

JOYCE'S ULYSSES AND THE IRISH QUEST FOR IDENTITY AND INDEPENDENCE

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Frederick Jameson sees human history as telling one basic story, namely the story of class struggle: "freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman - in a word, oppressor and oppressed" (The Political Unconscious 20), and that it is in this fundamental history "that the doctrine of a political unconscious finds its function and necessity" (The Political Unconscious 20). It is my argument in the present paper that Jameson's "fundamental history" is visibly salient in Joyce's *Ulysses*, especially in its treatment of the Irish quest for identity and independence. My final argument is that the political conflicts which exist between the various characters of the novel are not merely conflicts of ways and means to achieve the same end, but are also rooted in varying ideological conceptions of this very end.

Similarly, the duality "identity-independence" is not, as one could be misled to believe, wine from the same barrel . It is, at most, from the same winery, which means that it has different qualities, flavours, colours, bouquets, changing according to its peculiar histories and those of its producers and consumers. In other words, the issues of identity and independence are not one and the same for all characters, but are dealt with politically, i.e., according to interests which are at one time national and international, that is, expressive of an external image which mirrors the dominant trends of the internal identity struggle.

Because the Irish struggle for identity and independence in Ulysses centers around issues which are socio-economic, political and cultural, I shall point to the different treatments given to each of these areas by the Irish literary politicians and also by the representatives of the literary British empire.

II. The Brutish Empire and its Syphilization.

When Private Carr asks Stephen Dedalus what he is saying about his king, Stephen replies:

O, this is too monotonous! Nothing. He wants my money and my life, though want must be his master, for some Brutish empire of his. Money I haven't. Gave it to someone (Ulysses 594).

Stephen's reply somehow summarizes the role of the king and his empire in Ireland - they want her money and her life as they want his. Since like so many Irishmen he, too, has given his money to someone, we are led to conclude that all the "British empire" can take from him now is his life. In this sense, Stephen embodies the feelings of all the Irishmen exploited by the centuries-long English colonial policies, to which Ulysses contains countless references.

It is obviously conscious to the extreme, on Joyce's part, that the opening chapter of the novel brings up the theme of the (English) usurper taking over Stephen's tower, without bothering at all about helping out with the rent. And why should Haines bother about his share of rent anyhow? Wouldn't he be paying himself? As a representative of the British empire, he is indirectly, figuratively at least, a collector of the Martello-Tower rent. We should remember that the Tower is located on official British territory and that the "twelve quid" are paid "to the secretary of state for war" (Ulysses 17)

While the Secretary of State collects the rent " for war" and while the sea that bathes Mulligan and the Irish coast belongs to the English (Ulysses 18, 30), the Irish are stricken with poverty, "selling some old furniture" (Ulysses 151) to stay alive, dressing "in flitters" (Ulysses 152) and managing to survive with "the country full of rotten teeth and rotten guts" (Ulysses 14).

But the English economic exploitation of Ireland is nowhere more explicit than in the "Eumaeus" and "Cyclops" chapters of Ulysses. In "Eumaeus", Fitzharris or Skin-the-Goat, the

cabman who supposedly participated in the Phoenix Park murders perpetrated by the Invincibles, a radical faction of James Stephens' Fenian Society, reminds Bloom and Stephen of the English predatoriness:

...the natural resources of Ireland[...], the richest country bar none on the face of God's earth, far and away superior to England, with coal in large quantities, six million pounds' worth of pork exported every year, ten millions between butter and eggs, and all the riches drained out of it by England, levying taxes on the poor people through the nose always, and gobbling up the best meat in the market (Ulysses 640).

The purpose of the colony is to serve the interests of the metropolis, and that generally means an unscrupulous outflow of natural resources and other agricultural riches, and heavy taxation. The victims of such policy are first of all the poor and then the country as a whole, since the imperialistic policies aim at preserving the economic dependence, while maintaining, internally, the same inequalities which exist internationally. This means that any economic activity which might lead the colony to jeopardize metropolitan interests are promptly curtailed. It is precisely this aspect of the Irish economy which the controversial Citizen addresses in " Cyclops " chapter. The Citizen is aware that England is responsible for Ireland's almost exclusive development of the primary sector of her economy. Industrialization and trade were wiped out by English colonialism, making the country totally dependent on agriculture. But, as the

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Citizen suggest, it had not always been that way:

Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes? And our potteries and textiles, the finest in the world ! and our wool that was sold in Rome in the time of Juvenal and our limerick lace , our tanneries and our white flint glass
(Ulysses 326)

The comparison of Ireland to Portugal - "as treeless as Portugal will be soon" (Ulysses 326) - is also remarkable , for it was precisely the so-called Methuen treaty, signed between Portugal and England in 1703, which assured British industrial supremacy in Europe, condemning the quite developed Portugal, a world power at the time, to become an anachronic agricultural state. Methuen, English ambassador in Portugal , through obscure political stratagems, managed to transform Portugal into a defenseless English economic colony, by signing a treaty which totally inhibited the development of Portuguese industry. As in Ireland, industrial development was prohibitive. Thus, from an economic point of view, one can argue that it was the curtailment of industrialization and the trade control which ultimately forced millions of Irishmen to emigrate during the potato blight, in the middle of last century. It was a clear demonstration of economic helplessness of a whole nation - a misery which, according to Bloom, was shamefully exploited by the Protestants: "they say they used to give pauper children soup to change the protestants in the time of the potato

blight" (Ulysses 180). As Citizen bitterly puts it, "the Saxon robbers" (Ulysses 324) have brought "syphilization" (Ulysses 325) and poverty, and have worn out their welcome. Like Fitzharris cannot forgive the Saxons for what they did during the blight, especially, when, according to him, millions "were driven out of house and home in the black 47. [...] the sass-nach tried to starve the nation at home while the land was full of crops that the British hyenas bought and sold in Rio de Janeiro. Ay, they drove out the peasants in hordes. Twenty thousand of them died in the coffinshops" (Ulysses 330).

This criminal empire made Ireland a country of "drudges and whipped serfs" (Ulysses 329), betrayals and paralysis. Nevertheless, despite the generalized socio-economic casualties, the Ireland of Ulysses is in search of the adequate forces which will eventually free her from British basiliks, greedy "Kings and unicorns". But the economic issues carry with them cultural and political issues as well - issues that demand from the Irishmen not merely a diagnostic but also a political commitment.

III. The Cultural Controversy

The search for an identity is essential for a people who wishes to be a nation, not merely in the Bloomian sense of "the same people living in the same place [...] or also living in different places" (Ulysses 331), but of people deeply involved in the evaluation of its past collective experience and in the search for a synthesis which will constitute this people's internal affirmation and external image.

The national identity crisis, in Ulysses as in so many other cases (one cannot help thinking of Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne and so on), is a clear colonial reaction to the values of the dominant power, from which unique group experiences and time will eventually force a sundering, especially when economic divergencies, as the ones previously described, become part of the country's history. Thus, while economic independence guarantees the permanence of greater wealth and resources in the country, the cultural identity has to do especially with one's image of oneself as a people in the present and with one's hopes and dreams for the future.

But, according to the Irish manifestation in Ulysses, what are the cultural issues at stake? To make a complex thing simple, we could say that culturally what concerns the Irishmen, in Ulysses, are basically the problems of an Irish language, the Irish traditions and arts. It must be said beforehand that none of these issues are solved by consensus.

The problem of an Irish art is discussed throughout the novel, especially with Stephen. In the first pages of the novel, Stephen defines Irish art as "the cracked looking glass of a servant" (Ulysses 6, 16) i.e., a mirror image which cannot reproduce, without distortion, the state of servitude of the Irish nation.

It is interesting to notice that artist like A.E., Russell, "the master mystic" (Ulysses 140), and Stephen Dedalus would agree with John Eglinton's observation in "Scylla and Charybdis" that "our young Irish bards [...] have yet to create a figure which the world will set beside the saxon Shakespeare's Hamlet" (Ulysses 185). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Russell tries to ridicule Stephen's biographic approach to literature when he

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blatantly suggests that "all these questions are[...]clergyman's discussions of the historicity of Jesus" (Ulysses 185). Similarly, their controversy over Plato and Aristotle is indicative of the distance which separates the man of "ideas, formless spiritual essences" (Ulysses 185), and the man who is in search of the Aristotelean "quidditas". Furthermore, George Russel is a representative of the Celtic Twilight movement, whose main goal is the revival of ancient Irish mythology, culture and language - an idea which Stephen, to say the least, is reluctant to accept and follow. It is no wonder, therefore, that he "does not write anything for [their] movement" (Ulysses 249), that he is literally in love with Shakespeare and that the Irish intelligentsia marginalizes him by not inviting him to their meeting. Stephen seems to be aware of the artificiality of making the Irish people, like the milkwoman, for example, recognize nobility in their Celtic background after eight centuries of British presence on Irish soil. Although Stephen does not openly condemn the Celtic revival as a whole, he would certainly be profoundly irritated by a naive, fanatical and unfounded comment such as the one made by the Citizen in "Cyclops":

The English have] no art and no literature worthy of the name. Any civilization they have they stole from us. Tonguetied sons of bastards' ghosts (Ulysses 325).

Stephen's admiration for Shakespeare, on whom he lectures indefatigably throughout a whole chapter of the novel and who is in his mind throughout the entire novel, would not per-

mit him to take the side of a movement whose fanaticism is blinding. Like Russel's intolerant Platonism and parochialism, the Citizen's sick nationalism allows no place for somebody like Stephen whose education encompasses not only the Irish culture but also the whole English and Western tradition.

With regards to the revival of the Irish language, Stephen's position is, again, not totally compatible with that of the Sinn Feiners. At least, with all his knowledge of the Irish past, its myths, heroes and traditions, he cannot and does not move around the Dublin bars speaking Irish, as is the case of the Citizen. Stephen and the Irish have been too long submitted to the English language to be able to simply discard it, as the Citizen proposes: "to hell with the bloody brutal sassenachs and their patois" (Ulysses 324). Again, the Citizen's naivité is blinding, even though it also shows how fervently in love with the cause for Irish independence he is. Stephen, however, placing intellect above his passions, is able to regard the language of Shakespeare as an asset which the dominators, inadvertently perhaps, passed on the Irish without realizing its full value, and not as a worthless patois. English has become part of the Irish experience to such an extent that the Irish people, as opposed to the educated intellectuals, think that Irish is a foreign language. When Stephen asks the milkwoman in "Telemachs" after Haines talks to her in Irish:

- Do you understand what he says? (Ulysses 14)

the answer he receives is:

- Is it French you are talking, sir? (Ulysses 14)

Mulligan's contribution to the conversation, saying that "[Haines] is English [...] and he thinks we ought to speak

Irish in Ireland" (Ulysses 14) is as naive as the Citizen's. Politically, it means identifying with the point of view of the dominator Haines; culturally, it means to throw out of the window centuries of home experience with the English language - an experience now so rooted in the Irish world that it has become the mother tongue of the Irish and ceased to be merely the invader's language. Thus, we as readers, can easily identify the nature of the Irish identity conflict here and, once more, we tend to sympathize with Stephen's mostly tacit remarks and non-participatory attitude. Contrary to what Dr. Sigerson says, we as readers would prefer the Irish "national epic [...] to be written" (Ulysses 192) by Stephen Dedalus and not by the representatives of the Gaelic League. And, definitely, everything indicates that the "something in Irish" (Ulysses 193) that Mr. Russel requests will be written in the English language. But, Stephen is alone, isolated, feeling the pressures of the "murdering Irish" (Ulysses 200) forcing him to "part [...] now" (Ulysses 217), before the sow devours her farrow.

The attempt to revive the old Irish sports is also an issue which is passionately raised by the Citizen. The issue clearly provokes strong reactions from the standing powers which want to forbid "Irish games in the park" (Ulysses 315). This "revivability of ancient games and sports" (Ulysses 317), however, provokes no reaction, whatsoever, from Stephen or Bloom or other Irishmen. This seems to be an issue around which the whole country seems to be united, perhaps because it operates at a very high level of abstraction, i.e., it distinguishes between things-national and things-foreign, but not between what is national. This aspect, however, is never fully developed in the

novel, and that might also answer for the little controversy. Nevertheless, if we consider that Stephen sees Ireland as belonging to him and not he to Ireland, as seems to be the case with the Gaelic League representatives, we can, even here, perceive the seeds of future conflicts. Stephen owns Ireland with all its history and culture, and tries to create his own future with all his present potential, while the Gaelic League seems to be looking for a future built on a past that does not belong to them any longer because of its partiality or lack of comprehensiveness.

IV. What is going on at the Court and the Irish Political Opinions.

The English came to Ireland and never returned. Their invitation became invasion. Their presence, as described in Ulysses, has been for Ireland largely a history of economic exploitation, of cultural identity crisis and political humiliation. Ulysses is the great Irish saga against this state of affairs.

In it, the English are accused, besides the previously mentioned "crimes", of bringing to Ireland their "cloacal obsession" (Ulysses 131), their heroes, their bad manners and their not-always respectable values.

Yet, despite this ocean of problems against which the Irish "collective ego" has been demanding action, the representatives of the Court seem to be acting as if the Irish problem had to do more with the sex of angels than with an actuality which should worry them. Haines, the Englishman who is studying the

Irish culture, epitomizes the view of the colonial power. When Stephen tells him that he (meaning Ireland) is "the servant of two masters, an English and an Italian" (Ulysses 20), Haines immediately asserts his lordliness by answering:

- I can quite understand that, he said calmly. An Irishman must think like that, I dare say. We feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems history is to blame (Ulysses 20).

Haines' history clearly implies only the past, but for the Irishmen the unfairness of history is still a fact the moment Haines is speaking. It becomes evident, for the readers at least, that the struggle for independence will have to be fought by the Irish themselves. Haines' sincerity is such that it becomes plain and pure scorn, when he continues:

- Of course I'm a Britisher [...] and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German Jews either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid just now (Ulysses 21).

The irony of this remarks shows that the colonizers' mind has other "more important" things to worry about. Stephen will remember this talk of Haines throughout the day. Even late at night, in "Circe", after walking from his "nightmare" caused by the King's protector, Private Carr, he remembers, first thing, Haines, the black panther and colonial vampirism he represents and mumbles an old Irish lament. His mind is so obsessed by the Irish state of servitude that all he sees of Bloom,

who is actually standing in front of him, is a personal connotation of "black", the color of Bloom's clothes. Stephen seems to have no illusion about the English: their main pride is not, as Deasy wants it, "I owe nothing" (Ulysses 30), but their megalomania, their need to maintain an empire where "the sun never sets" (Ulysses 30). The interests of the Court are definitely not those of the colony.

What are then the political alternatives for the Irish? Should they, like the birds, shit on the Irish parliament and forget Parnell (Ulysses 162)? Should they follow the tactics of James Stephens' Fenian Society? Should they act as the Sinn Feiners of Arthur Griffith or as the Sinn Feiners of the Citizen? Should the cry for independence be accompanied by an internal structural change of the Irish society and economy? Or should the Irish emigrate? The answer to these questions has to do not only with a strategy of action but also with the society which is in the mind of the Irish citizens present in the novel. The questions require an answer which is, at the same time, strategic and ideological.

The name of Parnell is constantly remembered in the novel with a feeling of an opportunity for home rule lost through stupidity, provincialism and internal division of the Irish leaders, with the special contribution of the catholic church, which could not accept the leadership of a man involved in an illicit love affair. Parnell's alternative, however, would have meant a nonviolent transference of power through parliamentary action and would have avoided more violence. But Parnell's personal charisma and capacity to compromise conflicting factions proved fatal after his leadership was removed from the national

political scene. None of the other leaders was able to achieve the unity necessary to accomplish parliamentary success. This frustration of Irish wishes for home rule, after eight centuries, is probably responsible for the name of Parnell. Somehow, one has the impression that the Irish want to resuscitate him - perhaps also conscious that he was a victim of their pettiness and injustice:

Simon Dedalus said when they put him in parliament that Parnell would come back from the grave and lead him out of the House of Commons by the arm(Ulysses 165)

Later in "Eumaeus", Fitzharris will once again recall Parnell's advice that the Irish should "live for Ireland" (Ulysses 640) and that "one morning you would open the paper[...] and read, Return of Parnell" (Ulysses 648). Although Parnell is a national hero, his story reveals with astounding clarity that Catholicism, Irish morality and the tactics to defeat the common enemy will continue to divide the Irish people. With Parnell's defeat by his own people, too, one has the feeling that Ireland is an "old sow that eats her farrow" (Ulysses 595)

Like Parnell, James Stephens is also remembered by the Irish, although, in terms of tactics, he represents the exact opposite of Parnell. Stephens, after spending some years in France studying military tactics, returned to Ireland and founded the Fenian Society - a society which advocated the use of armed rebellion against the British forces. Despite his tactics of organizing the country "into circles composed of a sargent and twenty-five men" (Joyce's Politics 13), his movement was

ultimately defeated by betrayal. After the second betrayal, it is said, Stephens refused to fight and finally died...in bed.

Bloom's descriptions of Stephens's tactics are not totally accurate from a historic point of view. Nevertheless, his presentations of Stephens as a leader who understood the Irish internal contradictions and consequent vulnerability of movements regarding betrayals in such an environment confirms the historic evidence. Stephens is remembered a number of times in the novel, but perhaps the most remarkable recollection is of Bloom in "The Lestrygonians":

James Stephens' idea was the best. He knew them. Circles of ten or so that a fellow could not round more than his own ring [...] Turnkey's daughter got him out of Richmond, off from Lusk (Ulysses 163).

The number of references to Irish betrayals in Ulysses is worth a study all by itself. To make matters worse, historically there seems to be a shadow of a doubt around the person of Stephens himself and his refusal to fight at a moment when the movement was said to have an army of about 100.000 men ready to fight. This explains his early removal from the Fenian leadership. Does it also explain his escape "under their very noses" (Ulysses 163)? Is this why his escape seems to baffle and boggle the imagination of Stephen, Bloom and others in the novel?

There is also evidence that Joyce himself had great admirations for James Stephens, one of the reasons why his hero was named "Stephen". Nevertheless, Despite Deasy's identification of Stephen as a Fenian, early in the novel, this identification has

little to do with his sympathies with the Fenian proposal of independence through violence - an idea to which neither he nor Bloom subscribes.

The greatest advocate of violence, however, is The Citizen, a Sinn Feiner whose leader, Arthur Griffith, never advocated violence. The Citizen's rage is not only directed at the English, but at all foreigners, including Jews like Bloom. Although many aspects of the Citizen's evaluation of the British presence are not questioned by Bloom, and are confirmed by his historic evidence, his cyclopic fanaticism and blindness do not allow us to sympathize with his proposal of violence, which, naturally, leads us to take Bloom's side in the dispute. The citizen's proposal is simply and clearly Fenian:

We'll put force against force[...] we have our
greater Ireland beyond the sea(Ulysses 329).

Were it not for his lust for violence, the Citizen would not sound very different from James Stephens himself, even in his belief that the American Irish would help them in their fight. The Joycean caricaturization of him, however, makes him more radical than the Invincibles who, despite their violence, still manage to enjoy some admiration from Bloom (Ulysses 642). It is precisely the Citizen's lust for violence which puts him in direct conflict with Bloom. In "Circe" the Citizen recites:

May the God above
Send down a dove
With teeth as sharp as razors
To slit the throat
of the English dogs
that hanged our Irish leaders (Ulysses 593)

As in the "Cyclops" chapter, the Citizen's hatred and violence are here too opposed by a non-violent message - this time not by Bloom but by Croppy Boy, another Irish myth:

I bear no hate to a living thing
but love my country more than the king
(Ulysses 593).

It is certainly no coincidence that this message follows the Citizen's apology of violence. The scene somehow prepares us for Stephen's and Bloom's non-violent attitude during the Private-Carr incident.

With regards to the Fenian radicalism of the Citizen, it should be said that Bloom cannot accept it, first because he sees it as wrong, as planting more uncontrollable hatred, and, second, because accepting it would mean accepting the marginalization of people like himself. The same way Stephen cannot accept Plato and Russel because they would exclude him from their "republic", Bloom cannot accept the Citizen's Fenian-Sinn Feinian syncretism because he would have no place in such a society.

If the Fenian/Invincibles proposal of independence through violence was unacceptable and if the hopes of victory through parliamentary actions had vanished, what alternative was there left besides mere escape? Richard Ellmann, in his book, The Consciousness of Joyce (1977), correctly points to the importance of Arthur Griffith as an intermediary alternative, an alternative which was acceptable to Bloom, to Stephen and to Joyce himself, at least as a strategy for action against the common external enemy. Ellmann states that Joyce

followed Griffith's [...] activities closely, and in 1906 he made up his mind. A letter to his brother asserted flatly that a recent speech in Dublin by Griffith had justified the existence of his newspaper [...] although he refused to endorse the revival of the Irish language, Joyce was in other ways on the side of the separatist movement, and particularly Griffith's program. He thought that the time for parliamentary action, of the sort espoused by Parnell, was over, and that an economic boycott would have more hope of succeeding (The Consciousness of Joyce 86)

This position of the critic can be roughly confirmed by the novel. Bloom's involvement and sympathy with Griffith is expressed in many instances in Ulysses. Already in "calypso" Bloom broods about what "Griffith said about the headpiece over the Freeman leader: a homerule sun rising up in the northwest from the laneway behind the Bank of Ireland" (Ulysses 57). In at least two other occasions we have a confirmation that Bloom was a Griffith sympathizer. John Wyse, in "Cyclops" tells us that it was Bloom who gave Griffith the idea of "swindling the taxes off of government and appointing consuls all over the world to walk about selling Irish industries" (Ulysses 336). Coming from Wyse alone, such a statement could sound unreliable. But Molly, as apolitical as she can be, confirms, at least, Bloom's involvement with Griffith's cause, confirming as well the existence of a proposal of a general economic boycott, as advocated by Griffith:

He was going about with some of them Sinner Fein lately or whatever they call themselves talking his usual trash and nonsense he says that little

man showed me without the neck is very intelligent the coming man Griffith is he well he doesn't look it that's all i can say still it must have been him he knew there was a boycott (Ulysses 748).

Another interesting contribution of Bloom towards Griffith's program, according to Martin Cunningham, was the idea of "a dual monarchy for England and Ireland, or the model of the Austro-Hungarian empire" (Ulysses 937). This became especially important because it manages to bring Stephen and Bloom even closer for it implies a compromise both heroes would find acceptable. As we have seen before, Stephen refuses to give up his Shakespeare and English language. He is clearly trying to be "loyal to lost causes" (Ulysses 133), as the Irish have been so many times before. He is happy to part with "half a crown". Politically, the uncompromising Stephen is more likely to compromise with a moderate proposal like Griffith's (or Bloom's?) than with any other. Culturally, however, because it has to do primarily with Irish identity and its internal socio-political organization as a people, after independence, Stephen is irreconcilable. And so is Bloom.

V. The Promised Bloomusalem.

The temporary acceptance of a strategy for action against a common foreign enemy does not mean a necessary acceptance of the internal form of organization as it stands. As we pointed out before, Bloom and Stephen have good reasons not to join the Citizen and Russel, for the latter's victory would mean the former's marginalization.

The proposal which Bloom makes throughout the day - so metimes in a jocose manner - paint a rather vivid picture of his promised land. In a way Bloom, too, phones back to Eden. His political/scientific mind never stops explaining the world - its past, present and future. In "Aeolus", Bloom thinks of his father in a manner that could well epitomize his concerns regarding himself and Ireland:

poor Papa with his Hagadah book, reading backwards with his fingers to me. Pessach. Next year in Jerusalem. Dear, o Dear! All that long business about that brought us out of the land of Egypt and into the house of bondage (Ulysses 122).

This fear of repeating, with the Irish independence , the trajectory from captivity, from oppression to oppression is again brought up in "The Lestrygonians", where Bloom is looking at the growing city:

Landlord never dies they say. Others step into his shoes when he gets his notice to quit (Ulysses 164).

As one can fell, Bloom is not merely concerned with the independence of Ireland but also with justice to Irish people. It is useless to change the Land's lord or to replace the "capitalist lust" (Ulysses 479) for other capitalist lust. This would mean the simple continuation of grievances of Irish "prostituted labor" (Ulysses 479). Although most of Bloom's concrete proposals are made in the jocose "Circe" chapter, they form part of his ideological conceptions of society, especially because they are consistent with other previous and later

political expressions of his. Like this one, for example:

I stand for the reform of municipal morals and the plain ten commandments. New world for old. Union of all, Jew, Moslem and Gentile. Three acres and a cow for all children of nature. Saloon motor hearses. Compulsory manual labor of all. All parks open to the public day and night. Electric dishcrubbers. Tuberculosis, lunacy, war and medicancy must now cease. General amnesty, weekly carnival, with masked licence, bonuses for all, esperanto the universal brotherhood. No more patriotism of barspongers and dropsical impostors. Free money, free love and free lay church in a free lay state (Ulysses, 489,490)

This speech goes well beyond Griffith's or Parnell's fight for independence. It is a true manifesto, highly socialist in its content, dealing with most of the issues vital to the achievement of social justice within a country. It deals with land reform; with the elimination of the distinction between manual labor and intellectual labor; with the easing of hard labor through industrialization; with leisure; with medical assistance; with political amnesty; with national education towards the elimination of fanatic nationalisms and towards the achievement of international peace, through the study of esperanto, the universal language and, finally, with the establishment of a lay state. These views are partly repeated to Stephen, later, in "Eumaeus", where he not only preaches a "friendlier intercourse between man and man" (Ulysses 644) but even ventures to throw in a basic salary figure - "something in the neighbourhood of \$300 per annum" (Ulysses 644) - destined to achieve social equality and economic justice.

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These observations reveal how conscious of politics Bloom can be. Jameson's political unconscious has become, in *Ulysses*, highly conscious, with very definite implications. After all, Bloom is the one who will recognize the existence of "literary labor" (*Ulysses* 644), and he is the one who will protect the poet against those who wish to destroy his freedom of mind and speech. Because of these and other proposals, Bloom becomes a hero we learn to respect, despite his lack of aggressiveness and his, so typically human, weakness and shortcomings. He might not be able to "change the country" but, then, like Stephen, neither can he "change the subject", no matter how hard he tries, for Bloom is Irish or, even, "more Irish than the Irish", and Ireland, too, tells the "basic story" for the human race.

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