 'a very naive girl'. Salve Regina is the prayer 'Hail Holy Queen' addressed to the Madonna. Elizabeth was Tannhauser's first love and, at the end of the first act, he exclaims 'My hope rests in Mary!' 'Bilk' means 'cheat' and 'blak' means 'unchaste'.

10. 'Ecco trovato': 'There he is revealed.' Lucius Licinius Lucullus (c.110-56 bc), a Roman notorious for gluttony. Tarbert is a village in Co. Kerry. Chateau Kirwan refers to the wine of a vineyard near Bordeaux. Contrary to Ellmann's claim that Joyce intends 'a poor Irish imitation of French wine' (CW 265), the vineyard developed by the Kirwan family of Galway is considered to produce one of the premier wines of Bordeaux.

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'Thuriferant' translates as 'carrying like a thurible or censer'. 'Nullo modo', 'in no way'. 'Muftimummed' translates as 'dressed in civilian clothes'. 'Up to mighty London came an Irishman one day', a line from the popular song 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary'.

11. Jakob Liebmann Beer, pseudonym Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), composer, most famous for his spectacular operas, including Les Huguenots (1836) about the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of Protestants in Paris. Joyce adapts the nursery rhyme 'Oranges and lemons, say the bells of St Clement's', and inserts the names of churches in Paris instead of in London. The churches referred to are St Andre, St Barthelemy, Notre Dame, St Clotilde, St Sulpice, and St Germain l'Auxerrois. In

authorizing the massacre Charles IX is reported to have declared, 'If they are to be killed, let them all be killed.' 'Pour la foi': 'for the [Catholic] faith'. 'supplice' means 'torture' and puns on St Sulpice.

12. 'Pardie': 'by God'. In the third act of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* Raoul de Nangis, the part sung by Sullivan, observes: 'Look! the Seine is full of blood and bodies.' Valentine is the Catholic beloved of de Nangis and 'swhipstake' is a pun on the Irish Sweepstake, a lottery famous in the 1930s. 'Piffpaf' is the anti-Catholic aria sung by Marcel in *Les Huguenots*. The Dominican order were known both as *Domini canes* (hounds of the lord) and as *frères prêcheurs* (friars who are preachers). Joyce puns, with 'friers pecheurs', on frying and on sinners.

13. Enrico Caruso (1873-1921), Giacomo Lauri-Volpi (1892-1979), and Giovanni Martinelli (1885-1969), famous tenors. A 'claque' is an opera hat. 'somnia' means 'sleep' or 'dream'. A 'Portugal' is a type of oyster. 'Tes gueules' means 'your mouths' or 'shut your gobs'. 'Primi assoluti' means 'star performers'. The three Italian tenors parody 'God Save the King' in praise of Sullivan.

[ON THE MORAL RIGHT OF AUTHORS]

Translated from the French, XV^o Congres International de la Federation PEN (Paris, 1937), 24. Joyce delivered this speech at the 15th International PEN Congress in Paris, 20-7 June 1937. Samuel Roth, through his magazine *Two Worlds Monthly*, had pirated *Ulysses* in the USA. Joyce successfully contrived an international protest and secured an injunction against Roth's continued publication. In this speech Joyce concentrates on the judicial consequences of that injunction for all writers. However, he was disappointed in the response he received: 'I wanted the PEN to take an interest in the pirating of *Ulysses* in the United States but this was brushed aside. It was politics all the way' (JJ 704). The chairman had Joyce's speech incorporated in the minutes.

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