"A VERY FINE PIECE OF WRITING": PARNELL AND THE JOYCEAN TEXT, 1905-1922

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Charles Stewart Parnell was James Joyce's most significant political influence to a degree that has yet to be fully acknowledged or explored. This thesis proposes a “theory of Parnell” in Joyce's works up to the end of *Ulysses*, arguing that close attention to Parnell's evolution points to a significant shift in the evolution of Joyce's literary forms. In Joyce's juvenilia, political writings, and early fiction, Parnell always appears with a heroic, even Messianic, cast, which the most significant moments in the fiction pair with a strict adherence to dramatic forms. However, significant moments in both “Ivy Day in the Committee Room” and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* lay the groundwork for stylistic and representative transformations in *Ulysses*. In that novel, the myth of Parnell is deflated, even as Joyce appropriates its most essential qualities in the development of his panoply of styles. Episodes from “Telemachus” to “Wandering Rocks” critically examine the myth of Parnell even as they link it with the constraints of dramatic forms. Later episodes, most notably “Cyclops,” “Circe,” and “Eumaeus” attempt to make use of elements of “Parnellite” style, training a community of readers in acts of collective imagination that keep the Parnellite spirit alive by moving away from a strict focus on his historical specificity.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The fall of Charles Stewart Parnell was as significant to the life of the young James Joyce as it was to the politics of Home Rule. Following his father, who was a devout Parnellite, Joyce embraced the idea that the loss of Parnell had been a great loss for Ireland.¹ At age ten, he drew on idealistic public narratives of Parnell to draft his first known poem, "Et Tu, Healy?"² And though that poem has been lost, Parnell reappears with some frequency in the works that Joyce came to be known for: he is the subject of a *Dubliners* story, "Ivy Day in the Committee Room"; he is a major presence in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, especially the first chapter; somewhat changed, he appears and reappears with some frequency in *Ulysses*; he is one of the many historical personages who populate the cryptic depths of *Finnegans Wake*. For many, there is no more to the story of Joyce and Parnell than this: a series of references, important only in the sense that they provide historical context and fulfill biographical curiosity. Yet Parnell, or the idea of him, was an essential touchstone of Joyce's political worldview, and any attempt to understand Joyce's fiction politically should account for the presence of the "Chief."

Joyce's nonfiction accounts of the Parnell story—from Parnell's ascent during the Irish Land Wars of the late 1870s from agitator to parliamentarian, to his Irish Parliamentary Party's decade-long domination of Irish politics and advocacy for Home Rule, to the controversy surrounding the revelation of his affair with Englishwoman Katharine O'Shea, the wife of


Captain William O'Shea, to his ultimate deposition and death—do not significantly challenge the basic view of Parnell as a mythical figure with little substantive purchase in later political developments in Ireland. These nonfiction treatments, particularly the 1912 article "L'Ombra di Parnell" ("The Shade of Parnell") recite Parnell's achievements with the breathless diligence of a Homeric catalogue. The article triumphantly charts Parnell's swift rise and tragic fall, noting that Parnell's movement "united behind him every element of Irish life." Parnell's English foes, by contrast, are portrayed as cowardly and weak; his character and political effectiveness are contrasted with their ineptitude. Other, briefer nonfiction discussions of Parnell, such as that which appears in the 1907 lecture "Irlanda, Isola dei Santi e dei Savi" ("Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages") often follow a similar course; in the lecture, Parnell is briefly sketched as a "thorn in the English side" fueled by his outrage at that nation's colonial cruelty (CW 166). The one-dimensionality of these portraits is a feature, not a bug, in Joyce's nonfiction writing. In his fiction, however, Parnell is variously treated with more subtlety, nuance, and, ultimately, interest, and many aspects of these fictive treatments still have yet to be fully explored.

Frank Callanan has recently observed that Joyce's written treatments of Parnell have "received neither sustained critical analysis nor close historical consideration"; in doing so, he glosses over a small number of pertinent studies. Shorter discussions of Parnell in relation to 3 Of course, this gloss leaves out plenty of detail. For a fuller picture of Parnell the man, there are several illuminating biographies, such as R. F. Foster, Charles Stewart Parnell: The Man and his Family, (Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1976) and F. S. L. Lyons, Charles Stewart Parnell, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). For a more historically grounded overview of Parnellism as a political movement, see R. F. Foster, "The Politics of Parnellism," in Modern Ireland 1600-1972, (London: Allen Lane and the Penguin Press, 1988), 400-430. Also relevant to this project is Frank Callanan's study of Parnell's fall and its aftermath: see Callanan, The Parnell Split, 1890-91, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992).


Dubliners, particularly "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," and, to a lesser extent, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, are relatively common; to many, he is an element of Joyce's stylistic method, one of several tributary streams flowing into an overarching politics. Critics as varied as Colin MacCabe, Hélène Cixous, Dominic Manganiello, James Fairhall, and Andrew Gibson have given Parnell and Parnellism an important role in their readings of Joyce, often while noting the historicity of Joyce's Parnell Myth. It may be, though, that Callanan is referring to readings that trace Parnell's presence throughout Joyce's work, in which case he is closer to the truth. Of the critics who have attempted to read Joyce's Parnell as something other than historical trivia, only two scholars besides Callanan, Adaline Glasheen and Enda Duffy, have devoted sustained critical attention specifically to Joyce's employment of Parnell. Together with Callanan's reading, Glasheen and Duffy give a useful framework for beginning to read and reconsider Joyce's Parnell.

The first and, for some time only, extended critical take on Joyce's Parnell was Adaline Glasheen's "Joyce and the Three Ages of Charles Stewart Parnell." According to Glasheen, this Parnell is "a power, no longer present, that pervades men's minds," who undergoes a number of distinct transformations over the course of Joyce's oeuvre. Mimicking Giambattista Vico's progression of historical ages from Scienza nuova, Parnell evolves from the living "hero-king" of

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7 William Michael Murphy, The Parnell Myth and Irish Politics, 1891-1956, (New York, Berne, and Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 1986). Although Murphy deliberately excludes literary narratives from his study, he notes that Joyce drew on the Myth. See Murphy, 1.


9 Glasheen, 151.
A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, whose death initiates a new historical epoch, to the "slain god" that hovers over "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" before finally being transformed into a "human sinner" by Ulysses and its hero, Leopold Bloom. His transformation has the dual function of demonstrating the follies of various kinds of extremism—clerical, Fenian, loyalist—and ushering in the next stage in the heroic cycle by elevating Stephen Dedalus to the position of hero. In all cases, these transformations are matters of perspective, "a creation in the minds of the beholders" produced and shaped by a common imagination. That element of communal construction binds every iteration of Joyce's Parnell—"Parnell the man is just as much an imaginative creation as Parnell the god, or Parnell the hero"—and the same holds true both across works and within them. Ulysses in particular holds several different Parnells, but Glasheen's examination is too far-reaching, and too brief, to fully account for them all. Later Joyceans would delve deeper into particular aspects of the characteristics Glasheen identified, offering them more nuance and depth.

Enda Duffy's article "Parnellism and Rebellion: The Irish War of Independence and the Revisions of the Heroic in Ulysses" builds on Glasheen's reading of Joyce's Parnell for the postcolonial era, albeit with a narrower focus on Joyce's most celebrated novel. Duffy argues that the events leading up to the establishment of the Irish Free State—particularly the 1916 Rising and the ensuing War of Independence—forced a change in Joyce's conception of the

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10 Glasheen, 160, 164, 169. For the Vichian connection, see Glasheen, 167-168. Glasheen arranges her stages chronologically according to when Joyce's works are set, rather than by the order of their publication.

11 Glasheen, 167.

12 Glasheen, 174.

heroic, which manifests itself in *Ulysses* through a "dethroning of Parnell."\textsuperscript{14} Parnell is transformed from a romanticized, distant, and elevated figure into one manifestly—and comically—human, signaling Joyce's cautious investment in Ireland's new national and political project. In tracing Parnell's evolution, Duffy passes through several episodes of the novel, extending from "Nestor" to "Eumaeus." His primary interest is in how the changes to Parnell's portrayal reflect changes in Joyce's own attitudes about his relationship to his home country. Although he reads the iterations of Parnell that appear later in *Ulysses* as satiric, he too notes the communal quality of Joyce's Parnell's construction. The dynamic relationship between Joyce's changing attitude towards Parnell and his means of depicting him are key to Duffy's reading, but the intriguing links he draws between the two are often left to linger in isolation, never quite fully fleshed out.

Wittingly or not, Callanan's article builds on these interpretations, adding a "close historical consideration" that adds a dimension of concreteness to his predecessors' observations.\textsuperscript{15} His "The Parnellism of James Joyce: 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room'" takes that story as a critical turning point in both *Dubliners* and Joyce's writing more generally, using close reading and historical material to argue that Parnell is and remains a central figure in Joyce's depictions of Irish public life. To Callanan, "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" marks Joyce's first "mature deployment of the Parnell myth," taking as its subject not the historical personality Charles Stewart Parnell, but instead a Parnell figure based in popular memory and constructed through an oral and printed political culture.\textsuperscript{16} Ultimately, Parnell is a means to the end of imagining better political possibilities for Ireland, a "national and democratic emanation"

\begin{footnotes}
\item[15] Callanan, "Parnellism," 73.
\item[16] Callanan, "Parnellism," 87.
\end{footnotes}
from the Irish people, serving as the raw material from which they can draw a more complete sense of national identity. And though his focus is on *Dubliners*, Callanan traces this sense of communal construction throughout Joyce's major works, ending by quoting from *Finnegans Wake*. His reading, it seems, is the culmination of the work done on Joyce's Parnell thus far—lucid, historically informed, and gesturing towards comprehensivity.

What these readings all share is a view of Parnell as a figure existing in an imaginative space created by the characters. In this sense, he's a kind of national imagining—he serves as a binding agent for the larger community of the downtrodden Irish, a figure more capable of uniting disparate perspectives under the national umbrella of "Ireland" than any other binding agent. They also, it should be noted, represent a kind of consensus, albeit one emerging at such a glacial pace that it seems Joyce studies has yet to acknowledge it. In my view, such readings do not quite account for the variation, evolution, and subtlety that colors the different depictions of Parnell in Joyce's work. For one, many of these readings give Joyce's Parnell the kind of unchanging, monolithic quality that Callanan identifies in accounts like "L'Ombra di Parnell"; when they do note evolution, they mostly do so in a broad, cursory way. The emphasis on Joyce's adherence to the tenets of Parnellite mythology in his early works can obscure the ways those same works lay the groundwork for a later challenge to that mythology. Similarly, an emphasis on his early techniques for depicting Parnell neglects the evolution those techniques underwent as Joyce moved towards ever more complex modes of written expression.

What I intend to offer here is a reading of Joyce's Parnell that builds on these readings of

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17 Callanan, "Parnellism," 90.
Parnell "as imagined" within Joyce's narratives to examine Parnell "as written" in Joyce's texts. It is something of a commonplace in Joyce studies to note the Herculean leaps in style that occur from one work to the next—_Ulysses_ on its own famously makes use of a polyglot of warring techniques. These styles, particularly since the rise of postcolonial criticism, have frequently been read as modes of resistance to the various linguistic impositions of both British and Irish Cultural Nationalism, a thesis which has gained broad support within both Modernist and Postcolonial studies.¹⁹ What I am suggesting here is that Joyce's styles of resistance, or at least some of their aspects, sprung from his engagement with and consideration of the mythologies surrounding Charles Stewart Parnell. In a sense, I'm elaborating on ideas put forth by the scholars whose work I briefly sketched or alluded to above, including Andrew Gibson, who proposes early in his book _Joyce's Revenge_ that the Parnell Myth is an essential component of _Ulysses'_ anticolonial style.²⁰ However, where Gibson indicates influence, or where Duffy indicates evolution, I intend to demonstrate both, offering a more detailed, complete reading of Joyce's Parnellite form than has previously been articulated.

In a sense, the "problem" I have identified in these readings of Joyce's Parnell resembles the "problem of language" that Jacques Derrida explored in _Of Grammatology_.²¹ Derrida describes a subsuming of the characteristics of language—"action, movement, thought, reflection, consciousness, the unconscious, experience, affectivity, etc."—under the broader umbrella term _writing_, a trend to which he objected because it limited the possibilities

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²⁰ Gibson, 3-8.

imaginable for writing. Derrida pushes back against the phonocentric view, arguing instead for the importance, even primacy, of written modes. A similar resistance to phonocentrism can be found in Joyce, particularly the Joyce of *Ulysses*, who chafes so spectacularly against the constraints of received forms, received politics, and received identities. Like Derrida, Joyce finds in texts the possibility of expansion—first of imagination, but eventually of ideas of politics and identity as well. But as Derrida came to this discovery in part by reading the later Joyce, Joyce arrived at this conclusion in part by engaging in his writing with Parnell, as both a mythical and historical phenomenon. *Ulysses* in particular dissolves Parnellite models of Irish identity and resistance politics in favor of more horizontal and democratic ones, conveyed at several points in that novel's interplay between its narrative and forms. As I show, Joyce's project was concerned with political liberation, but it only became so after a lengthy consideration of the many political and social obstacles between the Irish and their freedom, a consideration that occurred, in large part, through the medium of Joyce's onetime hero, Parnell.

By the 1930s, Joyce was professing disgust with politics, an attitude which would significantly color a generation of critical opinion. At their last meeting, in 1939, Joyce snapped at his brother Stanislaus: "For God's sake don't talk politics. I'm not interested in politics. The only thing that interests me is style" (quoted in *JJ* 697). Such a response might be a sign of irritability, annoyance, or indeed disinterest in the subject. But in another sense, it is

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24 See Attridge and Howes, 13-17 for the political turn in Joyce studies.
25 Also see Manganiello, 1.
misleading to talk, at least in relation to Joyce, of "politics" and "style" as two separate entities. Key elements of Joyce's style were developed in political contexts, using political figures, in an attempt to address what are fundamentally political questions. For Joyce, the questions of "politics" are contained under the broader umbrella of "style"—to speak of the latter is to speak of the former, for they are one and the same.
CHAPTER 2

"THE ONLY MAN WHO COULD KEEP THAT BAG OF CATS IN ORDER": THE

PARNELL MYTH AND DRAMATIC FORM

Building on Frank Callanan's analysis, I suggest that Joyce's maturation as a distinctly Parnellite writer is reflected in the textual forms his works take as they evolve. The young Joyce was, in many respects, a dramatist, and he conceived of Irish politics generally (and Parnell in particular) in dramatic terms. Stanislaus Joyce frames the entirety of his brother's political evolution as an understanding of the fall of Parnell as a significant dramatic event, an iteration of a particular dramatic type:

In his childhood, the vaguely understood drama of Parnell had not stirred any feelings of patriotism or nationalism in his heart; rather, under his father's influence, it had implanted there an early spirit of revolt against hypocrisy and clerical authority and popular servility to it.... My brother was always of opinion that a dramatist could understand only one or two of life's tragedies, and that he always presented different aspects of the few he understood. One of the tragedies that obsessed my brother's imagination, beginning from the time he first understood the Mass as drama, was the tragedy of dedication and betrayal. In later life, the story of Parnell became for him another aspect of that tragedy.26

According to Stanislaus, Joyce's entire understanding of what he calls the "Irish national question" boils down to a series of variations on a single dramatic theme, each of which is formed in reaction to the broader culture's contemporary understanding of that same theme: following his youthful embrace of Parnell as rallying cry against authority, Joyce "stood aloof" from him when the latter's name becomes a nationalist rallying cry; later, when Parnell became a "memory of the dead" in Joyce's college days, he recognized that the dramatic emotions once stirred by the Parnell controversy had begun to fade. In a sense, the trajectory Stanislaus outlines is a sketch of the one detailed by Callanan, but Stanislaus' framing of the issue in dramatic terms

26 Joyce, My Brother's Keeper, 172-173.
is revealing. It is also, as I show, imperfect, in the sense that his metaphorical use of drama has significant limitations.

Understanding the young Joyce is in part an exercise in understanding his attraction to dramatic forms, an interest which played an important role in the development of his early style. His first publication was an article on the work of the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (CW 47-61). Many of his early writings and lectures were written on drama and dramatic subjects, including the 1900 university lecture "Drama and Life" (CW 38-46), where he articulated his belief that the finest dramatic art both arose from and depicted the deepest truths of life. Before turning to fiction, he had intended to become a dramatist himself; one of his earliest known works, now lost, was a play called "A Brilliant Career," which he called "the/first true work of my life" (L II 7). Although Joyce was never to find success as a dramatist—his only extant play, *Exiles*, was (and remains) little-loved and rarely performed—he sought to reproduce drama's effects in his fiction, emulated the form's "experiential" qualities in *Dubliners* and the early, unfinished novel *Stephen Hero*. In an essay on the "dramatic" *Dubliners*, Valérie Bénéjam has provided an apt description of his technique:

> There is nothing but a juxtaposition of discourses, and a blurred distinction between written and spoken words, not even retaining the artificial but clear typographical division of written theatre whereby capitals or italics are reserved for character names and stage directions.²⁷

Bénéjam argues convincingly that one effect of these aesthetic choices is to create an ephemerality that allows the story to emulate the performance of a play. The techniques described are prevalent not just in *Dubliners*—they are used throughout Joyce's work. Several episodes in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and many throughout *Ulysses*, make use of

this dramatic mode in some form or another. Yet discussions of the dramatic Joyce frequently conflate the earlier manifestations of the form with the later, suggesting equivalency between them rather than mere continuity.

More recently, Bénéjam has observed that Joyce's early uses of dramatic technique are most pronounced when he depicts debates surrounding Irish nationalism, and Parnell's downfall specifically.\textsuperscript{28} Generally, Joyce appropriates the theater as "a model for writing conversations"—by emulating theatrical forms, especially those of Henrik Ibsen, Gerard Hauptmann, and, Bénéjam argues, Shakespeare, he was able to represent interpersonal interactions more realistically, in keeping with his broader aim of making art that isn't "marred by such mistaken insistence on its religious, its moral, its beautiful, its idealizing tendencies" (\textit{CW} 44).\textsuperscript{29} Following Emer Nolan, Bénéjam interprets this use of theatrical dialogism as Joyce's means of "'[articulating] in its full complexity' the 'divided consciousness of the colonial subject.'"\textsuperscript{30} In addition, Joyce's decisions to work in a dramatic mode can also be understood as a response to the influence of the Irish Cultural Nationalism of W. B. Yeats, George Russell (AE), and Lady Gregory, which then dominated the cultural scene in his home country, and against whom the precocious, abrasive newcomer came to ostentatiously position himself. For the young Joyce, drama was certainly a political mode as well as an artistic one, allowing him to pay homage to his heroes and attack his rivals while cultivating a unique sense of national identity. In this Parnell was and remained a model. But as Joyce's views evolved, his styles did too, and the links between the two have yet to be fully fleshed out in a Parnellite context.


\textsuperscript{29} Bénéjam, "Shakespeare's Theater," 4.

What Bénéjam and others have identified as a single tendency—that is, that certain episodes in Joyce's fiction can effectively be described as drama—appears to actually be two tendencies, related but separate and distinct.\(^{31}\) The key difference between the "drama" of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and the "drama" of, for instance, the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses* is that all of the elements in "Ivy Day" could conceivably be staged without significant alteration. A staged version of "Ivy Day" could preserve the story's meaning in a way that would be difficult, if not impossible, for much of Joyce's other "dramatic" fiction. Though this distinction might seem arbitrary, given the obvious fact that all of the texts under consideration here are prose fictions and not dramatic scripts, it is significant because it represents a transition away from *representative* writing, or writing that is meant to represent reality in the neorealist mode, to writing of another kind. By transitioning from one kind of writing to the other, Joyce necessarily moves from one mode of representing Parnell—that which depends on the collective imagination of his characters—to another, suggesting a transition from one kind of national imagining to another. In other words, the "democratic emanation" that Callanan has named, and that other critics have described, moves from the spirit of Parnell as represented in the consciousnesses of the characters into the styles and forms employed by the text itself. Although this transformation is most visible in *Ulysses*, it occurs over the course of Joyce's work, beginning as far back as *Dubliners*.

The *Dubliners* story "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" is notable for its combination of

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Parnellite subject matter and "pure" dramatic technique. Though the story is set in 1902, more than a decade after Parnell's death, it is saturated in references to him. The title alone contains two: "Ivy Day" being Parnell's birthday, which was transformed into a somber holiday following his death, and the "Committee Room" being a reference to Committee Room no. 15 of the English Parliament, where in 1890 the Irish Parliamentary Party voted to remove him from leadership.\(^{32}\) In the wake of this removal, Irish politics have grown sunken and ineffectual. Its characters are often loosely read as stand-ins for the now-fractured (and greatly diminished, in the sense that these opinions no longer reflect the optimism and possibility once provided by Parnell and Home Rule) range of Irish political opinion: from the "left-leaning O'Connor, to the ambivalent center of Mr. Henchy... to Crofton the conservative Orangeman on the far right."\(^{33}\)

Despite this range of opinion, most of the characters are canvassers for the Irish Party candidate, Richard Tierney. The effect of such a wide range of characters converging on a single candidate gives off not the scent of consensus, as it would have under Parnell, but rather the sense that the political system has grown anemic and inadequate for meeting the needs of its citizenry. In this sense, the story's lack of a single perspective gives it a feeling of rootlessness, anchored as it is only by the shade of Parnell lurking in the subtext.

Notably, the one character who canvasses for Tierney's opponent Colgan, who "goes in to represent the labour classes,"\(^{34}\) remains a loyal Parnellite—in this, Joe Hynes' politics resemble

\(^{32}\) For more detailed accounts of this sequence of events, see Callanan, Parnell Split, 7-191 and Lyons, Charles Stewart Parnell, 515-607.


Joyce's, which are "a composite of the Parnellite and the socialist." 35 Hynes' entrance into the committee room is critical because it marks Joyce's introduction of a surrogate into his fictional world. 36 Joyce does little to distinguish Hynes' point of view from the others'—even when Mr. Henchy conspiratorially suggests that Hynes is a "spy of Colgan's" (D 124) who's perhaps "in the pay of the Castle" (D 125), Mr. O'Connor defends him as a "decent skin," "hard up like the rest of us" (D 124). His presence serves a key function in the story, in that it establishes the author's point of view as one among the various options available. More specifically, he provides an important counterpoint to many of the story's reigning sentiments: that the post-Parnell consensus is acceptable, or at least tolerable, that the Irish Party remains viable as an institution within Irish society, and that Irish politics more broadly are functionally serving their constituents. Critically, he also, at a climactic moment, disturbs the relationship between Dubliners' dramatic modes and its textual employment of them, providing an important key to reading his author's evolution in his succeeding works. His recitation of his poem "The Death of Parnell" at the story's conclusion consolidates the competing viewpoints present in the committee room under the broader umbrella of a formless, but nonetheless genuine, admiration for Parnell. Thus, Joyce's perspective at the time of the story's composition is granted a certain amount of privilege in a story attempting to present itself neutrally. I'll elaborate on the implications of this  

35 The phrase is Frank Callanan's, used to describe the "political sensibility" of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." See Callanan, "Parnellism," 86. James Fairhall identifies several correspondences between Colgan and the Irish socialist James Connolly — and, more broadly, the connections between "Ivy Day" and the Irish Labour Party's evaporation as a political force in the early 20th Century. See Fairhall, James Joyce, 92-103, and Fairhall, "Colgan-Connolly: Another Look at the Politics of 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room,'" James Joyce Quarterly 25, no. 3 (1988): 289-303. Frank Callanan, for his part, is skeptical of some of Fairhall's claims; see Callanan, "Parnellism," 94 n. 12. Many other critics have noted how Joyce's politics blend Parnellism and socialism in sometimes contradictory ways, including Manganiello, Fogarty, and Paul Delany. See Delany, "Joyce's Political Development and the Aesthetic of Dubliners," College English 34, no. 2 (1972): 256-266. 

36 For correspondences between Joyce and Hynes, see Delany, 263.
more below, but first I show how this emphasis on the Joycean perspective manifests itself in the story's form, and the role Parnell plays in employing that form.

Perhaps more than any other story in the collection, "Ivy Day" stands out for the stringency of its use of neorealist dramatic forms. It is confined to a single, stage-like setting upon which its characters enter, say their lines, perform distinct, concrete actions, and finally exit. And like other Dubliners stories, "Ivy Day" goes to great lengths to remove textual cues, such as inverted commas to indicate dialogue, in an attempt to give the illusion of a theatrical spontaneity.37 Readers are meant to experience a kind of theater in which they are both audience and players: famously, Joyce's view of Dubliners was as a "nicely polished looking glass" through which the Irish would be able to "[have] one good look at themselves" (L I 64). But while Joyce intends for the reader's transformation into a spectator to have an instructive effect—for his implication is that the act of seeing alone may be enough to inspire an epiphany, the germ of awareness through which the audience grasps truth and can begin effecting change—it also has the side effect of encouraging a kind of passivity. In the political context of the committee room, which doubles as a representative of the stage, this passivity helps grind Dublin's political machinery to a halt.

This may account for the ultimately ineffectual quality of speech acts in the world of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room"—they are reminders of a system in which the mechanisms binding the polity to their representatives has broken down. The story repeatedly draws attention to the frustrated relationship the canvassers have to their representatives, particularly in Mr. Henchy's impersonations of key political figures. Every major political representative discussed in the story is at some point mimicked by Mr. Henchy. In most cases, the effect conveyed is of general

37 See Bénéjam, "Charades and Gossip."
impotence, as when he recalls with frustration at Tierney's evasiveness on the matter of canvasser pay:

—....O, now, Mr Henchy, when I see the work going on properly I won't forget you, you may be sure.... O, now, Mr Henchy, I must speak to Mr Fanning.... I've spent a lot of money[.] \(D\) 123

Later, when he accuses Hynes in absentia of being a spy, Henchy imagines Colgan offering this directive, the implications of which are clear from his conspiratorial fretting about Hynes:

—....Just go round and try to find out how they're getting on. They won't suspect you. \(D\) 133

Later, as the canvassers debate what a visit from King Edward VII might mean for Ireland, Henchy charitably imagines him as an affable sort of character, suggesting a kind of resignation to the English presence in Ireland:

—.....That old one [Queen Victoria] never went to see these wild Irish. By Christ, I'll go myself and see what they're like. \(D\) 132

Every impersonation offers, to a greater or lesser extent, the sense that the machinery of political representation has broken down, for in each case, Henchy's mimicry protests, laments, or attempts to justify a lack of political control. His impersonation of Tierney, the only one that recalls an actual event, serves as a kind of attempt at resistance to mistreatment; the others are fantastical attempts at explanation. But in the context of the story, all of Henchy's encounters with political representatives are effectively dialogues with himself, endlessly returning, frustrated and defeated, to the closed space of the committee room. There may be no better icon of this frustration than Parnell himself, also impersonated by Henchy, who recalls Irish Party's glory days with a delight in their savage ferocity:

—....He was the only man who could keep that bag of cats [Parliament] in order. Down, ye dogs! Lie down, ye curs! That's the way he treated them. \(D\) 133
In this power fantasy of Parnell, a dramatization of past strength is summoned up to mask present-day weakness. It has already been shown by this point in the story that Henchy's allegiance to Parnell is tenuous at best; in addition to the charitable impression of Edward VII quoted above, Henchy also flatly dismisses concerns about the propriety of the king's visit by noting that "Parnell... is dead" (D 132). It is critical, I think, that Henchy's twofaced expressions of impotence are sandwiched between a comment of Crofton's and the return of Joe Hynes—in other words, it is suspended between reactionary Unionism and an enduring Parnellite spirit. In this, Henchy's own contradictions are reflected in the structure of the story itself, specifically in its employment of dramatic and non-dramatic forms.

The moments when "Ivy Day" deviates from its dramatic construction are highly suggestive, further hinting that Joyce found the reader-as-spectator approach constraining even from the beginning. Early in the story, Mr. O'Connor pulls from his pocket "a pack of thin pasteboard cards" soliciting votes for Tierney (D 119). Before anything else, these cards give the reader a taste of what sort of candidate is now running on Parnell's degraded ticket:

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
ROYAL EXCHANGE WARD
Mr Richard J. Tierney, P.L.G., respectfully solicits the favour of your vote and influence at the coming election in the Royal Exchange Ward (D 119)

Frank Callanan observes that "P.L.G." stands for "Poor Law Guardian," an indication that Tierney is "a respectable personage likely to be of a socially conservative disposition." He adds that the use of the card itself is a subtle signal to Unionists and other conservatives that Tierney, if elected, will provide no significant challenge to the status quo. Tierney is a candidate for them, as much as, if not more than, for the all of those who might be called, in O'Connor's phrasing,

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38 Callanan, "Parnellism," 76.
"hard up like the rest of us" (D 124). But in providing this information, the card bucks the story's dominant tendency of mimicking dramatic forms. Such a prop would be invisible to an audience watching this scene being performed on a stage, so, in addition to signaling Tierney's politics to the reader, the card briefly allows the story to manifest itself as text. The effect here is to signal at the story's outset a destabilization of "Ivy Day's" affected theatricality, thereby providing a gap through which its author can slip. For this moment, at least, Joyce is peeking out from behind his dramatic mask, suggesting instead an alternative stylistic mode offering more clarity, and more agency, than the strictures of dramatic form have previously allowed.

Which returns me to Hynes' recitation of "The Death of Parnell," a moment that serves as a contrast to the story's dominating array of perspectives. Though the recitation is an oral event, Joyce repeatedly draws attention to the poem as a text—first, in its formatting. The all-caps of the title and italics of the date and the text itself lend "The Death of Parnell" a gravitas not apparent through its language alone, which is highly sentimental. Then, the characters themselves draw attention to "The Death of Parnell" as a written text—Mr. O'Connor first introduces the text into the story when he asks Hynes to read "that thing you wrote" (D 133); then, in the story's last line, Mr. Crofton draws attention to the poem's textuality when he calls it a "very fine piece of writing" (D 135). Although Crofton's meaning is ambivalent, indifferent or perhaps dismissive—he is, after all, an Orangeman, as resistant to Parnell's politics as he is to speaking—his comment helps push "The Death of Parnell" into a discursive space that's both spoken and written, both fiction and drama. These two modes indicate something important about how Joyce conceives of Irish, and specifically Parnellite, political mythology. "Ivy Day in

39 Colin MacCabe notes that Crofton here "reproduc[es] the whole ambiguity of the text" of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." In his reading, MacCabe allows for much more of this ambiguity than I do, suggesting that the story's style "refuses] agreement between the text and reader." See MacCabe, 30-31.
the Committee Room" culminates in an act of collective imagining, but the act of imagining, however ambivalent, can only be completed through the medium of the written text. A kind of alchemy occurs following the recitation of the poem, wherein the political differences marking the characters fall away almost entirely, and a consensus is built around Parnell's greatness. Notably, the one figure who doesn't appear to succumb to the poem's magic is Hynes himself, who sits "flushed and bareheaded," closed off both from those around him and the "invitation" of his bottle of stout (D 135). The authorial discontent this moment signals is key here. For while Hynes' poem is able to summon up a particular image of Parnell and trigger an act of collective imagining in his listeners, the image is ultimately toothless, and his ineffectuality forms the root of a political and artistic problem Joyce, at this point in his career, found himself unable to address: the problem of broken, ineffectual political representation.

As I indicated above, Dubliners and Portrait align themselves more strongly with the author's political perspective than explorations of Joycean drama usually allow. Margot Norris has observed that the "didactic Joyce" of purely Parnellite readings of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" is a "critical construction"—that is, the idea that Joyce meant merely to lionize his political allies while demonizing his enemies does not fully account for the subtlety and variation one finds even in this most explicitly political of his works.40 And while I think Norris' view is, generally speaking, accurate, I also find it to be most true when one is reading Joyce as a purely "dramatic" writer. There is little in "Ivy Day" to recommend one perspective over another when

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40 Margot Norris, "Genres in Dispute: 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room,'" in Suspicious Readings of Joyce's "Dubliners", (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 183. For a reading that builds on Norris' to argue that the communal remembering of "Ivy Day" serves as a means of resisting English hegemony, see Anne Fogarty, "Parnellism and the Politics of Memory: Revisiting 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room,'" in Joyce, Ireland, Britain, ed. Andrew Gibson and Len Platt, (Gainesville, et. al.: University Press of Florida, 2006), 104-121. The notion of Joyce as a "didactic" writer extends at least as far back as Richard Aldington, who notes in his review of Ulysses that a "didactic purpose was plain" in Dubliners. See Aldington, "Mr. James Joyce's 'Ulysses,'” in Literary Studies and Reviews, Essay Index Reprint Series, (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1968), 195.
the story is being read as a chamber drama. However, when it is taken into account that certain characters serve as alter egos for the (highly opinionated) author, it becomes less difficult to see how the putatively objective presentation of the story's events are subtly weighted towards one perspective or another. In this sense, Joyce is not only "didactic"—he neglects to live up to his own standard of "dramatic art," opting instead to privilege an individual perspective over the realist Objective. But while this tendency can be found in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," as I have shown, it is much more pronounced in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, particularly in the Christmas dinner scene in that novel's opening chapter.

Chapter 1 of *Portrait* is as drenched in the debates and iconography of the Parnell era as "Ivy Day"—perhaps even more so, given its setting during the period of Parnell's decline and fall. In this chapter, the young Stephen Dedalus' consciousness, political and otherwise, begins taking shape. His awareness of what "was called politics" gradually comes into being through a variety of channels, including his nanny Dante Riordan's brushes, "with the maroon velvet back... for Michael Davitt and... the green velvet back... for Parnell" (*P* I.23-25). Later, those two colors are used to create an image of a "political world" that is both all-encompassing and imposed on Stephen from the outside, when his classmate Fleming colors "the earth green and the clouds maroon" in Stephen's geography book, "like the two brushes in Dante's press" (*P* I.288-289). The image is suggestive of a world composed of political factions that coexist

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41 I use this term in roughly the same sense as Hugh Kenner, who defined it as "the outer world conceived as a sequence of reports to someone's senses, and a sequence occurring in irreversible time." In his classic study *Joyce's Voices*, Kenner argues that Joyce progressively casts off Objectivity over the course of his writing career. See Kenner, *Joyce's Voices*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1978), 4.

42 The surviving pages of *Stephen Hero*, the early version of *Portrait*, make some references to Parnell, but its equivalent of the Christmas dinner scene is not extant. As I've indicated, *Stephen Hero* generally adopts the neorealist, quasi-dramatic mode of *Dubliners*.

peacefully, an idea reinforced by Stephen's amazement that Fleming has made the connection without knowledge of Dante's brushes. The impression, of course, will soon be broken by the arguments that take place in the Christmas dinner scene, set after Parnell's death. By this time, the staunch Catholic Dante has soured on Parnell, "ripp[ing] the green velvet back off the brush that was for Parnell" (P I.337-338), and her defenses of the Church's actions against loyal Parnellites Simon Dedalus and Mr. Casey form the episode's dramatic backbone.

The chapter makes use of dramatic forms—namely, the unity of setting and reliance on the combination of spoken dialogue and descriptive language resembling stage directions—to depict the national reckoning that followed Parnell's downfall. Yet the Christmas dinner scene of Portrait elaborates on certain qualities of the dramatic aesthetic of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." The Portrait scene heightens the dramatic tension far beyond that of Dubliners. The divide between the two warring sides of the debate is more clearly demarcated, beginning from the moment the first point of difference appears between them:

—That was a good answer our friend gave to the canon. What? said Mr Dedalus.
—I didn't think he had that much in him, said Mr Casey.
—I'll pay your dues, father, when you cease turning the house of God into a pollingbooth.
—A nice answer, said Dante, for any man calling himself a catholic to give to his priest. (P I.837-843).

Such dialogic exchanges are supplemented by descriptions of action and scenery; from here, the scene slowly builds dramatic tension in much the same mode. But though much of the scene is constructed this way, following Dubliners' fascination with dramatic forms, there is one key element that remains even more starkly and stubbornly resistant to the dramatic frame than Tierney's canvassing card or "The Death of Parnell"—the narrating consciousness of Stephen
Dedalus, a device through which Joyce grows increasingly invested in the possibilities of textual expression.

Stephen's role in this scene is twofold. Because he is too young to fully understand, much less participate in, the debate himself, Stephen is not a prominent figure in the chapter's action. He is mostly, like the reader, an observer, but his commentary on the scene ends up tempering the neorealist effects of the dramatic moment itself.\footnote{44 I contrast my view here with Valérie Bénéjam's. She argues that Stephen's "interrogations and perplexity" serve a dramatic function, "[conveying] most effectively the tensions of the scene," but again does not acknowledge the tensions between its dramatic and textual components (Bénéjam, "Shakespeare's Theater," 6).} Initially, Stephen's perspective helps to create an illusion of harmony at the dinner table: the red and green of Dante's brushes vividly reappears in "the green ivy and red holly" which "made you feel so happy" (P I.805-806). But as the debate between the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites progresses, Stephen serves as a mediator between the scene and the reader, ultimately pushing the reader's sympathies in the direction of the Parnellites. Following Mr. Casey's "story of a very famous spit," Stephen explicitly asserts his loyalty to Parnellite nationalism: "He was for Ireland and Parnell and so was his father" (P I.1069), and the episode is punctuated with similar expressions of loyalty. Ireland and Parnell are conflated in his mind, informing his belief that "Dante too" shares their allegiances (P I.1070). But while this moment can be read as a manifestation of Stephen's youthful naiveté, it also has the effect of granting the Parnellite perspective a certain emotional weight not afforded to the Catholic opposition. The scene's pathetic ending, in which Mr. Casey's bitter sob of "Poor Parnell.... My dead king!" is followed by Stephen's vision of his father's eyes "full of tears" (P I.1148-1151), clearly marks the subject's emotional resonance for Joyce. In doing so, it establishes an association between Stephen, Parnell, and the practice of narrating—that is, the
rendering of consciousness into textual form—that resurfaces at key points in both *Portrait* and *Ulysses*.

As *Portrait* progresses and Stephen's perspective evolves, the novel becomes increasingly enamored with its own textuality, with the implication that Stephen's success as a political artist depends on his ability to render those old questions in new, textual forms. In doing so, Stephen will supplant Parnell as Ireland's new heroic model. In the aftermath of the Christmas dinner scene, Stephen attempts to write a poem about Parnell, but fails, already suggesting an incompatibility between political and artistic expression that grows more pronounced as the novel progresses (II.366-376). By the time he reaches University College Dublin, "[t]he Ireland of Tone and of Parnell seems to have receded into space" (*P V*.376-377). Both Parnell and Tone evoke a Romantic image of Irish resistance that once held sway but has since vanished; where they were once that resistance's most powerful symbols, they have since been eclipsed by a different kind of political hero, one who eschews *collective* political imagination in favor of *individual* creative power—represented, of course, by Stephen Dedalus.45 Through Stephen, Parnell becomes an increasingly aesthetic concern, "refined out of existence" just like the Joycean artist (*P V*.1468-1469). Yet in the process, he begins to lose his political weight, creating a vacuum that Joyce is never quite able to fill with Stephen. For though Stephen is a kind of ambassador of the text, in that he pushes Joyce away from neorealist modes and towards textual ones, it is his individuality—one of his defining characteristics—that destabilizes, and later upends, the Parnellite model of political leadership in Joyce's imagination.

As Stanislaus notes in *My Brother's Keeper*, and many others have written besides, Joyce's fascination with and idolization of Parnell was inextricably linked to his obsession with both personal and political betrayal. The nonfiction frequently compares Parnell to Jesus Christ, Julius Caesar, and other figures famous for being undone by traitorous associates—including, it should be noted, James Joyce. For instance, the 1912 article "La Cometa dell' 'Home Rule'" ("The Home Rule Comet") bemoans Ireland's propensity for betraying its (political) heroes and exiling its "spiritual creators," implying that Joyce saw his treatment being different in degree, but not in kind, from Parnell's (*CW* 213). The same year, the broadside "Gas from a Burner" explicitly, and perhaps outrageously, likens Joyce's difficulty publishing *Dubliners* to Parnell's betrayal (*CW* 243). The idea that Ireland betrays its great men, political and literary alike, is certainly implicit to *Portrait* 's alignment of Stephen with Parnell. But politically, it is also a dead end—if the Irish tendency to betrayal is accepted as reality, then individual heroics will inevitably be circumscribed by the leveling drive of the mob. At its core, Joyce's obsession with betrayal must also be a skepticism of representational modes of politics. This skepticism, on some level, seems to have carried over to his mimicry of dramatic forms. For drama, too, is a form of representation, and one whose representative modes are by nature contained within the confines of the stage. Both "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* display some awareness of these constraints in their use of Parnell—in Mr. Henchy's impressions, in Joe Hynes' invocations, in Stephen Dedalus' wholly interior monologues, we find characters within a narrative grappling with a political symbol whose pending expiration will inevitably make it useless. They all depict a kind of separation of the representation from the

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46 In addition to the passage from *My Brother's Keeper* quoted at the start of this chapter, see Manganiello, 10-11, 16 and Fairhall, *James Joyce*, 40-42. For some critics, such as Seamus Deane, Joyce's Parnell is primarily important for what he communicates about betrayal. See Deane, "Parnell: The Lost Leader," in *Parnell: The Politics of Power*, ed. Donal McCartney, (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1991), 183-191.
thing represented, which runs the risk of making the hero impotent even as these layers of refinement serve to protect him from betrayal.

This obsession with betrayal was both a cause and product of the primacy Joyce's worldview placed on individualism, a characteristic that made him resistant to more collective means of conceiving and organizing political power. The emblem of such politics during the writing of both *Dubliners* and *Portrait* was Joyce's university friend Francis Skeffington, whom he gave the mocking nickname "Hairy Jaysus." This unusual moniker was only one manifestation of the scorn Joyce heaped on his peer; another was this selection from a 1905 letter to Stanislaus:

I am sure... that the whole structure of heroism is, and always was, a damned lie and that there cannot be any substitute for the individual passion as the motive power of everything—art and philosophy included. For this reason Hairy Jaysus seems to be the bloodiest impostor of all I have met. (*L* II 81)

During this period, Skeffington served as a punching-bag for Joyce whenever he felt this particular political outlook needed pummeling. Later, in *Portrait*, Skeffington served as the model for MacCann, one of Stephen's rivals at University College Dublin, whose social justice militancy is presented as a threat to Stephen's aesthetic autonomy. A parody in which MacCann contrasts himself as a "democrat" to the "antisocial being" Stephen is borne out in a later altercation, when he demonizes Stephen for refusing to sign a petition (*P* V.125-126). His crime, it is implied, is the surrender of his individuality to a cause, rather than subjecting the cause to his individuality in true Parnellite style. By contrast, Stephen, like Parnell and like Joyce, intends to guide Irish politics by example rather than organization. If the artist is to have a political impact, it should be through art that allows his subjects to see themselves and their own subjection.

The results of this individualist focus can be seen in Stephen's elaboration on his own
aesthetic theory, which mirrors the young Joyce's in privileging drama as a supreme artistic form. For Stephen, dramatic art is the culmination of three art forms "progressing from one to the next" (P.V.1417-1418):

... the lyrical form, the form wherein the artist presents his image in immediate relation to himself; the epical form, the form wherein he presents his image in mediate relation to himself and to others; the dramatic form, the form wherein he presents his image in immediate relation to others. (P.V.1418-1423)

Despite pretensions to impartiality and objectivity, Stephen's articulation of a semi-Joycean aesthetic foregrounds the presence of the individual artist. By extension, the artist's treatments of political subjects must be mediated through that individualism—hence the dramatic imagining of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and the earlier parts of Portrait. There are signs, however, that Joyce has already begun to abandon the philosophy Stephen advocates. In chapter 1 of Portrait, Stephen's narrating consciousness manipulated the dramatic qualities of that text; by the end of chapter 5, that consciousness has been replaced with an actual text: Stephen's diary, which separates the artist from the very people dramatic art is supposed to bind him to.

Because Joyce's idea of the literary text was initially so rooted in iconoclasm, he recognized, or at least was only willing to acknowledge, a weak or tepid political potential in collective imagination, depicted through dramatic forms. In this context, Parnell served as a repository for national or anti-colonial feeling; without an individual actor to serve a representational role, the political possibilities available become truncated, enclosed within the space of the stage, able to be imagined and aestheticized, but never actualized. For a time, the narrative consciousness seemed to correct that by directing the reader even more explicitly towards the artist's perspective. But while Joyce's embrace of the individual narrating consciousness helped break the stagnation of his dramatic staging, his insistence on that component of individualism limited where he could go from there, for if individualism was the
problem, a single consciousness could only offer a variation on the already-existing model, not a corrective for it.

The problem with drama as a form, at least in relation to politics, is that it necessarily transforms its audience into passive observers—it might very well function as a "nicely polished looking glass," but not much else. The setting of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" illustrates this. By taking place in an enclosed space, from which political representation can't feasibly be imagined, the story's mimicry of the theatrical stage is directly related to the most stagnant qualities of the political situation it depicts. Similarly, Portrait only achieves a degree of independence from the strictures of post-Parnellism once it embraces the full possibilities of the written text, a transformation signaled by the novel's closing with Stephen's diary entries. Unlike the neorealist stage, the Joycean text gives the reader a more active role in meaning-making. Though guided by the artist, the act of collective imagining belongs in a very real sense to the community of Joyce's readers, who, as Jean-Michel Rabaté has noted, share a "collective spirit" in their constructions of Joyce.47 The Joycean text comes to serve for its readers a function not unlike the one the mythical Parnell serves for Joyce's characters—as an imperfect, but nonetheless powerful, means for collectively imagining a political future that builds on the greatest strengths of the past.

When one connects these formal transformations to Joyce's idolization of Parnell, a more pointed critique begins to emerge. If Joyce grows increasingly skeptical of neorealist-inspired representation, and if that representation is intimately connected in some ways with a political vision that keeps Charles Stewart Parnell as its central figurehead and symbol, challenges to the use of those forms will in some sense inevitably brush up against Parnell. This, I think, is

precisely what occurs in *Ulysses*, a novel that embraces textual possibilities to a far greater extent than does *Portrait*. With Parnell, as with so many other things, *Ulysses* is a site of transformative possibility. The novel re-imagines and re-contextualizes Parnell, carrying him from "democratic emanation" to a figure informing a democratic text. Yet in doing so, the novel passes the task of collective imagining and all that it entails—be that hope, freedom, political possibility, or something else entirely—from Parnell into the text itself, and from the novel's characters to its readers. The result is a novel that defines the law of its letters according to a Parnellite spirit, and which, in doing so, works to make its readers into heroes themselves.
CHAPTER 3

"HIS BROTHER USED MEN AS PAWNS": THE SHADE OF PARNELL IN ULYSSES

_Ulysses_ lacks a dramatic set piece comparable to those found in _Dubliners_ and _Portrait_, at least in relation to Parnell.48 There is no depiction of social paralysis as painfully sharp as "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," nor is there a fiery debate between two allegorical figures, as in _Portrait_. Yet at the outset of _Ulysses_, the spirit of Parnell has not disappeared from the hearts and minds of Joyce's Dubliners, nor has the dramatic instinct disappeared from Joyce's depictions of consciousness. Parnell remains a key figure and symbolic touchstone in the novel, appearing not only within the characters' collective imagination, but in other forms as well. He is alluded to both suggestively and explicitly. Sometimes, Parnell's presence is implied by a particular discussion or event; at others, he is mentioned directly in an internal monologue or dialogue. In both cases, Joyce follows the pattern he set for himself in his earlier fiction, using dramatic and near-dramatic forms to portray individuals using the act of remembering Parnell to inspire political imagination. However, he also mixes new methods with the old. There is an increasingly pronounced interest, for instance, in Parnell's physicality—that is, his presence in physical spaces. At critical moments, Joyce draws attention to Parnell's death, illness, and failure. Even the shade of Parnell, which in 1912 had haunted the Parliamentary halls like the ghost of King Hamlet, takes on physical form in the early episodes of _Ulysses_ through Parnell's brother, John Howard, as he drifts through the Dublin streets.49

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48 Joyceans will note that I have skipped over Joyce's extant dramatic effort, _Exiles_ (1918). The play is, of course, relevant to a discussion of Joyce's dramatic aesthetics, so I may incorporate it into a future version of this project. However, it lacks the overtly political (and Parnellite) themes of the other texts that are central to this thesis, and it is for this reason I feel justified in excluding it.

49 For my discussion of Parnell in _Ulysses_ I'm indebted to Enda Duffy, who identifies Joyce's three methods in the novel for depicting Parnell as "reminder, direct remembrance, and the ghostly presence of John Howard." See Duffy, "Parnellism," 184. For the shade of Parnell in 1912, see "L'Ombra di Parnell," _CW_ 223-228.
Though I rely in part on the analysis Enda Duffy provides in "Parnellism and Rebellion" over the next two chapters, I differentiate myself from it in several key ways. In this chapter, I offer elaborations on Duffy's (and others') readings of key scenes, and in some cases emendations to them. I also employ some techniques, such as genetic criticism, not employed by Duffy or other scholars writing on Joyce's Parnell. Ultimately, I demonstrate that *Ulysses'* increasing abstractions of style can be read not as a rejection of Parnell, as critics like Duffy and Seamus Deane do,\(^50\) but rather as a reimagining of his role in Joyce's fictional cosmos. If "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* show, intentionally or unintentionally, the limitations of the political heroism embodied by Parnell, *Ulysses* establishes and explores the power of his image and spirit—his shade—to inspire active, collective forms of political imagination. In this, Joyce's Parnell is a paradox, becoming both more and less important to the politics of *Ulysses'* narrative and composition. On the level of character, Parnell is localized, increasingly reduced to individual instances of humanity, vulnerability, and especially mortality. On a textual level, however, Parnell is universalized, in the sense that the qualities and possibilities of political resistance he once represented are increasingly embedded into the text itself. To some extent, the first Parnell is more prominent in the novel's first half, emphasized at critical moments in several episodes. This chapter deals with the episodes from "Telemachus" to "Wandering Rocks," the latter of which begins to hint at new means of harnessing and mobilizing the Parnellite spirit.

Parnell's diminishment in the early chapters of *Ulysses* is not quite obvious, but it is subtly hinted at through Stephen Dedalus. Since the conclusion of *Portrait*, Stephen's desire to become Ireland's new hero has gone unfulfilled; his artistic aspirations have stagnated. His

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ruminations on history, politics, and empire conspicuously lacks explicit mention of Parnell. Looking back to that earlier novel may be appropriate for its thematic resonance as much as for the context it provides for Stephen's ennui; in one of the few cases when he does directly allude to Parnell, he refers back to an image from *Portrait*: the now-deceased Dante Riordan's "green and maroon brushes for Charles Stewart Parnell and for Michael Davitt." In Stephen's mind, at least, the image of Parnell has remained stagnant, still associated with the long-departed world of his childhood. He is confined to the past, without resonance for an Ireland that remains ruled by superstition and paralysis. Where Parnell once served as a kind of anchor to Stephen's national identity, he is now a reminder of the stability that Stephen lacks. Of course, there is some continuity here with Stephen's attitude at UCD Dublin that Parnell's Ireland is gone, "receded into space" (*P V*.377), but, though similar, the absence of Parnell appears in quite a different context here than it does at the end of *Portrait*. In that novel, Parnell's vanishing seemed to signify a progression beyond the imposed identities of Church and Nation, the "nets flung at [a man's soul]" (*P V*.1048); Parnell's general absence in *Ulysses* is significant because he was once such a critical reference point. Stephen's references to him have become so indirect as to be almost invisible. According to Duffy, Parnell's presence is an "implicit given" in Stephen's ruminations in "Nestor," a Christ figure serving as the "swan song for history as the image of its hero," but the fact that Stephen makes no direct allusions to Parnell in the "Telemachia" suggests an even more complete displacement. Stephen's Ireland seems to have become a place without heroes at

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52 Duffy, "Parnellism," 185. For the passage he identifies, see *U* 2.82-87.

all, so broken and disillusioned by failure there is nothing left to do but offer a series of suggestive riddles and cryptic parables that shy away from Parnell even as they suggest him: the riddle in the schoolroom, whose answer recalls the Parnellite alias Mr. Fox (U 2.115), the "Parable of the Plums" or "Pisgah Sight of Palestine," which draws on the Parnell-tinged discussions of "Moses and the promised land" held in the offices of the Freemans Journal (U 7.1061-1062), even his tangled theory of Shakespeare, which turns in part on "the ghost, the king, a king and no king," a case of marital infidelity, and ruminations on a "Christfox in leather trews" and "what Caesar would have lived to do had he believed the soothsayer" (U 9.166, 338, 348-349). Like the enclosed space of the committee room, Stephen's consciousness has become a dead end, unable to move beyond the onetime promise of the departed Parnell.

If, as Andrew Gibson suggests, Ulysses' political aesthetics are a "massive elaboration" on Stephen's ruminations on history, Parnell's reduced role has significant implications for the novel's politics. His diminished role in Stephen's consciousness, at least, suggests that the novel approaches history itself differently than its predecessor. Where history was once defined by heroic figures and static myths, here it becomes fluid and protean, anchored less to the actions of heroic individuals than to larger repeating patterns and epochs. The change in Joyce's Parnell is linked to an evolution in the author's sense of history, which moves from a focus on "individual and even national history" to "a larger view in which any specific individual or situation recreates archetypal patterns from the past." As Duffy notes, this shift included a transformation of Joyce's heroic ideal in reaction to the events leading up to the establishment of

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54 See Duffy, "Parnellism," 185-186.
55 Gibson, 40.
the Irish Free State. Stephen's inability to think beyond the static image of the mythical Parnell is an important indicator of the diminishment of the ideal of the heroic individual they both once embodied in Joyce's imagination. The effect is of ego diminishing ego, or alter-ego diminishing ego: the personalities that once ordered and determined the structures of the literary text have, like the political structures they once attempted to transform, become closed off from the realities of Irish life. The old heroes are broken heroes, more signifiers of loss and wasted potential than a means of achieving spiritual or political emancipation.

Significantly, Parnell's transformation is signposted not only by Stephen, but also a newly cynical Joe Hynes, who appears several times in *Ulysses*. His most important moment may come in the "Hades" episode, where he attends Patrick Dignam's funeral to report on it for the *Freeman's Journal* newspaper. While there, he briefly joins a small caravan of mourners and suggests that they "go round by the chief's grave" to pay Parnell their respects (*U* 6.919). One might initially read this moment as preparation for a celebration of Parnell akin to the one concluding "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," but this sense would soon disappear. As the mourners stand around the grave, Mr. Power, drawing on another, Messianic popular myth, suggests that Parnell is alive and will someday "come again" (*U* 6.924) to finish his work. To this, Hynes responds with a clarity only, perhaps, hinted at the conclusion of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room":

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57 Beyond the general trauma of the War of Independence, I'd suggest that Francis Sheehy-Skeffington's death in the 1916 Easter Rising may have softened Joyce's attitudes towards collective action. In reference to Sheehy-Skeffington, Ellmann notes that Joyce "followed the events with pity" but "evaluated the rising as useless" (*JJ* 399). Duffy flags the Rising as a significant event in "Parnellism and Rebellion" without mention of Sheehy-Skeffington, though he does quote Ellmann. See Duffy, "Parnellism," 182.

58 Significantly, the caravan is populated with figures from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Simon Dedalus) and the *Dubliners* story "Grace" (Martin Cunningham and Mr. Power), lending this scene additional resonances I don't have the space to fully explore here.

Hynes shook his head.
—Parnell will never come again, he said. He's there, all that was mortal of him. Peace to his ashes. (U 6.925-927)

This moment gives the sense that Hynes, much like Stephen Dedalus, has abandoned the faith in Parnell that was once central to his character. Given that Hynes represents an earlier iteration of Joyce's Parnellite thinking than Stephen, this about-face may not be surprising. It is, however, significant, because this moment alters the image of Parnell much more overtly than anything that has preceded it. Hynes' comments take aim at the myth of Parnell that permeates and informs Joyce's earlier work. They locate Parnell in a specific, physical locale, possessing (or once having possessed) a physical body, rather than the imaginative space of the characters. Instead, he is placed in the material world, his promise finally buried with his body in the earth. The material composition of Parnell has changed, and "Hades" is the first episode of Ulysses to explicitly signal that. The following episodes, "Aeolus" and "Lestrygonians," link that change more concretely to a reconsideration of the political role of literary form.

In "Aeolus," the interplay of dramatic and textual forms resurfaces in a Parnellite context. Parts of "Aeolus" operate in a textual mode similar to the one employed in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, in a scene of dramatically rendered verbal sparring that uses Parnell as a now-adumbrated locus of shared imaginative space. In the offices of the Freeman's Journal, a group of nationalists discuss at length the colonial situation, likening England to the "bloody old Roman empire" and the Irish to the oppressed Jews (U 7.474). At the episode's climax, one character, Professor MacHugh, offers an elaboration on that theme. He recalls a speech given by the journalist John F. Taylor playing on the correspondence, which focuses not only on the colonial situation generally but the figure of
Irish leadership, a "youthful Moses," in particular \( (U \ 7.833, 862) \). MacHugh's audience takes this figure to be Parnell:

> J. J. O'Molloy said not without regret:

)—And yet he died without having entered the land of promise.

)—A sudden - at - the - moment - though - from - lingering - illness - often - previously - expectorated - demise, Lenehan added. And with a great future behind him. \( (U \ 8.872-876) \)

As in "Hades," the narrative here draws attention to Parnell's death, especially through Lenehan's comments, which detail its causes and circumstances. The act of remembrance depicted resembles that in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," with one key difference: while in that story Parnell was remembered in \emph{life}, here he is remembered in \emph{death}. The pessimistic strains of that story were balanced out with moments of great exuberance as the figures in the committee room celebrated Parnell's actions. And despite the \emph{Portrait} Christmas dinner scene's bleak ending, Simon Dedalus and Mr. Casey take great pride in Parnell's many triumphs, effectively deploying them as a defense against Dante's attacks. "Hades" and "Aeolus," by contrast, offer only lamentations that compulsively return to the physical localities that mark Parnell's end—the illness, the deathbed, and the gravesite, in reverse order. In these moments, the body of Parnell becomes the chief symbol of a political breakdown so extensive that even the imagination that buoyed \emph{Dubliners} and \emph{Portrait} has decayed into semi-nihilistic despair.

Notably, "Aeolus" is also the first episode of \emph{Ulysses} to draw attention to the mechanisms of the text, as well as the first to radically rethink their role. It does this in part through MacHugh's speech itself, which seemingly draws on the same principle of textual performativity that informed Hynes' poem "The Death of Parnell." But, as Gifford and Seidman note, MacHugh
only gives "a version" of Taylor's speech, which was never recorded or written down.\textsuperscript{60} Given this fact, MacHugh's speech devotes an ersatz attention to text's permanence and revelatory qualities—a revision of the ending of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," which genuinely embraced them. Of course, the episode itself also devotes significant attention to the role of text in conveying and shaping political meaning, as "Aeolus" contains the first of \textit{Ulysses}' increasingly bold formal experiments. The newspaper headlines that punctuate its action with a series of forceful textual interruptions vividly dramatizes the clash between literary forms. In doing so, they anticipate a crucial struggle at the heart of \textit{Ulysses}: the divide between the novel's narrative and textual worlds, a divide that Parnell straddles.

"Aeolus" also begins to help illustrate how genetic and textual approaches add to (and complicate) the study of Joyce's Parnell. The episode is particularly suggestive because its famous headlines did not appear in the version of the text first serialized in \textit{The Little Review} in October 1918.\textsuperscript{61} Rather, they were added during Joyce's extensive revisions to the text of \textit{Ulysses} in late 1921. Michael Groden has suggested that Joyce's conception of his novel underwent many radical changes during this period;\textsuperscript{62} I would add to their number the amplification of Joyce's previously dormant critique of the mythic-heroic image of Parnell. "Hades," even more so than "Aeolus," provides important evidence for this. In the version of the episode that appeared

\textsuperscript{60} Gifford and Seidman, 148.


\textsuperscript{62} Groden divides \textit{Ulysses}' composition into three stages; the period from 1920-1922 is the third and final of these. See Groden, 52-63 and 166-204.
serialized in *The Little Review*, Hynes' statement was much briefer, ending with "Parnell will never come again" (*LRU* 97). The additional sentences were added to Hynes' statement at two different stages of proofs: the second sentence ("He's there, all that was mortal of him.") was added during the first stage of proofs in September 1921, while the third ("Peace to his ashes.") appeared in a later stage of proofs (*UCSE* 230). Again, both of these additions emphasize Parnell's physicality and mortality, transforming him from a figure of mythical significance to the remains of a body, located precisely within the confines of a gravesite. By elaborating on this moment in this way, Joyce signals an increased awareness of the breakdown of his earlier means and methods for representing Parnell. To a greater or lesser extent, his interest in interrogating the image of Parnell extends at least as far back as the serialized *Ulysses*, but by late summer 1921, his means of doing so had become more defined and purposeful. Elaborations on and variations in the Joycean style would develop over the course of the novel and its composition. But Joyce would not abandon character-dependent modes of writing Parnell entirely either.

On the level of character, Joyce's primary vehicle for his critical re-examination of Parnell is not Hynes or Stephen Dedalus, but Leopold Bloom. Those earlier alter egos, as I have shown, are marked by a distinct sense of enclosure within their political contexts; this enclosure might be read as the sense of provincialism that, in Joyce's view, contributed to Irish political stagnation. Bloom, by contrast, has some distance from the Irish localism that Hynes embodies and that Stephen tries and fails to escape. In a sense, he is the most iconoclastic of the three, making him a fitting analogue for Parnell—and yet, in spite of his stated political leanings, Bloom is the first Joycean hero who is not also a Parnellite hero. Uniquely among Joyce's heroes,

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63 “Hades” was also one of a handful of episodes to also appear in Harriet Shaw Weaver's *The Egoist*, which had previously serialized *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 

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Bloom explicitly challenges the Parnellite myths that dominated the author's own outlook in his earlier writings. At varying times, he is cast in the Parnell story himself, parodying it with a sharpness Joyce has previously reserved for his ideological enemies; at others, he explicitly questions and criticizes Parnell and his movement. Significantly, Bloom's unsettling of the Parnell Myth goes unchallenged within the narrative. So while in "Hades" Hynes provides the most significant lament of Parnell's increasingly apparent mortality, it is Bloom who first draws attention to the fact that Parnell and his historical legacy are being forgotten when, wandering Glasnevin Cemetery, he thinks, "Even Parnell. Ivy day dying out" (U 6.855). Like Hynes' comments, this passage was a late addition, added in the same stage of proofs (UCSE 226). In "Aeolus," he hardly participates in the pro-Parnell political dialogues, leaving before Parnell is invoked and returning only after the conversation has moved on. Despite his persistent associations with Parnell, Bloom exists outside the ordinary realms of Parnellite discourse, allowing him to occupy a special place in the narrative and text of *Ulysses*. Privileging him in this way allows Joyce to push beyond the early instances of skepticism of Parnell and articulate a more fully-fledged critique, and in the episode following "Hades" and "Aeolus," he does.

In "Lestrygonians," Bloom sketches the contours of a revised approach to Parnell, and his sketch serves as a culmination of trends in Joyce's thought extending back as far as *Dubliners*. Initially, Bloom's political views appear to harmonize with ideas Joyce had previously expressed in his political writings, especially the 1907 article "Il Fenianismo. L'Ultimo Feniano" ("Fenianism. The Last Fenian"). In that article, Joyce considers an attraction to various forms of Fenianism, in part with the aim of building political movements less prone to reliance on individual leaders in an effort to reduce the possibility of their betrayal.64 The organizational

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64 Seamus Deane reads Joyce's attraction to Fenianism as being of a piece with his Parnellism. Together, the two would "change the character of the Irish people" and "achieve the beginnings of a psychological revolution in
structure of James Stephens' Irish Republican Brotherhood, for instance, intended to safeguard against betrayal by limiting individual members' knowledge of the whole; 65 this, Joyce notes, made it "eminently fitted to the Irish character" (CW 189). Bloom's view in "Lestrygonians" is more or less Joyce's own: "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 8.457-458). Following this clear echo of Joyce, Bloom's consideration of Parnell is more measured, falling somewhere between praise and wonderment. He says, "You must have a certain fascination: Parnell" (U 8.462), but it's unclear whether Parnell is the object of that fascination, or whether the fascination is an emotion he inspired in others. This ambivalence, already somewhat uncharacteristic in a Joycean hero, soon deepens into outright criticism, even something resembling aggression.

On the following page, Bloom completes the reconsideration of Parnell that has repeatedly surfaced in the early episodes of Ulysses. As he walks down Grafton Street, at "the very worst hour of the day" (U 8.494), he catches sight of John Howard Parnell, to him a distinctly shade-like figure. Bloom comments on his resemblance to Parnell ("Image of him" [U 8.502]) and notes his "[h]aunting face" (U 8.502) and "poached eyes on a ghost" (U 8.508). In doing so, Bloom makes John Howard into a physical manifestation of the imagined Parnell: hollow, superficial, a profanation of something once held sacred. But Bloom's critique extends beyond the image of Parnell to encompass Parnell himself. The culmination of Bloom's monologue illuminates the extent of his critique:

Great man's brother: his brother's brother. He'd look nice on the city charger. Drop into the D. B. C. probably for his coffee, play chess there. His brother used men as pawns. Let them all go to pot. Afraid to pass a remark on him. Freeze them up with that eye of his. That's the fascination: the name. All a bit touched. (U 8.511-513, emphasis added).

Ireland." See Deane, "Parnell," 187. For more on Joyce and Fenianism, see Manganiello, 13 and Fairhall, James Joyce, 48-49.

65 In addition to Manganiello and Fairhall, see Gifford and Seidman, 170.
There's no clear precedent in Joyce for Bloom's outright dismissal of Parnell here because no previous Joycean character disparages Parnell on principle rather than out of convenience, nor is there one who is critical of him without being hostile. Unlike Mr. Henchy or Dante Riordan, Bloom approaches Parnell honestly, critiquing him according to a set of independently determined standards (and not those imposed by the State or Church). His criticism of Parnell is grounded not in hypocrisy or fealty to other authorities, but on the basis of Parnell's membership in a political class Joyce had long seen as morally "bankrupt" (CW 196). The key sentence here is the denunciation "Let them all go to pot" (U 8.511), which lumps Parnell in with a "touched" political class of aristocrats and loafers like his brother. Previously, this sentence referred to John Howard Parnell and his compatriots at the Dublin Bread Company; "His brother used men as pawns" was added to the text in September 1921. The function of the addition, then, is to specifically include Charles Stewart Parnell among the political class that Bloom denounces.

Bloom's revision of Joyce's early political philosophy may reflect an acknowledgement of contradictions Joyce had previously overlooked (or chosen to overlook), much as he seemed to overlook the limitations of the dramatic form in his earlier fiction. The James Stephens passage of "Il Fenianismo. L'Ultimo Feniano" bitterly notes the I.R.B.'s failure, which Joyce attributes to the Irish tendency to betrayal, where "an informer always appears" at "just the right moment" (CW 190). He never attempts to explain how the I.R.B.'s supposedly betrayal-proof structure couldn't prevent Stephens' betrayal, but the more critical stance he takes towards Irish leadership in Ulysses might be read as a kind of correction or revision of this earlier attitude. Bloom's

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66 The word comes from the 1907 article "Home Rule Maggiorenne" ("Home Rule Comes of Age") and refers more specifically to the post-Parnell Irish Party, which Joyce derides for exploiting the Irish and betraying Parnell.

67 Gifford and Seidman note that the company restaurant's smoking room was "a meeting place for chess players." See Gifford and Seidman, 172.
rhetorical moves in "Lestrygonians," from praise of James Stephens, to ambivalence surrounding Parnell, to a more defined criticism of Arthur Griffith, "a squareheaded fellow" with "no go in him for the mob" (U 8.462-463) and later, again, to Parnell, suggest that Irish political leadership is as much to blame for Ireland's colonial situation as the Irish people, if not more so. The ultimate breakdown of Irish leadership represents a political and aesthetic problem for Joyce. For if resistance to colonialism depends on the actions, or at least invocations, of key individual figures, the impotence of those figures makes resistance impossible. And if those old means of resistance were depicted through particular literary-dramatic forms, those forms also lose their potency when the system of representation breaks down. New literary forms would be necessary to cultivate readers' imaginations and challenge the existing political order.

The most overt signal of a significant change to Joyce's stylistic approach to Parnell can be found in the tenth episode, "Wandering Rocks," which suggests a new relationship between Parnell and the loyalties, forms, and even politics of the Joycean text. The episode is split into nineteen sections, each of which follows a different character or set of characters moving through Dublin, the cracked looking-glasses of Stephen Dedalus and John Howard Parnell among them. Through these two characters, "Wandering Rocks" gestures towards the now-departed image of Parnell—John Howard by virtue of his presence, and Stephen through a subtle allusion to the Parnell mythos:

> The whirr of flapping leathern bands and hum of dynamos from the powerhouse urged Stephen to be on. Beingless beings. Stop! Throb always without you and throb always within. Your heart you sing of. I between them. Where? Between two roaring worlds where they swirl, I. Shatter them, one and both. But stun myself too in the blow. Shatter me you who can. Bawd and butcher were the words. I say! Not yet awhile. A look around. (U 10.821-827, emphasis added)

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68 According to Ellmann, Joyce was generally supportive of Griffith and his paper, United Ireland. In 1912, Griffith sided with Joyce against the censors; Joyce "repaid Griffith's sympathy" by including references to him in Ulysses (JJ 334-335). It's unclear, however, how stating that Griffith has "no go in him for the mob" could be read as a tribute.
As Andrew Gibson notes, this culmination of this passage ("A look around") recalls an episode from R. Barry O'Brien's *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*, a key document in the construction of the Parnell Myth upon which Joyce drew. In O'Brien's book, Parnell pauses when urged to enter political life, insisting that he must "look more around for [himself] first" and take stock of the situation before making his decision. Gibson notes that "Wandering Rocks" serves the same surveying function for *Ulysses*, but the irony of this invocation is that Stephen seems already to have tried, and failed, to give the "beingless beings" liberty and "shatter" the "two roaring worlds" of the English colonizers and Catholic Church. In a sense, Stephen's summoning of Parnell signals his impotence; similarly, John Howard Parnell, with "ghostbright" eyes (U 10.1052), is observed hovering over a chessboard before vanishing back into the episode's tableau of Dublin. Both Stephen and John Howard mark the stasis indicated throughout the first half of *Ulysses*, serving as individual markers of the collapse of heroic political thinking. But, by appearing in these contexts, they begin drawing attention to the radical changes in the episode's form. For while the whole of "Wandering Rocks" serves as an "anatomy of colonial, Dublin culture," the episode's end draws attention to the formal possibilities that the rest of *Ulysses* will elaborate on.

The formal developments in the episode's final sequence indicate the means by which the essential *spirit* of Parnellite spirit of resistance to

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70 See O'Brien, 57. Quoted in Gibson, 81.

71 Gibson, 81.
colonialism, a "spread and intensification of the democratic attitude" that developed under Parnell's leadership. To this, I would add that this attitude is reflected in the formal presentation of the Viceregal caravan that parades through Dublin at the episode's end. Much of "Wandering Rocks" is written in a semi-dramatic mode similar to the one used in Portrait's Christmas dinner scene, drawing largely on physical phenomena with occasional interjections from a character's interior monologue or the narrative voice. The caravan, however, adopts a mode resembling a cinematic panorama, depicting neither a drama nor an act of collective imagining. Instead, it begins to suggest an alternative mode of collective, democratic resistance, driven by the rhythms of the text as much as the characters' actions—moments such as the "mere stares" of many Dubliners, the "unseen coldness" of John Wyse Nolan's smile at the cavalcade (U 10.1212), and a supplicant "tongue of liquid sewage" (U 10.1197) all serve as markers signifying Dublin's anticolonial spirit. Appropriately, John Howard Parnell again appears, this time to cast these moments of resistance in a new light:

From the window of the D. B. C. Buck Mulligan gaily, and Haines gravely, gazed down on the viceregal equipage over the shoulders of eager guests, whose mass of forms darkened the chessboard whereon John Howard Parnell looked intently. (U 10.1223-1226)

By virtue of his presence, John Howard summons up the shade of Parnell, who resists the cavalcade by ignoring it. Appearing roughly halfway through the episode's final section, he is in some sense the center of "Wandering Rocks" conclusion, offering symbolic significance to the

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72 Gibson, 100. Emphasis his.


74 Gibson, 100.
moments of resistance that pepper it. But if he is meant to serve as this passage's central symbol of resistance, he does so in a manner different from those in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Rather than arising through a dramatic narrative, the Parnellite spirit arises from the properties of the Joycean text, and they arise not from dramatic suggestion but through the collaborative efforts of the author and his readers. In this sense, the Joycean text is the Parnellite text.

"Wandering Rocks" moments of resistance aren't necessarily representative—for each instance of rebellion in the episode, there is one of acquiescence. Even Simon Dedalus, a steward of Parnellism in Portrait, honors the cavalcade by lowering his hat in greeting (U 10.1199-1202). But Joyce's attention is focused less now on offering his characters as models for the reader than it is on providing his reader with the intellectual materials for imagining political alternatives— to colonialism, yes, but also to political models and institutions that rely too much on individual leaders for their success. The elaborations on Ulysses' initial style that populate the novel's second half can be read as a means of cultivating that imagination. But although Joyce's project was in some sense about transcending the lost age of Parnell, it also relied on the attitudes he inspired and cultivated to serve as its fountainhead. In Ulysses, Parnell is, paradoxically, a medium for moving beyond Parnell and towards a collective, collaborative, and transcendent politics. But reaching that state of transcendence requires a continual revisiting and revising of Parnell that colors and reshapes him almost beyond recognition.

75 In the Gabler text, the last section of "Wandering Rocks" is 107 lines long, making the middle of line 1228 roughly the halfway point. Given that this is an imperfect metric, I'm comfortable suggesting that John Howard's placement in the section is more deliberate than not.
In a September 1920 letter to his friend Carlo Linati, Joyce characterized *Ulysses* as, among other things, "an epic of two races (Israelite—Irish)" and "the cycle of the human body" (L I 146). These characteristics are but two among many in *Ulysses*’ famous schema, but they sketch out key developments in the presentation of Joyce's Parnell, who, like Bloom, increasingly becomes a hybrid figure in the novel. The "Jewish" Parnell and the "human" Parnell become two dominant strains in the proliferation of possible Parnells that occurs in *Ulysses*’ later episodes. Each, in a sense, is an iteration of a mythical type. As I've shown, the spirit of anti-colonial resistance animating the later Joyce can be read as a translation of the spirit of the mythical Parnell into textual style(s). This becomes increasingly apparent in episodes following "Wandering Rocks," several of which parody the earlier dramatic invocations of Parnell. "Circe" and "Eumaeus" in particular together serve as a kind of climax and denouement, respectively, in the evolution of Joyce's Parnell from static, collectively imagined figure within the text to a dynamic and multiple element of the text. In these episodes, the "Jewish" Parnell becomes one important means of elaborating on the possibilities of Parnellite style, while the "human" Parnell is reappropriated to make the actual, historical Parnell into an iteration of the broader Parnellite type.

The letter's emphasis on what Joyce calls the "Israelite—Irish" parallel strongly suggests that, by the time of "Circe's" completion, a correspondence between the Jews and Irish was central to how he conceived of his novel. While it alludes most immediately to the relationship between Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus, parallels between the Irish and Jews are perhaps
one of *Ulysses*’ most under-appreciated historical parallels. In employing it, Joyce was drawing on a commonplace of Nationalist discourse, which saw both the religious and national plights of Irish (particularly Irish Catholics) compared to those of the Jews. But while early treatments drawing on this correspondence, such as "L'Ombra di Parnell" and "Aeolus," rather straightforwardly cast Parnell as the "Irish Moses," the later episodes of *Ulysses* draw more freely on what Ira B. Nadel calls "the essential Judaism of Joyce"—that is, the "textual" Joyce, who embodies a principle that "meaning [resides] in the text and as a function of the text." In Nadel's reading (and, following his, Marilyn Reizbaum's), the Joycean text is "a return which completes the exodus of the reader," facilitating a circular process of self-discovery and re-discovery in a manner recalling Bloom's famous epiphany from "Nausicaa": "Think you're escaping and run into yourself. Longest way round is shortest way home" (*U* 13.1110-1111). Joyce's depictions of Parnell follow this logic of circular self-discovery in that they serve to trigger his readership's collective imagination of the future rather than return *ad nauseum* to the political glories of a departed past. In this sense, the emphasis on the hybrid possibilities of textual forms, which for Joyce are associated with the Jewish Other, carry with them the spirit of the universalized Parnell.

Conversely, Joyce's attention in the letter to the "cycle of the human body" helps

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77 For "Aeolus," see chapter 3, above; for "L'Ombra di Parnell," see *CW* 225. For useful critical discussions of Parnell as the "Irish Moses," see Nadel, 85-87, Reizbaum, 99, and Gibson, 53-54.

78 Nadel, 6. Emphasis his.

79 Nadel later writes that Joyce's "entire perception of text is Rabbinic" (121). Reizbaum's "poetics of Jewishness" is, to some extent, an elaboration on this assertion by Nadel.
highlight the other major divergence from the mythical Parnell late in *Ulysses*—that is, the novel's ever-increasing attention to Parnell as a physical presence, definitively located in a particular historical moment rather than within the common imagination of the narrative's characters. I have already discussed moments in earlier episodes when attention is drawn to Parnell as a historical, as opposed to imaginative, phenomenon, most notably in "Hades." But in the later episodes of *Ulysses*, particularly "Eumaeus," the attention to the physical Parnell manifests itself more particularly as a sustained interest in Parnell's affair with Katharine O'Shea. As several critics have observed, Joyce's reading of her 1914 memoir *Charles Stewart Parnell: His Love Story and Political Life* likely influenced the composition of "Eumaeus," providing that episode with both a "model of style" and a model of a "more human" Parnell.80 In doing so, "Eumaeus"—and the latter part of *Ulysses* more generally—takes the Parnell-O'Shea affair as an object of interest unto itself, allowing Joyce to consider Parnell's humanity, with an emphasis on his sexuality. Doing so enables him to establish a tension between corporeal bodies and political bodies, suggesting that political action dependent on individual leaders is susceptible to the human failures, foibles, and folly Joyce had been exploring since *Dubliners*. In place of heroism, Joyce seeks common aspiration; in place of the observational qualities of the "nicely polished looking-glass," he cultivates action; in place of drama, he supplies the proliferating meanings of textuality.

In addition to being a figure of national and religious significance, Joyce's Parnell is also

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a medium for exploring the discourses of Irish racial identity. Joyce is always attentive to Parnell's ironies, which he chronicles in "L'Ombra di Parnell" and notes elsewhere in the criticism: as a landlord who leads rent strikes and Protestant who champions Catholic interests, a physically unimpressive, uninspiring leader who nonetheless impresses and inspires, Parnell is a thumb in the eye to Unionists and Nationalists alike, all the nobler because his Irishness is chosen rather than the product of a racial inheritance. In "Irlanda, Isola dei Santi e dei Savi," Parnell locates his politics of resistance in an aversion to the colonial situation's fundamental cruelty, justifying his drive for Home Rule by citing "English ferocity" rather than racial or national allegiance (CW 166). This emphasis on Parnell's racial ironies serves as a particularly effective instrument for interrogating visions of the nation seen as interrelated, even interchangeable, with race and class. As Vincent J. Cheng notes, Home Rule, and broader political questions about Ireland's relationship to the British Empire, were questions of race, a fact Joyce well understood. Because the British colonialism justified itself by casting Irishness as the inverse of Englishness, resistance to colonialism was inevitably framed in racial terms; Seamus Deane, among others, has acknowledged this in his account of Joyce's and Yeats' employments of the Parnell Myth. For Deane, Joyce's Parnell is a representative of a racialized Ireland, later abandoned in favor of the stylistic diversity on display in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake. But to suggest, as he does, that there is an inverse relationship in these texts between

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81 Notably, Seamus Deane reads Joyce's Parnell as an avatar of a "species of racial characterization" at first embraced, but later abandoned, by Joyce. See Deane, "Parnell," 189.

82 Curiously, several critics have noted the "irony" of the Irish Joyce's investment in the Anglo-Irish Parnell without acknowledging Joyce's awareness of his ethnic identity. See, for example, Gibson, 16.


84 Cheng, Joyce, Race, and Empire, 41. For examples of Joyce's awareness from Exiles and Stephen Hero, see Cheng, Joyce, Race, and Empire, 31-32.
Parnell and experimental style underestimate the way these two components are interrelated.\footnote{See Deane, "Parnell," 187-188.} Taking a closer look at *Ulysses*’ references to Parnell can help reveal them as less "slight indeed" than Deane indicates.\footnote{Deane, "Parnell," 187.}

Though "Circe" and "Eumaeus" are, as I've mentioned, the critical episodes, Joyce's Parnell is first integrated into these new, more expansive imaginaries of Irish identity earlier, in "Cyclops." This episode, in which Bloom encounters a hostile group of Irish nationalists in Barney Kiernan's pub, is the first of *Ulysses*’ later episodes to draw on Parnell in its elaborate commentary on Ireland, identity, and writing. This is not to say that "Cyclops" associations between Parnell and the Jews, or Parnell and the body, are entirely new, only that they begin to approach these connections in a new way. It does this in part by returning to episodes from earlier in *Ulysses*, but with a key difference: "Cyclops" is more committed to wholly textual modes, combining dramatic staging, an individual narrating consciousness, and lengthy textual interpolations that interrupt the narrative action. Both the narrator and interpolations parody, comment on, and subvert the dramatic action, pushing the Joycean text further away from its dramatic basis even as it reproduces some of the theater's effects. In the schema, Joyce described the episode's technique as "gigantism," and when read alongside the dramatic methods of the early Joyce, "Cyclops" can be understood as a chamber drama amplified through textual addition. As in "Wandering Rocks," a key figure appears to give these textual elaborations a Parnellite hue, this time at the beginning of the episode: Joe Hynes, whose presence carries with it the remains of the now-decayed Parnell Myth. He is a symbol of the old, departed Parnell—
one who will be challenged and re-shaped through encounters with Leopold Bloom and the new
Joycean text.

In "Cyclops," an analogy between Parnell and Bloom serves to ironically undercut the
race-based (and racist) nationalism of the citizen. He is the only character to reference Parnell by
name as he denounces the *Irish Daily Independent*, "founded by Parnell to be the workingman's
friend" but since led astray by pernicious English influence, a claim he proves by reading off
birth announcements, obituaries, and marriages (*U* 12.220-221).\(^87\) The irony, of course, is that
Parnell is itself an English surname—Joyce uses Parnell to undermine a Nationalist fetishism of
the Irish "race."\(^88\) Of course, Bloom is an even more overt threat to the citizen's worldview than
the English names in the newspaper, so by associating him with Parnell, Joyce makes him a kind
of rebuke to an Irish racial ideal. This first occurs upon Bloom's entrance, in an interpolation
("O'Bloom, the son of Rory: it is he") shortly before the citizen name-drops Parnell (*U* 12.215-
217). Near the end of the episode, shortly after the arrival in the "castle car" of Martin
Cunningham, Jack Power, and "Ivy Day's" Crofton (*U* 12.1588-1592), the link between Bloom
and Parnell becomes somewhat more explicit, laced with a double-edged irony that skewers the
citizen's racialism even more thoroughly:

—That's the new Messiah for Ireland! says the citizen. Island of saints and sages!
—Well, they're still waiting for their redeemer, says Martin. For that matter so are we. (*U*
12.1642-1645)

Although the citizen is being ironic in his derision of Bloom, his irony is undercut by his
unwitting reference to "Irlanda, Isola dei Santi e dei Savi" (that is, "Ireland, Island of Saints and

\(^87\) Don Gifford notes that the *Irish Independent* of 16 June 1904 had many Irish surnames as well, which the citizen
neglects to read aloud. See Gifford and Seidman, 327-328.

\(^88\) For the Parnell family's English origins, including their emigration to Ireland following the English Civil War, see
Foster, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, 3-4, and Lyons, 15-16.
Sages"), which notes that Parnell, "in whose veins there was not even a drop of Celtic blood," was not racially Irish (CW 162). The racial vision of Irishness forwarded by the citizen and the others—including Martin Cunningham, J. J. O'Molloy, and Lenehan—rests on unstable foundations. The Parnell of the common Irish imagination is shown to be flattened, cheapened, and desecrated; in a sense, these two moments replicate and magnify Crofton's class-based appropriation of Parnell in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," which accepts him "because he was a gentleman" (D 133). Crofton's presence in the "castle car" not only marks its membership in this political class, but ties that class to the debasement of Parnell.

In another, more oblique allusion to Parnell, "Cyclops" introduces the sexual themes that play an essential role in forming the multi-dimensional Parnell developed in "Circe" and "Eumaeus." The citizen bemoans the loss of Ireland to the "Saxon robbers," who invaded after the twelfth-century king of Leinster, who had been deposed for marrying the prince of Beffini's wife Devorgilla, enlisted the help of Henry II. The monologue concludes with a word for Devorgilla:

—A dishonored wife, says the citizen, that's what's the cause of all our misfortunes. (U 12.1163-1164)

While the immediate conversational context is the twelfth century, the Parnell-related subtext here is not subtle. J. J. O'Molloy has already made the connection by alluding to the decree nisi filed by Captain O'Shea, which set Parnell's downfall in motion by making his affair public (U 12.1159). And previously, in "Nestor," Mr. Deasy had made explicit the connection between

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89 Martin Cunningham's own comment could be read as an ironic gesture back to the Dubliners story "Grace," which orbits around the coercive form of Catholic salvation he offers to the Protestant Tom Kernan.

90 Though this may be a coincidence, it's worth noting that the county Wicklow's landlord class counted both Parnells and Croftons among its ranks. See Foster, Charles Stewart Parnell, xvi, xviii.

91 See Manganiello, 9, for a more detailed account. Joyce previously made reference to this incident in "Irlanda, Isola dei Santi e dei Savi," where he uses it to highlight Nationalists' ignorance of their own history. See CW 162.
Devorgilla and Katharine O'Shea: "A faithless wife brought the strangers to our shore here, MacMurrough's wife and her leman, O'Rourke, prince of Breffini. A woman too brought Parnell low" \( (U \ 2.392-394) \).\(^{92}\) In both cases, Parnell is approached indirectly through Katharine O'Shea and their affair more generally—a mode which has the effect of simultaneously rendering him a foolish, broken hero and identifiably human.

Notably, in "Cyclops," the citizen's invocation of Katharine O'Shea follows an interpolation that draws explicit analogy between the Irish and Jews. The preceding interpolation parodies the nationalists' discussion of a recent court case by transforming Irish law into Talmudic law, listing off the "twelve tribes of Iar": Patrick, Hugh, Owen, Conn, and so on \( (U \ 12.1124-1130) \). This correspondence mimics Bloom's entrance into the pub, which preceded the citizen's only explicit invocation of Parnell, and it's significant that Parnell always appears in the company of signifiers of Jewishness. In "Cyclops," this "Jewish" Parnell is inscribed into the overtly textual form of the interpolations, indicating a latent investment in the imaginative possibilities of the text. That these textual interjections lack both a clear speaking point and origin, and so invite a potentially infinite collection of speakers, suggests that the texts of \textit{Ulysses}' later episodes are communally constructed.\(^{93}\) Yet because they are not integrated into the dramatic and narrative action of "Cyclops," but merely inserted in it, we are only given a glimpse of their full effect—later, in "Circe," the reader is offered a more complete picture of

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\(^{92}\) As Dominic Manganiello notes, Deasy confuses MacMurrough and O'Rourke. See Manganiello, 9n.

\(^{93}\) Admittedly, this runs counter to a common critical practice, referenced above in note 73, which reads a pair of consistent narrators in \textit{Ulysses}. I find this reading perhaps a bit too deterministic, reflecting a broader critical tendency to impose order on what may ultimately be a highly chaotic, disordered text. Because it's relevant to my argument, I also suggest that the continuity David Hayman sees between the "randomness" of the narrator of the early chapters and "Circe's" "intricate perspectival ambiguities" may be a reflection of communal, rather than individual, narration (Hayman, 91). If the recurrence of elements from earlier in the novel in "Circe" can be read as evidence of a single, omniscient narrator, they can also be read as evidence that that text draws on myriad voices in constructing its narrative.
how Parnell comes to inform the text.

If the text of "Cyclops" presents a "gigantic" parody of the young Joyce's preoccupation with drama, "Circe" more completely inverts the relationship between drama, text, and collective imagining that governed Dubliners' and Portrait's Parnell scenes. Those scenes were prose aspiring to the ephemeral qualities of theatrical performance; "Circe" is a theatrical performance that has ossified into prose. Despite its engagements with theatrical tropes, one the episode's defining formal characteristics is its unstageability. Its narrative techniques are fundamentally novelistic, drawing on those already present in previous episodes of Ulysses, as Katie Wales has observed. However, the distinctions between drama and text, once relatively contained, are scrambled in "Circe." The headlines in "Aeolus" and the interpolations in "Cyclops" are more clearly separated from the novel's dramatically rendered narrative than any single element of "Circe" is, or perhaps even can be. Wales acknowledges this to some degree in her essay, which, after all, is concerned with characteristics of the episode's stage directions. I would go further and suggest that the stage directions in "Circe" represent a kind of non-dramatic space different from that which Joyce models elsewhere in his work. In this context, the episode's invocations of Parnell can be read against the grain of the logic governing "Ivy Day" and Portrait. Parnell's appearances in "Circe" are, to a great extent, debased parodies of the hallowed invocations in those earlier texts. Through these parodies, the Parnellite text is further distanced both from the figure of Parnell himself and from dramatic forms. They turn Joyce's previous logic inside-out: rather than present the reader with an act of imagining that summons the spirit of Parnell into

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94 Katie Wales makes this point in Wales, "'Bloom passes through several walls': The Stage Directions in 'Circe,'" in Reading Joyce's "Circe", 255. For the episode's relationship to the drama of the Irish Literary Revival specifically, see Platt, Joyce and the Anglo-Irish, 157-179 and Platt, "Ulysses 15," 33-62.

95 Wales, 275.
static being, they destabilize the image of Parnell by reshaping the reader's imagination of him. In doing so, Parnell's appearances in "Circe" train a collective readership to re-cast the image of Parnell—and, by extension, their image of political representation—into new modes.

The most prominent invocations of Parnell occur early in "Circe," during the hallucination that transforms Bloom into "Ireland's High King." Parnell is a key touchstone for Bloom's rise and fall in this sequence, and making their once-implicit connection all the more explicit scrambles the distinctions between them. His presence is usually indicated through his physical shade, John Howard Parnell, who first appears at the head of a procession celebrating Bloom's ascent to the throne, alongside, notably, the Ulster King of Arms (U 15.1411-1413).96 John Howard reappears shortly after Bloom is sworn in with "his right hand on his testicles" (U 15.1484):

JOHN HOWARD PARNELL

(raises the royal standard) Illustrious Bloom! Successor to my famous brother!

BLOOM

(embraces John Howard Parnell) We thank you from our heart, John, for this right royal welcome to green Erin, the promised land of our common ancestors. (U 15.1512-1518)

There are several facets of the explicit association between Bloom and Parnell here. For one, Joyce is continuing the critique of racialized Irishness begun in "Cyclops." Marilyn Reizbaum notes the irony of this moment, as the Jewish Bloom and Protestant Parnell have no "common ancestors" in Catholic Ireland.97 But while this is literally true, Parnell and Bloom do share "common ancestors" in a symbolic sense. Parnell and Bloom, Irishman and Jew, can be brought

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96 There are several moments in Ulysses that, like this one, suggest a conservatism in Parnell's approach that stems from his association with landed, Anglo-Irish classes. However, these associations seem to me less an indictment of Parnell than a means of rendering him completely indeterminate — and, by extension, creating space for him to serve as a site of imaginative possibility.

97 Reizbaum, 98.
together through the medium of language and by its mechanisms. Language, and the medium of the text, become a means of unifying the disparate strands of identity discourse, more definitely splitting apart fixed and essentialized national, religious, and sexual categories. At least for a moment, Joyce's Parnell—Bloom's Parnell, and the Parnell of the text—becomes associated more broadly with unifying political possibilities of language. Yet, in the sequence that follows, there also linger traces of old struggles and old Parnells, and in these the old battle-lines are redrawn—and given a new place in the novel that will reconcile them with the new emphasis on endlessly signifying text.

Joyce's most potent method for constructing the new Parnells of "Circe" is to transform him into a symbol of sexual indiscretion, and indiscretion of a kind that proves inhibitive to the advancement of Bloom's political aims. Sex scandals mar Bloom's administration from the outset; John Howard Parnell crowns him Parnell's successor immediately after Bloom "repudiat[es his] former spouse" (U 15.1505-1506). Later, as Bloom preaches of a "[u]nion of all, jew, moslem and gentile" and "[f]ree money, free rent, free love and a free lay church in a free lay state" (U 15.1686, 1693), O'Madden Burke's response invokes the shade of Parnell: "Free fox in a free henroost" (U 15.1695). As in "Nestor" and "Scylla and Charybdis," "fox" can be read as a reference to one of Parnell's aliases, "Mr. Fox," used to obscure his dalliances with Katharine O'Shea. Bloom's calls for union and freedom, then, are met with a statement associating Parnell with sexual impropriety and indecency and by association resistance to this kind of political and discursive openness. The idea of Bloom and Parnell being linked to sexual decadence is soon rendered even more explicitly, when Alexander J. Dowie appears to denounce Bloom as a "fiendish libertine" and "worshipper of the scarlet woman" (U 15.1754, 1758). The mob following Dowie makes the final connection:
THE MOB

Lynch him! Roast him! He's as bad as Parnell was. Mr Fox! (U 15.1761-1762)

Bloom may be echoing Joyce when, in response to these accusations, he calls them "midsummer madness, some ghastly joke again," and indeed it would appear that Joyce is here revisiting old characterizations of the dynamics of the Parnell split (U 15.1768). But when the mob attempts to tear Bloom down, the flexibility of the text allows him to re-emerge in a modified form, albeit a comedic one—the "finished example of the new womanly man" (U 15.1798-1799). Such elaborations begin to take Bloom (and Joyce) quite far from the image of a hallowed Parnell. This, however, is precisely the point: the textual form allows Parnellite iconography to be re-shaped beyond recognition in order for it to take on new meanings. By incorporating the old modes of anti-Parnellite resistance into the new symbolic order, "Circe" reconciles the opposites that had previously rendered the politics of Joyce's Dublin stagnant, making them a key means of elaborating on the Parnellite-Joycean spirit of resistance developed in Ulysses.

It's suggestive that the "Ireland's High King" sequence was a late addition to "Circe," added by Joyce in summer 1921. Michael Groden calls it "an emblem of Joyce's last stage of work on his book"; it might also be called an emblem of the last stage of Joyce's Parnell.98 Placing it near the beginning of "Circe" helped ensure that the image and spirit of Parnell remained at the forefront of the episode's experimentations with language and dramatic form. The addition of this sequence, along with the simultaneous composition of "Eumaeus," anticipates the edits to "Hades" and "Lestrygonians" I discussed in chapter 3, which were inserted into the text during the same period of extensive revision. But although "Circe" signals a

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key change in the development of Joyce's Parnell, it is "Eumaeus" that fully elaborates on the significance of those changes, re-connecting the modes and methods abstracted in "Circe" to more concrete manifestations of Parnell. While the earlier episode draws on Parnellite iconography in developing its methods, it's the latter that makes those methods more apparently "Parnellite."

"Eumaeus" represents a kind of culmination in the series of interrelated trends I've been tracing between Parnell, Joyce's literary forms, and the discourses of both Jewishness and sexuality. The episode, as I've mentioned, serves as a denouement, a kind of meditation on Ulysses' experimentation with Parnell that seeks to set each of these various elements in its proper place. The emphasis on textual expressions of political ideas and themes, a recurring theme in the closing "Nostos" section, highlights the key change in Joyce's treatments of Parnell. The late episodes of Ulysses no longer rely on dramatic forms to explore political themes or express political ideas. The emphasis instead is on means of using text to express—and create—new avenues for political possibility, building on those opened up by Parnell's appearances in preceding episodes. Also, though still admiring of some of Parnell's qualities, Joyce's Parnellism no longer exists to idolize him. In fact, the man himself, whom I've previously referred to as the "historical" Parnell, isn't romanticized, but relegated to his place within history. Rather than serving as a symbol of sacrificed potential, the "historical" Parnell, like the deceased Parnell of earlier episodes, is local in significance and influence, limiting the extent to which his historical particularity can shape the broader political imagination he inspires.

Joyce's themes in "Eumaeus"—the sublimation of dramatic art to textual possibility, the association of heroism with bodily corruption and decay, the discourses of Irish and Jewish identity, and, of course, how all these meet in the shade (and body) of Parnell—imply limitless
possibility in their refusal to resolve in favor of any one point of view. As James Fairhall has observed, the episode's indeterminacy is characteristic of *Ulysses*' approach to history, typified in the novel's refusal to definitely say whether or not the owner of the cabman's shelter in which "Eumaeus" is set is in fact Fitzharris, alias Skin-the-goat, a getaway driver for the Phoenix Park murderers. In Parnell's case, this openness is a function of his being rendered in a textual environment that suppresses the conventionally dramatic, heroic, and essentially Irish modes through which he has been portrayed. Bloom's ruminations on Parnell, for instance, gesture back to Joe Hynes' dismissal of Messianic rumors in "Hades," both by following Hynes' notice of Patrick Dignam's funeral and in his rejection of rumors that Parnell has returned from the grave (*U* 16.1246-1269, 1307-1312). Contrast this to the first, more conventional invocation of Parnell's name, which occurs in the context of a political dialogue among the shelter patrons. When, quoting him, they argue that "Ireland... could not spare a single one of her sons" (*U* 16.1008-1009), it's to justify a limited nationalist outlook that transforms the common Irishman into a symbol of virtue—and even, in one case, imperial might (*U* 16.1022). The tension between these moments never fully resolves itself, making Parnell into both myth and man, rendered in both text and drama, signifying near-infinite possibility. The gaps in his heroic persona and ability, his mistakes and shortcomings, become just as instructive for the reader as the old mythology—a point made most completely by the episode's focus on his affair with Katharine O'Shea.

I mentioned in chapter 3 that *Ulysses* lacks a dramatic set piece exploring Parnellite themes like those in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. This is true, but the structure of "Eumaeus" does function as a kind of parody of these

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theatrical moments that more completely balances their dramatic qualities with distinctly textual logics. Its baggy prose style, which both privileges and reflects Bloom’s perspective, conceals dramatic staging under a weighty onslaught of words. The mythology of Parnell, too, is obscured behind the particulars of the scandal that ended his career, exchanging it for detailed considerations of his affair with Katharine O'Shea. O'Shea is introduced into the episode as a subject of dialogue, analogous in some ways to the Parnell of "Ivy Day" and Portrait. The patrons of the cabman's shelter discuss her (and denounce her) in much the same terms as Mr. Deasy and the citizen, laying the blame for Parnell's fall squarely on her shoulders:

—That bitch, that English whore, did for him, the shebeen proprietor commented. She put the first nail in his coffin.
—Fine lump of a woman all the same, the soi-disant townclerk Henry Campbell remarked, and plenty of her. She loosened many a man's thighs. I seen her picture in a barber's. The husband was a captain or an officer.
—Ay, Skin-the-Goat amusingly added, he was and a cottonball one. (U 16.1352-1357)100

Although the patrons' conversation is nominally about politics, there is a key difference in how they discuss both Parnell and O'Shea. Their focus is not on ideology, but on O'Shea's body.101 The misogynistic sentiments expressed by the shelter proprietor and Henry Campbell resemble those made by Mr. Deasy and the citizen. Yet in their focus on the body, the two men become distracted from the political questions at hand. As Tracey Teets Schwarze notes, they're ironically prostrated before O'Shea's English femininity, "inverting the power relationships they hope to assert" and distorting the imaginative power of their invocation of her.102 By focusing on O'Shea, this moment of "Eumaeus" completely inverts the previously understood dynamics of

100 “Cottonball” is a slang term, meaning "having the appearance but not the actuality of being the real thing." Gifford and Seidman, 358.
101 The shelter patrons do briefly allude to the religious component of this debate in U 16.1306.
102 Schwarze, 85.
Joyce's dramatic Parnellism. The Parnell of "Eumaeus" becomes marked as a manifestation of possibilities unavailable to the Parnell of "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," Portrait, and the earlier episodes of Ulysses. Though, like them, he functions as a tool for political imagination, his impact isn't limited to the drama of Joyce's scene. Instead, he offers the reader an opportunity to consider a more fully developed political heroism, one as alive to its own contradictions and limitations as Ulysses is to the possibilities of the text.

Bloom's considerations of the O'Shea affair, and Parnell more broadly, work in opposition to this ironically reversed heroic dynamic, finally asserting a vision of the Parnellite text that encloses the possibilities of dramatic staging within its operations. For Bloom, Parnell's body becomes a new locus of imaginative possibility, the basis of a new image which Bloom attempts to construct in opposition to the hollowed, hallowed images of the Irish past. Though undoubtedly a "born leader of men," Parnell is an "idol with feet of clay" (U 16.1325, 1329-1330), a figure whose significance comes not from his place in the common imagination but through his specific placement within history. Parnell's historical specificity is most apparent when Bloom recalls his own meeting with him "as a matter of strict history" (U 16.1514), when Bloom returns Parnell's hat after it's knocked off outside the offices of United Ireland. Bloom draws immense personal satisfaction from this meeting; it is "a privilege he keenly appreciated" (U 16.1335). But although he dwells on Parnell's nobility and celebrity, Bloom ultimately presents his story as a cautionary tale about the risks of unguarded "hot passion" (U 16.1407). Parnell's humanity and human connections render him and his movement vulnerable to corruption, decay, and betrayal; it was Katharine O'Shea, after all, who is the "first to perceive" that the Parnellite "idol had feet of clay" (U 16.1508-1509).

Yet Bloom's ruminations on Parnell also contain the imaginative heroism they are
constructed to oppose, drawing comic equivalences between Bloom and the heroic Parnell that finish undermining the latter. For Bloom, this is partially a defensive strategy, a means of making O'Shea's infidelity different in kind from that which his wife has spent the day committing. He makes rhetorical gestures towards Parnell's heroism: he's a "born leader of men... and a commanding figure" (U 16.1325-1326), a "distinguished personage" (U 16.1350), and a "magnificent specimen of manhood... truly augmented obviously by gifts of a high order" (U 16.1388-1389). In this last case, Bloom is discussing the Parnell-O'Shea affair in terms that make it explicitly analogous to his own marital situation:

Whereas the simple fact of the case was it was simply a case of the husband not being up to the scratch, with nothing in common between them beyond the name, and then a real man arriving on the scene, strong to the verge of weakness, falling a victim to her siren charms and forgetting home ties, the usual sequel, to bask in the loved one's smiles. The eternal question of the life connubial, needless to say, cropped up. Can real love, supposing there happens to be another chap in the case, exist between married folk? Poser. (U 16.1379-1386)

Bloom's attempts to invoke the dramatic-heroic image of Parnell ultimately result in his own diminishment, highlighting that image's decay on a symbolic level as well as a physical one. All of his comparisons are made in error—Katharine O'Shea is not, like Molly, "a Spanish type" (U 16.1400-1401) and Bloom is not himself the hero, because that old heroism has gone by the wayside. As he puts it, "[l]ooking back now in a retrospective kind of arrangement all seemed a kind of dream" (U 16.1400-1401). His wife's adultery, like O'Shea's, has no mythic significance—it is nothing more than adultery. The indeterminacy of Bloom's considerations of Parnell mimic those more broadly reflected in the text between his own perspective and that of the other patrons of the cabman's shelter, unifying reader, author, and character in a marriage between dramatic and textual form. The Parnell of Ulysses' later episodes overwhelms the old myths, but in doing so, he contains them.
In passing back and forth between the dramatic and textual, the heroic and ordinary, and the mythical and historical, Bloom and "Eumaeus" create a new language of political liberation from which the reader can draw. This language relies less on what is said than what is left unsaid, and how. So while Enda Duffy, for instance, reads the collapse of Parnell's "heroic identity" in "Eumaeus" as a sign of widespread cultural alienation, he overlooks the possibility inherent in freedom from the strictures of individualist, heroic conceptions of Parnellism and Parnellite resistance. Bloom might diminish Parnell's role in Irish political life, but, unlike the other patrons of the cabman's shelter, he doesn't rely on the ritualistic imaginative summoning of Parnell. *Ulysses* has shown to be downgraded and decayed. His conclusions may very well be, as Duffy has it, "hackneyed in the extreme," but his considerations of Parnell have more sophistication and nuance when read within the broader context of developments in both "Eumaeus" and *Ulysses* as a whole. They are there not to close off possibilities for cultural evolution, but to invite them within the form of the text itself—in other words, in the case of Parnell, Bloom's destination is less important than the means by which he comes to it.

A final reference to Katharine O'Shea in "Penelope," *Ulysses'* concluding episode, winkingly refers back to the tangled discourses of Parnellism in "Eumaeus," showing them submerged in the Joycean textual unconscious. The episode rejects dramatic form entirely; almost formless but for its division into eight lengthy sentences, the episode can be understood as a final assertion of the Joycean text's dominance—and that text's indebtedness to the mythologized discourses of Parnellism. Late in the second sentence, Molly worries about aging before assuaging herself with a recollection of Mrs. Galbraith, whose hair offers her a moment of hope:

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103 Duffy, *Subaltern *Ulysses*, 179.
...she was a lovely woman magnificent head of hair on her down to her waist tossing it back like that like Kitty O'Shea in Grantham street... (U 18.476-479)

This moment is illuminating by virtue of its being misleading, as the reference is not to the Katharine O'Shea who became Mrs. Charles Stewart Parnell, who "did not reside in, or ever visit, Ireland," but rather a fictional neighbor and namesake. Like Bloom's in "Eumaeus," Molly's invocation of Katharine O'Shea is hollow, only she carries it a step further: while her husband invoked a hollow image of Charles Stewart Parnell, Molly substitutes an ersatz "Kitty O'Shea" for the Katharine O'Shea who would become Mrs. Parnell. In doing so, she draws further attention to what *Ulysses* has already taken great pains to show. The pseudo-mythical leaders populating Joyce's texts—and, more broadly, all political representatives—have no inherent value themselves. They are empty signifiers, conveying nothing truly meaningful in a symbolic or political sense. Meaning, imagination, and eventually political action are derived not from them, but from those who invest them with their significance. In other words, the Joycean text invests the powers of political imagination not only in characters, nor in political representatives, but in common imagination of its readers.

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104 Schwarze, 91.
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