A "Shade" Over Dublin:
Reading Parnell's Presence in James Joyce's *Dubliners* and
A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.

by

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Abstract

Just before the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, Charles Stewart Parnell, known as the "Uncrowned King of Ireland," actively led Ireland towards independence from British colonization. His decade-long affair with Katherine O'Shea, the wife of Captain O'Shea, was largely ignored by the public until Parnell's political power reached a high point. At that time, his enemies politicized the affair, causing a public scandal, and Parnell was exiled from the position of influence. The strain cost him his political office and his life; Parnell passed away on October 6, 1891, a few months after he married his beloved Katherine. His death left most of Ireland distraught at the loss of their fearless leader. James Joyce, only nine years old at the time of Parnell's death, would carry the memory of Parnell throughout the rest of his life and evoked Parnell's memory in many of his works. In his 1912 essay "A Shade of Parnell," Joyce describes Parnell as a "ghost-like" shade that hovers over Ireland. My thesis aims to explore the different "shades" and "shadows" that Parnell's memory cast upon both Dublin society and Joyce's works, specifically his novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and his short story "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," as well as other stories in *Dubliners* such as "Araby," "Eveline," "The Boarding House," "A Little Cloud," "A Painful Case," and "The Dead."

Throughout my thesis, I utilize historical evidence such as Parnell's biography, Katherine O'Shea's memoirs, and Joyce's letters, biography, and critical writings, to further demonstrate how Parnell's shadow looms over Joyce's writing. My research shows that the "shadow" of Parnell cast upon Joyce's work champions the author's goal to give Dubliners "a good look in [his] nicely polished lookingglass" (*SL* 90).

Dedication

To Katie Smith, Mikaela Kelley, and Dr. Jolanta Wawrzycka

Avremo sempre Roma

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Thank you, also, to my parents for allowing me to use your house as a second library, and for finding Mary Rose Callaghan's book *Kitty O'Shea*. I could not have finished this thesis without it. And thank you to my grandparents, who share my love of our Irish heritage and remind me just how important it is to remember where we come from.

Last but not least, thank you to my Graduate Teaching Fellow Cohort and my mentors. You have no idea how meaningful your support was as I worked on my thesis.

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James Joyce Quarterly Citation Note

In keeping with the *James Joyce Quarterly* (*JJQ*) Citation Guide, throughout my thesis I have used the following abbreviations for in-text citations of Joyce's works:

CW Joyce, James. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, The Viking Press, 1959.

D Joyce, James. *Dubliners: Text, Criticism, and Notes*, Edited by Scholes/Litz, Penguin Books, 1996.

JJI Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*, Oxford UP, 1959.

L I Joyce, James. *Letters of James Joyce*. vol. 1. Edited by Stuart Gilbert, Viking Press, 1957.

L II Joyce, James. *Letters of James Joyce*. vol. 2. Edited by Richard Ellmann. Viking Press, 1966.

P Joyce, James. *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, The Viking Press, New York, 1966.

SL Joyce, James. *Selected Letters of James Joyce*. Edited by Richard Ellmann. Faber and Faber, 1992.

Introduction:
A "Shade" Over Dublin: Reading Parnell's Influence in James Joyce's *Dubliners*

The year 1891 marked the death for Ireland's "Uncrowned King" Charles Stewart Parnell, who for many Irish people, including the James Joyce family, became a pillar of hope for the leadership and liberation from the British Rule that Ireland sought for centuries. Parnell's long-time liaison with Katherine "Kitty" O'Shea snuffs out his career and his life, leaving a nine-year-old Joyce to witness the political fallout precipitated by a simple "love affair." In her book, *James Joyce and the Revolt of Love: Marriage, Adultery, Desire*, Janine Utell observes: "Parnell stalks through Joyce's texts like a ghost who cannot rest, doomed by his own desire" (Utell 34). That "ghost" will cast its shadow throughout this thesis and the issues of "desire" will inform much of my discussion. For Joyce, the matters of desire are not a system of checks and balances mandated by society or the church; rather, desire is alive in every person; it directly correlates with a person's destiny.

Joyce's adolescent years are characterized by the strict scrutiny of the Catholic church. His early education at the Jesuit Clongowes Wood College completely immersed him in the Catholic community at a young age. At the same time, under his father, John Joyce's, influence, young James Joyce would also be exposed to political turmoil. In a biography of James Joyce, Richard Ellman discusses John Joyce's friendship with a man named John Kelly, who would later serve as the inspiration for James Joyce's character John Casey, and who appears in the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (*JJ II* 24). Kelly, who bore the reputation for being "a hillsider," found himself in constant danger of arrest, and shared an outspoken

devotion to Parnell, as did Joyce's own father; this solidified the young James Joyce's admiration for Parnell, well vocalized in many of his writings.

Although Parnell's presence might not be overtly stated in all of Joyce's texts, traces of the politician's presence and influence cast a shadow over Dublin and its citizens. My thesis aims to discover how representations of Parnell's affair with Kitty O'Shea also influenced sexuality and desire between his characters in *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In addition to focusing on the story "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, several short stories from *Dubliners* illustrate how the hidden tensions in society affected the attitudes of these characters due to the backlash of Parnell's and Katherine's affair. Joyce's characters are stuck in a form of paralysis, and Joyce depicts these characters as unable to move past their concepts of what society deems moral. The little boy in "Araby" romanticizes Mangan's sister across the street, only to realize that his idea of her is entirely false. In another story, titular Eveline struggles with the idea of duty because she desires freedom from the stagnant life she has always known. In "A Little Cloud," Little Chandler fears he is stranded in a marriage and a society that limits him and his writing abilities. In another story, "The Boarding House," Mr. Doran fears that his relationship with Mrs. Mooney's daughter, Polly, will affect his position at work. Mr. Duffy of "A Painful Case" fears the implications of his friendship with Mrs. Sinico might escalate, causing a bigger scandal than the two anticipate. And in "The Dead," Gabriel fears Miss Ivors, who publicly addressed him as a "West Briton," and cannot bear the idea that his wife has once been close to the deceased boy, Michael Furey. In all cases, those fears appear isolated and yet

they can be traced back to the aftermath of Parnell's scandal, thus creating Parnell's shade that is cast over the city of Dublin.

Joyce's exposure to said aftermath would have been inevitable: Joyce was only nine years old when Parnell died in 1891. Not only did his father align himself with fellow Parnellites, but the culture outside the household was saturated with the news of the fallen hero. Before Parnell's affair with Katherine O'Shea became a public scandal, Joyce's father helped revolutionize the Irish political party, formerly known as the "Home Rule League of 1873" ("The Parnell Era" 53). At the start of the "Parnell Era," as it is termed by R.V. Comerford, Parnell held a tremendous amount of debt that inhibited his ability to campaign. As a result, his followers rallied behind him, canvassing to raise funds that would pay his personal and political expenses ("The Parnell Era" 53). Parnell would then continue to build a campaign that worked to serve both landlords and laborers to gain popularity. His rising popularity eventually led him to his biggest supporter, Mrs. Katherine O'Shea, whom he met in 1882, the year of Joyce's birth. As Joyce grew, so did Parnell's popularity and the Parnell/O'Shea relationship.

By the time Joyce reached nine years old, he would have grown up hearing the promises Parnell gave to his constituents in Ireland. Like young Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait*, Joyce would at least be able to recall seeing small snippets of "green" and "ivy" in people's lapels, until at last the words "Parnell! Parnell! He is dead" rang clearly in his ears (*P* 25). Afterwards, chaos ensued among family, friends, church members, and society as a whole. People, such as Joyce's governess Mrs. 'Dante' Hearn Conway (the inspiration for Dante in *A Portrait*), felt their allegiances immediately switch once word spread of Parnell's adultery (Ellmann 25). Abandoned by her own husband, Ms. Conway felt aversion to Parnell's affair and her aversion

seems logical; however, the clashing bitterness from Ms. Conway and Joyce's father's full support of Parnellism were the extremes experienced by most Irish people. A sense of hopelessness wafted over Ireland. According to F.S.L. Lyons, the country after Parnell's death "moved not only sedately but in a variety of directions that at first sight seem, if not random, at least to have little obvious connection with each other" (81). The slow movement of the time is clearly reflected in Joyce's "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," where canvassers, some of whom were prior Parnellites, lounge around the fire sharing a drink after a day of apathetic campaigning. Such apathy spawns from two places – the lack of strong leadership that Parnell provided for his country, and the lingering bitterness of a betrayal that for some felt undeserved and cruel.

For Joyce, the echo of this betrayal reverberates not only in his fiction, but in his critical works as well. Even though the Nationalist party eventually reunified, Joyce paid little attention and exiled himself from his Ireland. While in Trieste, he was inspired to write a number of important essays, including "A Shade of Parnell." In this piece, Joyce charges his fellow countrymen for Parnell's early death, stating, "Within a year he died of a broken heart […] They did not throw him to English wolves; they tore him to pieces themselves" (228). While historians such as Comerford conclude that Parnell's death spawned from "physical and mental strain of his incessant campaign" that "played havoc with a physique already affected by kidney disease" ("The Parnell Era" 79), many Irish people believed that Parnell died of a broken heart (79). The broken heart myth, among many other Parnell myths, can be found in Chapter 1 of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. One of the boys, Fleming, asks young Stephen if he is "sick in his breadbasket?" but Stephen believes "he was sick in his heart if you could be sick in

that place" (*P* 10). The sickness of heart, a broken heart more specifically, might have sealed Parnell's fate due to his exile by both his political party and the clergy, who also backed him at the beginning of his political career.

The betrayal of Parnell took place in two spheres simultaneously. William Gladstone, head of the Home Rule Party, found himself questioning whether to keep Parnell in his current leadership position after learning of the O'Shea divorce and Parnell's role as an accomplice. However, when the clergy confirmed that Parnell "was unfit on both moral and political grounds, for the leadership," Gladstone had no choice but to require Parnell's retirement ("The Parnell Era" 78). Joyce felt this betrayal from the church, not only in the case of Parnell, but in his own personal life as well. During his transition to young adulthood, he found that the church would restrict his sexuality just as it had restricted Parnell's. Instead of waiting for the clergy to formally exile him as they did Parnell, he exiled himself, leaving his native country behind, another sin in the eyes of his countrymen.

There are strong parallels between the role of the Catholic clergy in both Parnell's and Joyce's lives. Although Parnell would be long dead by the time Joyce fully identified with him, the two men shared similar struggles with conforming to the strict Catholic rule. Joyce recognized the Catholic clergy as the cause for paralysis among his countrymen, starting primarily with Parnell. Had Parnell not been publicly shamed by the clergy, Ireland would have, in theory, continued to mobilize toward the change desperately needed. However, as Comerford comments, "we will not know how well he would have exercised executive authority" due to his life being cut short ("The Parnell Era" 80). Nevertheless, the death of Parnell deepened Ireland's paralysis seen in multiple areas. The example set by Parnell and

Katherine cast a shadow over Joyce's fellow countrymen, sending the message that if anyone defied the church's rules, they too would be exiled and put to death, whether it be spiritual or societal. The areas of religious control ranged from sexual intercourse, family life, drinking, and status in society. In his essay on Joyce's "The Dead," Daniel R. Schwarz explains Joyce's attitude towards the church as follows: "Joyce is bitter toward a culture which, in his view, creates the kind of sexually dysfunctional adults that we see in *Dubliners*" (104). Schwarz argues that Joyce points his frustration towards the culture of Ireland, but because culture and clergy are so closely tied, it can be argued that they are often synonymous. Just like Parnell's case, adulterous sexuality often caused scandal. Joyce was not one to follow those sexual restrictions, despite his strict Catholic upbringing. Instead of repressing his sexual desires like Catholic doctrine suggested, Joyce embraced his sexuality, as seen in his letters to Nora, whom he referred to as "my sweet little whorish Nora" (*SL* 184). And just like Parnell with Katherine, Joyce would eventually marry Nora after cohabiting together for 27 years, with many intimate encounters that would outrage the clergy had the couple stayed in Dublin.

Exile appealed more to Joyce than actually staying in a stagnant country, but for the people he left behind, the paralysis cemented them firmly to their roots. Once Joyce had distanced himself from his writing subject, he could recall the influences of his childhood/adolescent years and use them as a "polished lookingglass" for the country he left behind (*SL* 90). In Trieste, he was free to create characters mirroring the deeply rooted anxiety brought about by the Parnell affair. For example, his character Eveline silently wonders "what would they say of her in the Stores when they found out that she had run away with a fellow" (*D* 37). Eveline fears the judgement of those she leaves behind, even though she won't face the

criticism in person. She also dreams of a life when she will finally be married, thus deserving respect from her peers. She will no longer be a shop maid with no name or claim in society. However, in the very next sentence, she compares herself to her own mother, boldly proclaiming, "she would not be treated as her mother had been" (*D* 37). The placement of these two phrases next to each other suggests that Eveline desires the respect that comes from being married and to escape the paralyzing shadow that permeates the air in Dublin. The church and society supported the institution of marriage, one that Parnell and Katherine O'Shea violated. Eveline would not be committing adultery, but her fear of running away with a fellow shows similarities between the two, which is why she fears backlash. Likewise, committing herself to marriage is deemed respectable and will gain her favor in society, even though it might not be in her best interest. Her decisions are based on what she has grown up knowing, and the outcome of Parnell's and Katherine's liaison served as a perfect warning to the Irish that those who did not uphold holy standards would receive harsh repercussions.

Joyce understood these repercussions well, as he had witnessed the Parnell aftermath first hand. His father planted a seed in Joyce from a young age, cultivating Joyce's admiration for Parnell. Many years after Parnell's passing, Joyce's advocacy would manifest itself in both Joyce's personal beliefs and his writing. Yet Joyce hardly wrote with specific references to Parnell, which is why it is often a challenge to uncover where Parnell's influence is felt. Parnell is in fact not just a "shade" in Joyce's 1912 essay "A Shade of Parnell," but also a "shade" roaming through the lines of Joyce's works. The careful reader will find Parnell's legacy looming large over the characters of Dublin, reminding them of restrictions they face and of the paralyzed country in which they are trapped. In order to uncover these allusions, readers must

first understand Parnell's story and further explore Parnell's rise to power. They must read about the moments when Parnell and Katherine first solidified their affair of the heart, feeding on desire and braving the cost of damnation, which in turn deepened their understanding of the cruel betrayal that led Parnell to a broken heart and an early grave. The next chapter will discuss each of these areas, in the hopes that Parnell's influence will be illuminated further, just as it is illuminated in "Ivy Day" as Mr. O'Connor's flame lights up the "ivy in the lapel of his coat" after striking a match and burning his "Tierney" canvassing card (D 119).

Chapter 1:
The Rise and Fall of Ireland's "Uncrowned King"

To Joyce, the lethargic, apathetic, and static attitude of the Dublin people constituted more of a sin than any confession uttered to a Catholic priest. A theme throughout Joyce's prose is the call for Irish independence and freedom from the Victorian standards that halted the progress of Irish society. After Parnell's death in 1891, Joyce's family suffered heavily, as did many other families that supported him; Parnell's promise of an "Irish Parliament" remained unfulfilled, and without a leader to clearly march towards Irish independence, the country turned stagnant once again (Flynn 12). The mobilization towards change halted, leaving Joyce and his family in the devastating aftermath. The result of Parnell's fall is clearly reflected in Joyce's work; however, the ghost floating in many of Joyce's writings belongs to a story all his own – a story that many historians consider romanticized. Nevertheless, Parnell's rise and fall seemed to set a dismal tone for the turn of the century, marking him an important figure in life and death.

Parnell as a Child

On June 27, 1846, Charles Stewart Parnell drew his first breath inside the Avondale House, a wealthy estate nested in County Wicklow, Ireland, inherited from Parnell's great-grandfather. Parnell came from a privileged background, the son of cricketeer John Henry Parnell and American Delia Tudor Stewart. Not only was she a descendant of the Royal Tudor line, her father (also named Charles Stewart) was an American Naval hero during the War of 1812. Parnell's father, John Henry, came from a wealthy aristocratic family and was the grandson of Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Grattan's Parliament (Kee 16-18).

With a politically charged family background, it is not hard to imagine how multiple Parnell children became involved in political careers. Growing up, Parnell found himself the seventh child of eleven children, several of whom flourished in political careers of their own (Kee 15).

The extent of the political influence in the household is up to debate, however. Because Parnell's mother hailed from America, the political influence in the family mostly comes from her, even though her upbringing doesn't indicate strong Anti-British sentiments. Delia was, for the most part, estranged from her father during childhood and resided with her mother and grandmother who pledged loyalty to England (Kee 17). However, mystery enshrouds Delia's true sentiments, as her own son John Howard described her as a "burning enthusiast to Irish liberty" (Kee 18). Regardless of their mother's sentiments, Parnell and his siblings learned the political implications of British colonization from an early age. In her article, "The Transatlantic World of Charles Stewart Parnell," Bernadette Whelan discusses the literature Parnell read in his youth. The Avondale estate held an extensive library filled with titles such as Roger Lamb's *An original and authentic journal of the occurrences during the late American War* and the abolitionist writings of Henry David Thoreau and James Russel Lowell (Whelan 296). Whelan acknowledges that "ownership and readership" are not synonymous; still, it stands to reason that the titles in this library would have borne some significance in the education of the young Parnells. Once Charles S. Parnell had become the head master of the estate, he added other titles to the library, including *Irish in America*. Thus, the Irish struggle for freedom became a cause that many Parnell children would champion, including his sisters Anna and Frances "Fanny" Parnell, who founded the Ladies Land League in 1881. This was a similar institution that both her brothers, John Howard and Charles Stewart, would hold positions in, although Charles

would have his reservations about the ladies holding political positions, as he feared it would put them both in danger (Kee 329).

Two additional factors must be noted in discussing Parnell's political opinions: The Great Famine and the Protestant Church. The Great Famine of 1845-1851 started a year before Parnell's birth. Mary Lowe Evans in her book *Crimes Against Fecundity: Joyce and Population Control,* describes The Great Famine of 1845-1851 as being, "different, extending farther, lasting longer, killing and banishing more people, and being better documented than any other" (10). She later discusses the morbid reality of Irish families, as "the emaciated victims were left to eat whatever was available, including rats and docile dogs, while, ironically, other ravenous dogs ate the flesh of unburied dead bodies" (11). Parnell was a child during the time of the Famine, although it is possible that due to Parnell's wealthy background and Avondale's location in County Wicklow, he would not have felt the full extent of the famine. His father's position as a landowner allowed the family to live comfortably while other Irish people wasted away. The effects of the Famine would linger in Ireland for decades, and Parnell would embrace the relief effort early in his political career.

"A tradition of purifying evangelicalism," according to Robert Kee, also influenced Parnell's childhood (20). These "purifying" sentiments of the Church of Ireland were apparently common in County Wicklow, and the members attending the Church of Ireland espoused both Catholic and Protestant principles, although it is often referred to as the "Protestant Church of Ireland." The two coexisted well, but what begs more attention is the principle of "purifying" or "reforming" the church. For Parnell, the Catholic church would play a prominent role in his later life after his exile from the political field, calling him a "public sinner" and "adulterer," just like

Dante does in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist of a Young Man* (31). Although there is no prominent evidence of religion influencing Parnell in his early or later life, he was obviously living in the constraints of religious society, or else he would not have suffered the repercussions of his future love affair with Katherine O'Shea. Yet, as with many records in Parnell's life, the certainty of religious allegiance is enshrouded in mystery.

Parnell's entrance into the political arena was just as mysterious as the "ghost" Joyce alludes to in his essay, "A Shade of Parnell." Parnell completed four years at Magdalene College in Cambridge before securing a position as high sheriff in his native County Wicklow in 1874. Parnell later remarked "he had thought a good deal more about cricket than about his studies there" (Kee 37). His apathy toward his studies influenced his early actions towards politics, as he did not align himself or attend many political events during his time at Magdalene College. Parnell did, however, tend to become easily impassioned, and found himself in court over a couple of physical altercations. These altercations never left him worse for wear except branding him as "no gentleman," the very title given to him by the English during his time in Parliament. What once was considered a fault, Parnell turned into a virtue, as he used his passionate disposition to catalyze issues he cared deeply about. This new direction of passion surfaced around 1873, when he returned from an excursion in the States and finally set his sights on joining and reforming the Land League. According to his brother John, Charles Parnell would have avoided politics altogether had he opted to stay in the States, but after his brother casually suggested Parnell should "continue the old family tradition and go into politics," Parnell joined the Land League and would eventually replace Isaac Butt as the party leader after Butt's death in 1879 (Kee 55).

Parnell entered into a floundering land system that desperately needed positive and direct guidance. Still recuperating from the devastation of the famine, Ireland felt the tumultuous aftermath of massive population decline in the decades that followed. Crops would produce well for about six years, then plummet for another three, leaving tenants in a state of paralysis. Helpless to make any progress towards stability, all the Irish people could do was hope to make ends meet while also putting food on the table. While this was already a substantial improvement from their previous situation, it was still not enough.

Popularity of Parnell

The political apathy depicted in Joyce's "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," paints a stark contrast to the optimistic attitude Parnell inspired in many of his followers. "The Parnell Era," as it has come to be known by some, began to mobilize around 1882 as Parnell gained popularity with the Irish and eventually the English. Parnell possessed an infectious charisma enabling him to inspire change for many Irish who sat in their familiar discomfort for centuries. The aftermath of the famine devastated many families into paralyzing uncertainty; their oppression by the English combined with severe crop failure left countless Irish families starving and homeless. Parnell rallied behind his countrymen and even spent time in America lobbying for not only the Home Rule League, but also for those Irish who were most devastated by the Famine decades after it ended. While the sum of 70,000 pounds Parnell raised was originally intended as support for the Home Rule League, upon Parnell's return to Ireland, roughly eighty percent of those funds were contributed to the relief fund ("Politics in Distress" 38). The donations worked in Parnell's favor, as it allied him with the lower class.

Parnell continued to walk a fine line between his allegiance to landlords and to tenant farmers. In 1883 he advocated for the Labourers (Ireland) Act, which "provided decent housing for the families of rural workers" ("The Parnell Era" 55). The sudden appearance of Parnell as a member of Home Rule League made other members hesitant. Parnell's aristocratic lineage and landownership made him a strange candidate to lead those who were considered "beneath" him. Yet, as time prevailed, he persisted in uniting his followers towards Irish independence.

Of course, while the success of Parnell took Ireland by storm, there were also complexities to the many issues he faced while in office. As historian R.V. Comerford concludes, one "might visualize Parnell as battling the ancient enemy to vindicate Irish nationhood, but the reality was more complex" ("The Parnell Era" 56). Parnell focused not on defeating Britain, but on breaching the high walls of Parliament so that Irish voices could be heard and seen as a strong contender among the Parliament members. In this area, Parnell's charisma served him well. In addition to his strong charisma, he enlisted the help of his good friend Katherine O'Shea, whose familial connections to English clergy solidified her role as an intermediary for Parnell.

Parnell's poise in front of the British Parliament increased his popularity, but also elevated his status in the public eye just enough to catch the attention of the press. Parnell's name and face were featured in Irish, British, and even American publications as the young leader continued to inspire reform among his countrymen. These propaganda pieces depicted Parnell in many perspectives. Richard Moynan, a cartoonist for the conservative newspaper, *The Union,* often depicted Parnell as, for instance, the "ignorant" new leader, and eventually attacked him and the Home Rule Party for their lack of progress despite their eager supporters.

One of Moynan's earliest drawings, which was published under the pseudonym Rex, depicts "Mother Parnell" sending off two representatives to fix an iron kettle with the words "Home Rule Party" engraved on the side. Upon meeting a traveling tinker on the road, the two representatives ask the tinker to fix the kettle; however, the tinker replies that the kettle is beyond repair and the "bottom" has literally fallen out of it (O'Reagan 65). Moynan's early representation of Parnell presents him as a mother with good intentions, but naïve in his knowledge to fix the problems his party is currently facing.

Moynan's later cartoons depict Parnell and his fellow Home Rule Leaders as an ill-equipped "band" that, rather than Ireland, represents different nationalities. Maebh O'Reagan describes the cartoon the best in her article, "Richard Moynan: Irish Artist and Union Propagandist." She writes:

> Each of the three figures is playing an instrument which symbolizes their "adopted country." Gladstone's instrument, the harp, shows his support of Irish politics rather than British. Davitt is shown here playing the Scottish bagpipes, a reference to his efforts to gain the support of industrial workers in the Scottish coalfields rather than concentrating on Irish land reform. Parnell, whose mother was American, shows his allegiance to the United States by playing the trombone. (O'Reagan 71)

The many allegiances alluded to by Moynan undermine the three in their loyalty to the Irish people and Irish independence. Moynan poses the question, "How can these three leaders, who hail from different backgrounds, unite and lead Ireland to independence?" And although the morale of Ireland rose during Parnell's time in office, the overall progress of the Home Rule Party lacked substantially. Still, despite Moynan's pictures, Parnell's plans were a step in the

right direction, a new direction, and, for many people, the fear of the unknown branded Parnell as a threat to the stagnant culture prolonged for centuries.

While the political propaganda Parnell faced scarcely affected his reputation, the Phoenix Park Murders affected him deeply. Journalist Richard Pigott forged letters stating that Parnell espoused the murders of Lord Cavendish and Thomas Burke, and the letters threatened to terminate Parnell's seat as Leader of Home Rule. Pigott, who had once pledged some loyalty to Parnell, now sold the faulty letters to *The Times*, a London newspaper (Kee 522). Parnell's alignment with any violent act would place his leadership and the direction of the entire Home Rule Party at risk. Because the violence between past Fenian groups and the British was still considered a sore subject among many, a link between Parnell and these murders sparked fear that the violence would continue under Parnell's legislation. Furthermore, Pigott's allegations went directly against Parnell's earlier statements in 1882 that "he promised to use his good office to quell violence and cooperate cordially with the Liberal Party in forwarding principle and measures for general reform" right after signing the Kilmainham Treaty, thus ending the Land War (Flynn 15). Not wanting the scandal to affect any progress of the party, Parnell contested in court that the allegations were false. On the stand, he proved his innocence by a misspelling in the forged letters. In the letters, Pigott spelled "hesititency" instead of "hesitancy," and Parnell spelled the word correctly on the stand. Pigott left the trial with a branded reputation while Parnell left vindicated, though not for long. A new scandal would soon unfold in the press, and this time, it wouldn't be libel.

An Affair of the Heart

Parnell's passion for his country could not be equaled except in only one other area: his "Queenie," Ms. Katherine O'Shea. Katherine, often referred to by friends as Katie, hailed from Braintree, Essex and grew up in the family estate Rivenhall. Katherine was fortunate to come from an aristocratic background; however, she would often refer to herself as neglected because she was the youngest of a long line of children from her mother Emma Wood. Mary Rose Callaghan, in her biography of Katherine entitled *Kitty O'Shea*, reports that Lady Emma was 46 at the time of Katherine's birth, and often did not have any motherly affection left for the youngest at the end of a large family (22-23). But Callaghan also states that Katherine's childhood was "idyllic" in that she resided in a comfortable estate complete with stocked library, lavish gardens, and Katie's favorite, a stable for keeping horses. Education for Katherine tended to be sporadic at best. Being the youngest of the family and a daughter, it was made clear that her primary focus was to marry, and hopefully marry well. Her father, Sir John Wood, did the best he could to educate her in his spare time, but Katherine was all too aware of the imposition she would leave on the family if she could not find a suitable match; the pressure to marry might have sent Katherine to Captain William O'Shea, her first husband, who would eventually lead her to Charles S. Parnell.

Parnell and Katherine met innocently at a social gathering Katherine was hosting in London, thrown for her current husband Captain William O'Shea, whom Katherine rarely saw ("The Parnell Era" 57). Her marriage to Captain O'Shea was one of convenience, and, according to Janine Utell, the Captain "was something of a ne'er-do-well, a gambler, and a profligate who would disappear to London for months at a time, leaving his wife alone in the suburbs of

Eltham with their three children" (Utell 35). Captain O'Shea's abandonment added insult to injury when considering Katherine's financial assistance to her husband's political career. Thanks to her Aunt Benjamin's generous contributions, Katherine secured a spot in Parliament for Captain O'Shea with the Home Rule Party, where he ended up meeting Parnell. The political alliance between the gentlemen eventually led Parnell to meeting Katherine. Upon meeting, the two immediately felt a connection that sparked a decade-long affair. Luckily, her financial backing also kept the Captain quiet about her liaison with Parnell for over a decade, or so it is believed. During that time, Katherine gave birth to three children, all listed under O'Shea's name, and although many people speculated that Katherine acted as intermediary and lover to Parnell, the paternity of the children was seldom addressed.

Parnell spent a great deal of time in the O'Shea household, but the extent to which Captain O'Shea knew about the affair over the years is unknown. As stated, Captain O'Shea's travels made him unaware of the daily occurrences in Eltham. His friendship with Parnell is typical of two men campaigning for the same party; both agreed and disagreed on many Home Rule issues, but, for the most part, O'Shea backed Parnell's platforms. Parnell's relations with his wife, however, gave the Captain pause after visiting Katherine and the children one summer day in August of 1884. There is only speculation as to what happened between Katherine and Captain O'Shea to cause his anxiety with Parnell, but whatever occurred caused O'Shea to draft a letter to Parnell, stating that Parnell had "behaved very badly" towards him. The letter goes on to say that while Parnell was invited to stay at Eltham as often as he pleased, the invitation was only extended when Captain O'Shea resided there as well, and any other arrangement would certainly cause a scandal (Kee 502). Parnell's reply reads cold and detached, reassuring

the Captain that what he has overheard is nothing but “passing speech.” Parnell then quickly diverts the subject to the matter of O’Shea vacating his seat. O’Shea’s position would remain filled and the matter seemed to blow over despite whatever conversation may or may not have transpired between husband and wife. Nevertheless, the question of “scandal” loomed in the air.

Although original suspicions were raised by O’Shea in 1884, formal filing for divorce did not occur until 1889. The staggering gap in the timeline raises questions for many historians and serves as the basis for discrepancies on just how much Captain O’Shea knew of the affair and how much he preferred to ignore. Embarrassing headlines surfaced in 1886, alleging that Parnell spent a great amount of time in Eltham, and the picture printed alongside the headlines showed his horses, President and Dictator, grazing in the fields (Kee 520-521). Again, Captain O’Shea would write to his beloved wife, who lovingly reassured him all was well and he simply needed to ignore any slanderous talk or print, as it was only to “get a rise out of him” (Kee 520). Tim Healy’s name appears in the letter as well; he is one of those slanderous voices hoping to sway O’Shea’s allegiance from his wife, an interesting factor considering Healy called himself friend to Parnell but would later publicly spurn him when news of the divorce appeared in the papers.

Katherine’s letter to her husband can be interpreted in two ways. The first leads historians to believe that Captain O’Shea is being actively deceived in order to prolong any “scandal” or upset from her husband. The second interpretation is that Captain O’Shea wrote Katherine in fear that any negative press regarding the two could result in the loss of Aunt Benjamin’s money. Aunt Ben, being of a conservative temperament, could have easily forgone

the money had she reason to suspect the marriage had been unfaithful or would lead to divorce. Conclusions are yet to be made, but what seems most plausible is the Captain's financial straits kept him from interfering with his wife's affairs, even though he was most likely jealous. Captain O'Shea's reasons for divorce range widely as well. Mary Rose Callaghan surmises that the Captain's motives could stem from Katherine's removal from her Aunt Ben's will, encouragement from Katherine's own family, encouragement from Parnell's nemesis Joseph Chamberlain, or simply from O'Shea's hatred of Parnell.

Regardless of the motive, the divorce was filed on Christmas day 1889, and news soon hit the presses. At first, Parnell remained calm about the whole affair, explaining to long-time friend Michael Davitt that he should come out "without a stain on his reputation." Perhaps because he proved himself innocent in the Phoenix Park scandal, no immediate cause for panic seemed necessary (Callaghan 128). Indeed, Parnell appeared confident that the Irish would side with him when the truth came out. Yet, as time passed, the press evolved in their presentation of the Parnell affair:

> The O'Shea case was a sensation, filling the London and Dublin newspapers and causing no end of the commentary and gossip on that "bad, base, immoral woman," in the words of Tim Healy (qtd in Marlow 278), although for many months Parnell retained the support of many in Parliament and in the press, including the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, which ran stories of Parnell giving speeches to cheering crowds. (Utell 37)

A whirlwind of drama flourished in both the press and the hearts of the Irish and British citizens and government officials. Some went to Parnell's aid, claiming their loyalty to his gentlemanly character; others immediately severed all ties as if any connection to Parnell resulted in

contracting the plague. For Katherine, there seemed to be no sympathy. Her nickname "Kitty O'Shea," another name for whore, stained her title but not her spirit.

Katherine viewed the divorce as necessary, and, in a way, liberating. Although she divided herself between Captain O'Shea and Parnell, it is clear in her memoir of Parnell that he was her "only love" (Katherine, qtd. by Callaghan 158). Janine Utell provides excellent analysis of the love story, claiming that Katherine wrote her memoir to "take back the story of her *we*," the same story stolen and slandered by the newspapers (38). The audience of her time only saw two villains committing a grievous sin; what they did not see was the love and passion kept behind closed doors for over ten years. The "burning passion" Katherine describes in her memoir is analyzed by Utell as a way to break down the barrier of language for women when discussing their sexual desires, yet even though the strict language conventions Katherine found herself up against should have silenced her detailed accounts, she knew that her beloved Charles could not be vindicated without her speaking out. They were loyal in their passions to each other; their union, though unconventional for the most part, served a bigger testament to loyalty than anything else. Parnell's passionate disposition had led him into trouble again, and, just like the gentleman many thought him to be, he stood by his actions and never contested the divorce. Instead, he married Katherine on June 25, 1891, approximately four months before his death on October 6. The marriage resulted in more scandal than originally intended, yet Parnell made it clear to Katherine that, while he loved his country, he loved her more (Callaghan 132).

Parnell's political position suffered because of the affair. Despite Parnell's claims to Michael Davitt, the affair afforded him the loss of his position as leader of the Home Rule Party.

William Gladstone, British Prime Minister, called for Parnell to vacate his position on the Home Rule Party, although it pained him to do so. He remembered a past politician, Sir Charles Dilke, who only five years earlier ended his political career thanks to a similar divorce case (Callaghan 141). Not long after, the Catholic clergy, who once praised Parnell for his "conscientious conviction" to keep the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people in mind, condemned him as unfit to hold public office (Kee 512). Archbishop Corke of Cashel spoke vehemently against Parnell, saying, "I have flung him away from me forever. His bust, which for some time has held a prominent place in my hall, I kicked out yesterday" (qtd. In Callaghan 141). Between the memories of the Dilke divorce, the clergy, and letters begging for Parnell's removal, Gladstone feared how the Home Rule Party would be perceived if caught supporting Parnell. As a result, Parnell was forced to resign.

The "Uncrowned King's" last months following his resignation were marked by a steady decline in his health (*D* 134). With politics out of the way, and his lawful bride at his side, Parnell could finally enjoy being close to his cherished "Queenie." But the wedded bliss became disrupted by bouts of rheumatism, kidney failure, fever, and other symptoms of the poor health condition Parnell developed. Although Parnell showed a brave face when facing the inability to serve Ireland, the toll of betrayal broke his heart. The stress from fighting for his position in the Home Rule League finally defeated him, and on October 6, 1891, Parnell passed peacefully in the presence of his wife. Katherine lovingly paints the picture of his passing in her memoir, and quotes him as stating, "We will be so happy Queenie, there are so many things happier than politics" (qtd by Callaghan 164). Later on, Katherine reminisces of Parnell's whispers to her in his last moments:

> "Kiss me, sweet Wifie, and I will try to sleep a little"
>
> I lay down by his side and kissed the burning lips he pressed to mine for the last time. The fire of them, fierce beyond any I had ever felt, even in his most loving moods, startled me, and as I slipped my hand from under his head he gave a little sigh and became unconscious. The doctor came at once, but no remedies prevailed against this sudden failure of the heart's action, and my husband died without regaining consciousness, before his last kiss was cold on my lips. (Callaghan 164)

Despite their chilly reception from the rest of the world, Parnell and Katherine kindled their love until his dying day. However mysterious or romanticized the myths surrounding the pair may be, and no matter how many times the press ruined their love story with gossip and incriminating slander, they remained loyal to one another. Parnell's loyalty to Katherine mirrored his loyalty to his country, and in turn, he would not leave his country even in death; his spirit, as Joyce firmly illustrated, lived on.

The Aftermath of Parnell

Ireland after Parnell declined into the lethargic world that James Joyce grew up in. F.S.L Lyons, in his chapter "The Aftermath of Parnell," opens by saying, "It is strange how the pendulum of historical fashion can swing from one extreme to another even within the space of a single generation" (80). The Home Rule Party's progress stopped until reunification around the turn of the century, but even then it was Parnell who had laid much of the foundation for the reunification. However, Parnell rarely received credit for any kind of political foundation until many years later. Before the reunification, the party split in half, leaving quarrelsome and apathetic groups to lead Ireland: the Parnellites and the Anti-Parnellites. Many harbored

grudges about Parnell's betrayal, and felt that Ireland's recovery from such a drastic fall was impossible; James Joyce's father was among those people.

But the split between the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites contained more factions than just the two. Lyons argues that factions between the Anti-Parnellites sprung up as well, helping to solidify the random and stagnant movement of the party (82-83). We can see this in Joyce's "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," where the men lazily canvass for any political candidate mainly because they are not united or motivated by any single leader (*D* 131). The air in Ireland was also rife with mistrust and betrayal. Tim Healy, after publicly stifling any support for Parnell, painted himself as a villain, a true Cassius as Mary Rose Callaghan calls him, and thus ending "whatever hopes might have been secretly cherished that the Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite factions might join hands over their leader's grave" (Lyons 82).

Parnell's legacy lived on in the press during the aftermath of his death, keeping the animosity of the whole affair alive in the hearts of Ireland's families. Robert Kee shows an unknown illustration in his book depicting Parnell's spirit leading Lady Cork to the horizon where, in bold capital letters, it reads "Irish Independence" (308). To the other end, only months after Parnell lay in the ground, priests still preached against Parnell's sins, making Ms. Dedalus's statement at the infamous Christmas dinner scene, "Well, it is perfectly dreadful to say that not even for one day in the year… can we be free from these dreadful disputes," acutely accurate. Joyce, having grown up with such animosity since the time he entered young adulthood, witnessed the schism and unity Parnell instilled, whether it be romanticized or realistic. Just as the famine had once halted progress to Ireland, so had Parnell's death. Ivy Day, as Parnell's celebration would come to be known, was supposed to function as a sort of balm

towards those mourning the loss of fallen Parnell. Although it is still celebrated every October 6th on the anniversary of Parnell's death, to Joyce and many other Irishmen, no amount of celebrating could fix the condition of the foundering country. Ireland's paralysis, as Joyce often referred to it, would last for decades to come, and "without the leader that almost redeemed Ireland from their oppression," it fell upon Joyce and his writing to accomplish the task (Deane xxxii). Because the Parnell affair drastically changed the life of many Irish people, it stands to reason why Parnell's ghost would haunt multiple stories in *Dubliners*. Furthermore, because of the prominent role she played in Parnell's life, Katherine O'Shea must also be present. For you cannot have Parnell without his Katherine; the two are intertwined in history as the "Uncrowned King" and Queen of Ireland.

In the chapter that follows, I will solidify my analysis of Parnell's presence in *Dubliners* by giving a background of the Catholic clergy and how its teachings permeated Dublin society. Parnell's betrayal stemmed from many places, but the original catalyst points back to the Catholic Church. Similarly, Joyce disagreed with religion in general because of its restrictive doctrine, the same doctrine that labeled Parnell a "public sinner." The anxiety the Parnell Affair incites in the Dublin characters cannot be understood without knowing Parnell's background and Joyce's relationship with the Catholic Church. Having just covered the former, we move forward to the latter in the hopes of further illustrating how Parnell and Katherine's exile by the Catholic Church fueled Joyce's rebellion from religion.

Chapter 2:
"At the Chapel, If You please": Connections Between Joyce and the Catholic Clergy

The end of the Parnell era impacted Irishmen not only in Dublin, but all over Ireland, both because of the end of an important political chapter and because of the sexual scandal. The Irish and British people could not have anticipated Parnell's early death, but the loss of his position, at least temporarily, should not have come as a shock. Sexual misconduct proved a grievous sin in the eyes of the Catholic Church, which controlled the vast majority of society's moral compass. Even with the support for Parnell and Katherine after the O'Shea's divorce went public, the opinion of the Catholic Church reigned supreme. Because of the clergy's strict rules and archaic foundation, Joyce spoke out against them. Although raised Catholic, Joyce was crushed by the scrutiny, which stunted his inner creativity and prohibited him from living his preferred lifestyle, especially when it came to sexual activity. Like Parnell, Joyce did not equate passion and consummation with marriage, but as intimacy between two humans who shared a mutual connection. Janine Utell poses that Joyce's own relationship with Nora Barnacle is heavily influenced by Parnell and Katherine O'Shea's (31, 39). Without a doubt, the two relationships shared multiple similarities, which also contributed to Joyce's self-exile. Because Parnell was prevented by the Catholic Church from serving his country due to the scandal, we may surmise that this played a part in Joyce's voluntary exile from a predominantly Catholic Ireland.

Growing Up Catholic

Joyce's relationship with Catholicism began to take shape early in his childhood through his Jesuit education. His brother Stanislaus, author of *My Brother's Keeper*, depicts Joyce's earliest interactions with religion by beginning his book with a description of young Joyce directing a play. He recalls playing "Adam and a sister, my elder by less than a year, was Eve" (*MBK* 3). Stanislaus admits that this is one of his earliest recollections of his brother, which dates back to their nursery days. "My brother was the devil," Stanislaus remembers, and also admits that his other nursery theatricals "were not so interesting as the child's first attempt to visualize the sacred history stories he had been told, and his instinctive realization of the fact that the most important part dramatically, which he reserved for himself, was that of the Tempter" (*MBK* 3). Joyce's connection to the "Tempter" foreshadows a theme he would embrace throughout his entire career. Yet, his childhood fascination with this "Tempter" began very similarly to Stephen's in *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man*, with Mrs. Riodan ("Dante").

According to Stanislaus, Dante's character is largely influenced by their own family governess, Ms. Conway, "a very clever and shrewd woman" thanks to whose tutoring "my brother was accepted to Clongowes Wood College, the principal Jesuit School in Ireland" (*MBK* 7-8). Similar to Stephen, Ms. Conway played a large role in influencing Joyce's perception of knowledge and religion. Stanislaus repaints the caricature of "Dante" in the novel with his own description of Ms. Conway, stating, "she inculcated a good deal of very bigoted Catholicism and bitterly anti-English patriotism, the memory of the Penal Laws being still a thorn in the flesh of Irish men and women…she was the most bigoted person I ever had the misadventure to

encounter" (*MBK* 7-9). Indeed, the Dante in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* showed herself to be very vocal in her Catholic faith, as she invoked "the language of Holy Ghost" during the Christmas Dinner scene and cried "Blasphemer, Devil!" to Mr. Casey's face as she stormed out the door (*P* 38-39). Although Dante's presence in the novel is most prevalent during the first chapter, she appears at significant moments in Stephen's life, such as the day of Parnell's death and Stephen's first encounter among the adults for Christmas Dinner. Stephen's first experience of being integrated into the adult realm includes an argument where politics and religion are at odds. This experience mirrors Joyce's own encounters with the conversations he heard from the adults in his life. Even at such a young age, Joyce retained memories that would cast shadows throughout his writing.

Although Stanislaus himself admits that he "disliked the chuffy, domineering woman, and was unconsciously resistant to her ideas, religious and patriotic," he argues that Joyce held the opposite position: "My brother assimilated her teaching readily and vivified it in his imagination" (*MBK* 18). Dante's grasp on young Joyce was not uncommon for an Irish Catholic household at the turn of the twentieth century, though. While Stanislaus escaped Dante's influence unscathed, Joyce's religious trauma borders on what appeared to have been the social norm. Stanislaus gives two examples of Dante's daily behavior that are indicative of what the Joyces' and other Catholic children would have seen and heard during their impressionable years. Stanislaus recalls:

> …she brought us to see a picture entitled "The Last Day," in the National Gallery. It represented a tremendous cataclysm, black thunder-clouds lowering, lurid lightning flashing, mountain tops crashing down, and little naked figures of wicked contortions of

> despair – Oh, why did I do it! – imploring mercy, while huge rocks fell on them. In another corner of the picture, the blessed were being catapulted up to heaven with their arms crossed on their breasts. I don't remember whether God Almighty was in the picture or not, but in any case He was evidently having the time of His life – or perhaps say of His eternity – squelching sinners. (*MBK* 10)

This image, mixed with other works depicting Christ's birth and the Holy Family, painted a confusing and terrifying picture of the heavenly realm. Young Stanislaus and Joyce came face to face with a God who "evidently having the time of his life" was enjoying the demise of those who don't meet his standards. Stanislaus's recollection of those rising up to heaven sounds equally as traumatic. His phrase "the blessed were being catapulted" in the air, "their arms crossed on their breasts," evokes a terrifying image of corpses being tossed to the sky. The alternative of the "squelching sinners" is being flung into the air, where the bodies will supposedly land among the clouds into God's presence. To young children, such as Joyce and Stanislaus, neither option might seem appealing. Yet, Joyce seemed to internalize the image of God's wrath, especially as he writes the third chapter of *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, which I will discuss in more detail later.

Joyce's alarming fear of thunderstorms, Stanislaus argues, stemmed directly from Dante as well. In conjunction with the picture from the National Gallery with its "black thunder-clouds lowering, lurid lightning flashing, mountain tops crashing down," Dante "used to teach us to cross ourselves at every flash of lightning and repeat the rigamarole, 'Jesus of Nazereth, King of the Jews, from a sudden and unprovided death deliver us, O' Lord'" (*MBK* 18). Stanislaus attributes his older brother's internalized fear to the fact that Joyce was the more imaginative

of the two, and therefore bought into the vivified images of lightning striking him down into damnation. As Joyce matured, "his fear of thunderstorms never quiet abandoned him," yet his excessive terror from childhood abated some, for he no longer "would take refuge in a cupboard until the storm was over," as Stanislaus describes (*MBK* 18-19).

Readers can pick up the same use of verbal entreaty to a higher power in Joyce's stories *Dubliners*. The ending scene of "Counterparts" illustrates Farrington, a husband and father of five children, stumbling home drunk after "he had lost his reputation as a strong man, having been defeated twice by a mere boy" (*D* 97). His aggression is directed towards his son Tom, who has, Farrington assumes, let the fire out. Joyce repeats the word "fire" in this scene several times, "Oh that fire! You let that fire out! …I'll teach you to let the fire out!" (*D* 98), which creates a hellish image of a father steeped in rage asking for the weapon of the Devil. To a young boy scared of his father, the threat can easily double as an allusion to a heavenly Father's fiery wrath, as depicted in Dante's picture as well as in the "hellfire sermon" in *A Portrait*. Farrington now has taken on the role of an angry father punishing his son, bearing a similarity to Dante's picture where God is "squelching sinners" with lightning and thunder. Little Tom's only hope for mercy is to "fall upon his knees" and "clasp his hands together in the air" begging his father to please spare him. His entreaty is not enough, so Tom repeatedly cries, "Don't beat me, pa! And I'll… I'll say a Hail Mary for you… I'll say a Hail Mary for you, pa if you don't beat me… I'll say a Hail Mary…" (*D* 98). Joyce's repetition here is key, as the Hail Mary signifies a repeated plea for mercy, which ironically is exactly what Tom is asking for from his earthly father in this scene. Joyce seems to be playing with the idea that a Hail Mary will not save Tom in either circumstance; he will not receive mercy from earthly or heavenly father. Moreover,

young Tom's mother is "At the chapel. At the chapel, if you please," while Tom is being abused. Tom relies on the only escape he has been taught, fervent prayer to the almighty through a repeated prayer, just like the prayers Dante imposed on Joyce and Stanislaus during those thunderstorms.

Dante is not the only religious voice shaping Joyce's young psyche. His anticlerical father and pious mother also played a part in Joyce's sentiments towards the Catholic Church. Although, as Gordon Bowker claims, "the influence of Dante was so overwhelming, that of Joyce's parents was probably more muted" (25). Stanislaus contradicts this when he mentions multiple times in his memoirs that Joyce's "attachment to his father, which was to be one of the dominant motives of his character, remained unchanged" (*MBK* 57). Furthermore, Bowker gives examples of how Joyce's father influenced him: "John [Joyce], it is suggested, had a taste for books of a saucy kind – much like Leopold and Molly Bloom and James and Nora Joyce… His papers of choice were the pro-Parnell Freeman's Journal…" (26). His father's "saucy" taste in books aligns with Joyce's subject matter and sexual tastes as he matured to adulthood. Indeed, the famous letters of 1909 between Joyce and Nora are quite "saucy." Furthermore, these "saucy" books obviously spoke to John Joyce's anticlerical sentiments, and because we know that young Joyce devoured any type of reading, it seems likely that he would have read them just like he would have "read" Dante's lessons. Having an anticlerical viewpoint in the household would have been just as influential to Joyce, if not more so, because it pushed back against the Catholic moral code. Joyce himself would later write to Nora, "I make open war upon it [the Catholic Church] by what I write and say and do" (*L* II 48). The Christmas dinner scene in *A Portrait* is a testament to those words, as we see both Simon Dedalus (modeled after

Joyce's father) and Dante (modeled after Mrs. Conway) adamantly blasting their opposing side. After Dante has exited the room in a fit of rage, Joyce leaves his reader with one lasting image:

> The door slammed behind her.
>
> Mr. Casey, freeing his arms from his holders, suddenly bowed his head on his hands with a sob of pain.
>
> Poor Parnell! He cried loudly. My dead king.
>
> He sobbed loudly and bitterly.
>
> Stephen, raising his terror-stricken face, saw that his father's eyes were full of tears. (*P* 39)

The Christmas Dinner scene closes with Stephen's realization that his father has been moved to tears by a political force he is just beginning to understand. In this scene, religion plays the role of shouting, condemning, and reducing full grown men to tears. Yet Joyce allows the opposition to unfold, without censoring the language that Mr. Casey and Mr. Dedalus use to provoke Dante's wrath. By doing so, Joyce is modeling what he has seen his own father do, which is defy the powerful condemnation of the Catholic Church in the name of Parnell.

Bowker argues that John Joyce's anticlerical influence stemmed mainly from his grandfather, who believed "religion was only for women" (12). If this is the case, it makes sense that he would want to pass on his anticlerical views to his sons. Coincidentally, Joyce's two earliest religious influences in his life were both feminine - his devout mother and Dante. The relationship between Joyce and his mother would eventually become tense, mostly due to his rejecting of Catholic doctrine. Stanislaus recalls, "My brother was of a far more inflexible mettle. His attitude never reached the point of contempt…nor was it personally hostile. He was

at loggerheads with her because he would have no truck with the religion to which she owed fidelity" (*MBK* 32-33). No doubt, his contempt for the Catholic faith was not a direct snub against his mother, but a snub to the culture in which he was saturated since his childhood. According to Bowker, Joyce's "mother's piety meant that there were priestly presences in James's early life, as well as all the paraphernalia and iconography of the religious life with which she surrounded herself – rosaries, crucifixes, madonnas, and brevaries" (21). Between Dante's hellish warnings and his mother's determination to uphold a Catholic household (much to the dismay of her husband), young Joyce felt the immersion as a form of suffocation instead of liberation. Perhaps the combination of his father's alcoholic habits and his mother's piety drove him to question the authority of religion. Undoubtedly, all early childhood influences planted seeds in Joyce's mind, and would later play a pivotal role in Joyce crafting some of the most famous scenes in his novels. It is worth revisiting Joyce's formative childhood years, since his father, who fully intended to give him the best education money could buy, sent him to a prestigious Jesuit school where he would refine his passion for learning, as he was deeply steeped in Catholic doctrine as well.

Rebellion and Repression

As a young boy, Joyce attended Clongowes Wood College in County Kildare, just as young Stephen does in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Following in his father's footsteps, young James Joyce enrolled at Clongowes on September 1, 1888, at the ripe age of "half-past-six" (Ellmann 27). Regarding Joyce's time at the College, Ellmann describes Joyce's circumstances as follows: "His immediate response to Clongowes is less clear than one would expect; his brother Stanislaus, who had already begun to worship him, remembers him happy

and well there, while *A Portrait* represents him as unhappy and unwell. That a boy of this age suddenly removed from his family could have been untroubled is hardly conceivable" (*JJI* 27). Although told through the eyes of his alter-ego Stephen, Joyce's time at Clongowes might be better examined through the first and second chapter of *A Portrait*. Stephen's psyche during the beginning of the novel is often incomplete due to Stephen's limited reliability as a narrator; however, we might surmise that the scenes Joyce writes bear resemblance to his own memories. Ellmann continues:

> The authorities are said to have considerately allowed him to live in the infirmary, instead of the dormitory, so that a nurse, "Nanny Galvin," might look after him. Apparently she could not prevent his feeling homesick and tormented by the other boys ragging for at least the first few months[…] The worst event of the early months was the incident described in *A Portrait* and confirmed by Joyce to Herbert Gorman, when another boy broke Stephen's glasses and "Father Dolan" pandied the victim on the mistaken premise that he had broken the glasses to avoid study[…] On this occasion, Joyce bravely protested to the rector, Father Conmee, and was sustained by him. Probably at this time the other boys began to respect him; such a development is suggested, a little obscurely, in *A Portrait*, and is borne out by accounts of Joyce's life at the school by contemporaries. (*JJI* 28)

This example parallels one of the most traumatizing scenes in the novel, where Stephen is beaten with a pandybat and forced to look at his poor hands and "[t]o think of them beaten and swollen with pain all in a moment made him feel so sorry for them as if they were not his own but someone else's that he felt sorry for" (*P* 52). Joyce includes this scene to make a point

about the corrupt power hidden behind the walls of Catholic schools. Furthermore, Ellmann's statement about Stephen's conquest for justice seems like a self-fulfilling prophecy for how Joyce pictures himself. Joyce paints his alter-ego as the new upcoming hero who must vanquish the villain. He illustrates this through Stephen, who at the time, must vindicate himself from Father Dolan. Already we see Joyce's slight pushback to Catholic power, and it *appears* that Stephen wins a victory by getting the rector to "speak to Father Dolan himself" (*P* 59).

Seeing the parallels between these examples in Joyce's life and the novel, it is interesting to examine what other parallels the novels bear to the author's real life, especially those dealing with the development of his anticlerical beliefs. The third chapter of *A Portrait* is actually full of hidden allusions to Joyce's anticlerical views. For example, it briefly mentions Stephen's rendezvous with a young girl named Emma. His inner monologue about his and Emma's relationship results in Stephen feeling the need to repent for his "brutelike lust" that "had torn and trampled upon her innocence" (*P* 124). Stephen recalls "the foul long letters he had written in the joy of guilty confession and carried secretly for days and days," which sound quite similar to the "saucy" letters Joyce would eventually write to Nora Barnacle. In those letters to Nora, Joyce admits, "I have gazed a long time at your other letters and kissed certain words in them over and over again" (*SL* 187). They function as a "joy of guilty confession" as Joyce liberates his sexual urges to "his darling little convent-girl" (*SL* 181). By expressing Stephen's sexual frustration in *A Portrait*, Joyce calls into the question the validity of confession as Stephen discovers his sexual being. By the time Joyce writes to Nora, he has already liberated himself from feeling any sort of remorse to an almighty God. Instead, Joyce worries only about what Nora thinks of his letters, telling her "I ought to be begging your pardon,

perhaps, for the extraordinary letter I wrote you last night," or "Darling, do not be offended by what I wrote" (*SL* 180). Stephen, on the other hand, questions what his desires even are: "Was that boyish love? Was that chivalry? Was that poetry?" (*P* 124). His questions first bring to mind positive connotations, but eventually give way to more fear and guilt – a product of the strict rules engrained in young men since they were old enough to barely understand the meaning of sexual desire.

In addition to his time at Clongowes, Joyce and his brother Stanislaus both attended another Catholic Jesuit school called Belvedere College. In *My Brother's Keeper*, Stanislaus reminisces about a retreat both brothers attended. He discusses the lasting effect it had on the two of them: "Although the Lenten sermons preached by Father Jeffcott stirred up no such brain-storm of terror and remorse in me as they did in my brother, I remember that retreat well. I listened to them with something akin to irritation as one does to a story which one feels to be an invention but cannot disprove" (*MBK* 82). Joyce would eventually write his own recollection of this retreat in the third chapter of *A Portrait*. In this scene, Stephen sits quietly in chapel rebuking himself for lusting after Emma, when the priest begins to speak about his possible eternal damnation:

> Now, let us try for a moment to realise, as far as we can, the nature of the abode of the damned which the justice of an offended God has called into existence for the eternal punishment of sinners. Hell is strait and dark and foulsmelling prison, an abode of demons and lost souls, filled with fire and smoke. The straitness of this prisonhouse is expressly designed by God to punish those who refused to be bound by His laws. (*P* 128)

Joyce's language here parallels the language of Stephen's earlier experience with Dante's gallery picture, and magnifies the fear instilled in many young men attending Catholic schools. His time at both schools, paired with his family influence, would eventually inspire Joyce's rebellion against the religion he once devoutly feared. By exiling himself from the pressures of the Catholic doctrine, Joyce's vision of being an artist could fully manifest itself as his development continued.

Censorship

Joyce's "open war" on the Irish Catholic Church did not come without opposition. His works received criticism and were deemed too scandalous to print. *Ulysses* was banned from being printed, and the risk of printing the "monster novel" was so high that Virginia Woolf, though fond of Joyce as she might be, could not bring herself to publish the text. Thankfully, Sylvia Beach, the founder of the Parisian bookshop "Shakespeare and Company," would eventually succeed in publishing the novel in France, thus escaping the English censors. However, while *Ulysses* might have been Joyce's most scandalous novel to print, it was not his first battle with publishers. *Dubliners*, his first work, proved to be a challenge to publish as well.

Timing and the stagnant condition of the Catholic Church can be blamed for Joyce's censorship issues. In his letter to Grant Richards regarding *Dubliners*, Joyce calls Richards "unduly timid" (*L II* 137). He proposes to Richards that, should he print and publish *Dubliners*, the worst repercussion would be "that some critic would allude to me as the 'Irish Zola'" (*L II* 137). However, Richards and his printer understood they were under a moral obligation to only print "wholesome" books that would not offend religious or moral standards. Geert Lernout, in his chapter "Religion", writes that this "moral obligation" to censorship can be traced back to

the First Vatican Council in 1869 when "the hopes of the liberal Catholics were dashed when liberal democracy, rationalism and materialism were condemned and the Church's absolute authority on all societal and scientific matters was reaffirmed" (Lernout 334). "Absolute authority" by any power stunted Joyce's ability to be the artist he knew he was destined to be. Joyce considered each word of his text a deliberate commentary on Dublin society, and had he made any revisions suggested by Richards, "*Dubliners* would seem […] like an egg without salt" (*L II* 135). But much more seriously, Joyce also told Richards that eliminating some of the elements from his stories would harm his project of writing "a moral history of [his] country" *(L II* 134] and that Richards "will seriously retard the course of civilization in Ireland" by not publishing his stories, that is, by "preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in [Joyce's] nicely polished lookingglass" as we saw before (*SL 90*).

To modern readers, the concessions suggested by Richards might seem trivial at best. For example, Richards' repeated plea to remove the word "bloody" from multiple stories in *Dubliners* can appear as a mere stylistic issue now. Lernout explains that we as a modern audience must view of the language of *Dubliners* not through a modern lens, but through that of a reader of the early twentieth century. "The start of Vatican II in 1962 marked the beginning of the Catholic Church's long-awaited coming to terms with modernity," Lernout explains, which is why *Dubliners'* scandalous language does not always come through to the modern reader (334). Joyce's composition of *Dubliners* began around 1904 and the book was not published until 1916. During this time, the Protestant Church had developed a historical study of the Bible and early history of the church, of which the Catholic Church would later follow suit. However, in 1909, Pope Pius X would halt this study, and deemed "all modernist

tendencies as a 'delirium,' and 'insanity,' and a 'monstrosity'" (Lernout 334). Lernout continues, "The result of these developments was an increased centralization of power in Rome, which exercised greater control over national and local churches, especially over the training of priests and the education of young Catholics" (334). Assuming more control over priests and young Catholics would not have sat well with Joyce, thus making his revisions to his texts even more detrimental to his cause. As a young man who went through both Clongowes and Belvedere, Joyce knew all too well the day to day routine already held a tight grasp on a young boy's development, as he illustrates through Stephen in *A Portrait* and in multiple stories in *Dubliners*.

Though Joyce distanced himself from any clerical views, Ireland still found itself paralyzed by a strong Catholic influence. Under the ever-watchful eye of the clergy, Dublin citizens felt every aspect of their lives being scrutinized, including marriages, workplaces, and even public houses where one drink too many would send gossip straight to the confessional. This gossip would sicken Joyce, as it also sickened another man that Joyce and his father adamantly admired – Charles Stewart Parnell. For Parnell, the gossip and overbearing power of the Catholic Church doomed his career and thus aided in the lethargic atmosphere hovering over Dublin. Joyce would later discuss Parnell's betrayal in many of his works, and his allusions, though not always obvious to the reader, complement his hatred for the all-powerful grasp of the Irish Catholic Church.

Ghostly Commentary

The fact that the Catholic Church betrayed Parnell only deepened Joyce's disdain for it, and he was not alone in this sentiment. According to Lernout, "the Parnell crisis had convinced

a considerable group of nationalist Catholics that the church hierarchy was not to be trusted" (335). Therefore, it only makes sense that in his quest to eradicate paralysis in Dublin, Joyce would use Parnell's story to exemplify the consequences of the clergy controlling society. Chrissie Van Mierlo, author of *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Apostates Wake*, poses an interesting question: "If Joyce was not a Roman Catholic of any shade, it is left to us to determine exactly what he was" (3). While this question seems to oversimplify Joyce, for we cannot possibly define "what Joyce was," I argue that perhaps we can surmise what shade of Irish he was as an artist and what shadowed his Irish identity. In the following chapters, I will explore how Joyce uses Parnell's affair and its shadow to comment on the "shade" hovering over Dublin since Parnell's passing. Parnell's name is only mentioned explicitly in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room," yet his lingering shadow haunts the attitudes of those he left behind, thus leaving Dublin in a fog unable to progress any further. After covering Joyce's connection to the Catholic Church, it is easier to see how the betrayal of Parnell and the presence of a Catholic church affect two of Joyce's Parnell-centered texts – "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and the dinner scene from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.*

Chapter 3:
"Damn It! Can't We Irish Play Fair?": How Joyce Resurrects Parnell's Memory in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and "Ivy Day in the Committee Room"

In one of his letters to Grant Richardson, Joyce revealed that, in writing *Dubliners*, his "intention was to write a chapter of the moral history of [his] country" (*L II* 134). He called for reflection and reform of the Dublin society, and insisted that Richardson would "retard the course of civilization in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass" (*SL 90*). To that effect, Joyce builds the theme of paralysis in each story, ending the collection with the snow drifting down "upon all the living and the dead" (*D* 224). Gabriel reflects, "We are all becoming shades," mere ghosts who will wander the past world contemplating how they failed to move forward during their lives. Yet this ghostly "shade" evoked at the end of "The Dead" holds more than just regret; it resonates with another "shade" Joyce would also write about in his career – "The Shade of Parnell." In the 1912 piece, published originally in Italian in *Picollo della Sera*, Joyce writes that "the influence exerted on the Irish people by Parnell defies critical analysis" (*CW* 225). Still, the complexities of Parnell's career instill unity throughout many of Joyce's texts.

Throughout many stories in *Dubliners*, Parnell's "ghost" can be felt, although his name appears explicitly only in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." Frank Callanan argues that "alone among the stories in *Dubliners*, 'Ivy Day' has a specific political setting familiar to its potential contemporary readership in Ireland and, at least as it related to the death of Parnell, in Britain" (73). Indeed, no other story goes to such lengths as to directly correlate specific political attributes, such as the date of October 6, the anniversary of Parnell's death, the hidden ivy

leaves under the collars of the once proud Parnellites, and even the dry Committee Room, similar to the one Parnell was condemned in years earlier. Joyce crafts the presence of Parnell meticulously and conspicuously in this story, but other stories also, indirectly, illustrate the devastating aftermath of Parnell's legacy. In this chapter, I will only focus on "Eveline," "A Boarding House," "A Little Cloud," "A Painful Case," and "The Dead." I would also be remiss not to discuss Parnell's presence in Joyce's works without including the famous Christmas Dinner scene from Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, a novel that many scholars have explored in the context of Joyce's political development as a Dublin youth.

"Ivy Day" and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

Much research has already been done by multiple scholars on "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Authors such as Frank Callanan, Patrick Bixby, Thomas O'Grady, and Donald Pearce, for instance, have uncovered a plethora of themes that inform my analysis of additional stories in *Dubliners*. The reoccurring themes of betrayal, apathy towards politics, paralysis of society, and ambiguity about the clergy manifest themselves consistently throughout *Dubliners*, and I propose that most of these anxieties can be tied to the scandal of Parnell and his early demise as a political hopeful for a better future.

The Parnell Affair was imbedded deeply in the psyches of the Irish people across a variety of generations. The elder generation wept for the lost promise of Irish independence, and their children wept alongside them, only partially aware of the tragedy taking place around them. The young Stephen's awareness of Parnell begins with his "auntie" Dante and the brushes she kept, "in her press, the brush with the green velvet back for Parnell and the brush with the maroon velvet back was for Davitt" (*P* 12). He later recalls "Dante had ripped the green

velvet back off the brush that was for Parnell one day with her scissors, and had told him that Parnell was a bad man," thus prompting him to question "which was right, to be for the green or for the maroon" (*P* 13). Joyce plants the confusion in Stephen's mind long before he can fully grasp the meaning of Dante's actions, which foreshadows an even bigger representation of the political split dramatized in the Christmas dinner scene. Joyce carries the color separation of green and maroon to another scene when Stephen looks over his classmate Fleming's picture one night in free study. Fleming creates a picture with green grass and maroon clouds (*P* 12). These colors make up the two vital elements of life, land and air, and Stephen immediately links them to Parnell and Davitt. Stephen's connection illustrates that he is already aware of their importance, which is further emphasized in the course of the feud during the Christmas Dinner scene.

A close examination of the Christmas Dinner scene reveals that a painful sense of betrayal still stings the fresh wounds of the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. Joyce sets the dinner during the Christmas season, only two months after Parnell's death, meaning that tensions between the two factions still remain high, even among friends and family. The company at the table consists of Mr. Dedalus, Mr. Casey, and Uncle Charles, who are pro-Parnell, and Dante, who is vehemently against him. As Stephen prepares for his debut at the adult dinner table, the topic of politics and church is brought up just as Mr. Dedalus carves the turkey. Although Mrs. Dedalus implores her husband to drop the subject numerous times, her pleas fall on deaf ears. Through the persistence of the conversation, Joyce makes it clear that both sides refuse to drop their positions. Other than the hostess, Mrs. Dedalus, and Stephen, nobody at the table cares to preserve the sanctity of the Christmas dinner. The irony is that

Dante's devout esteem for the holiness of the Church does not prevent her from sacrilege as she eviscerates Parnell for being a "Devil out of Hell" (*P* 39).

Mr. Dedalus and Mr. Casey exemplify the fury that Parnellites undoubtedly felt when confronted about their "Uncrowned King's" death. Donald Pearce in his article titled "My Dead King! The Dinner Quarrel in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist*" discusses a letter written by Miss Lucinda Sharpe published in an issue of *United Ireland* in January 1892, a mere four months after Parnell's passing. The letter, Pearce says, illustrates the "historical truth" behind the political outburst in the Dedalus household (250). The "historical truth" further illustrates the inner betrayal felt by Mr. Dedalus and Mr. Casey. Miss Sharp writes:

> He could have, this Charlie Parnell, who took Ireland from the wayside ditch and set her among the nations – he could have saved us all, perhaps, as he saved Ireland, or would have saved her had they let him live. But they killed him with their hatred, these middle class hypocrites, who only hated him because he loved the people so, and only thought of doing them good. Those wretches! … But we can remember him, and try to be a little like him, and put no trust in the class that's betrayed him, as they have betrayed every great leader of the people who ever lived and every really good man. (Sharp, qtd. in Pearce 250-251)

Sharp's use of the word betrayal in the latter part of her letter solidifies the magnitude of Parnell's demise and death. Sharp equates Parnell's downfall not just with betrayal towards Parnell personally, but towards the country and every great leader and decent man that ever lived. We sense her outrage that all the good deeds of every great leader unravel at the base treatment of Parnell, thus dooming Ireland in all its future endeavors. Moreover, her mixed

emotions in this excerpt model the emotions of Joyce's characters who are torn between taking the high road by "trying to be a little like him [Parnell]" or remaining bitter towards Ireland who "killed him with their hatred." Miss Sharp's sense of betrayal mirrors that of others and is exactly why the young Stephen internalizes the Christmas dinner scene well into his adult years. It is also why the fear of betrayal is evident in the lives of Joyce's Dublin characters.

Interestingly enough, scholars seemed to have left out the betrayal of the Parnellite turned Anti-Parnellite. Dante, who once clearly espoused Parnell's ideas, as evidenced with her green brush for Parnell and maroon brush for Davitt, relinquishes her support after Parnell's affair scandal becomes public (*P* 12). She tells Stephen that Parnell was a "bad man" and takes the side of the priests as they continue to chastise Parnell after he lies in the grave (*P* 13). Although her sympathies turn against Parnell, I argue it is chiefly caused by her own feelings of having been betrayed by Parnell. Dante's character symbolizes the Irish people whose faith in Parnell crumbled after learning he violated their own moral code by having an affair. Many felt that, at just the precise hour when Ireland needed Parnell most, he abandoned his people for an English mistress, choosing lust over leading Ireland to freedom. Dante is the small representation of those affected by the betrayal and even though she relinquishes her allegiance to Parnell, her sense of betrayal speaks to how much faith she once put in the "Uncrowned King." She has been let down by the once great leader, and just like many other characters in *Dubliners*, she is left with no hope.

Among all the stories in *Dubliners*, political betrayal is most readily seen in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." The story, which his brother would describe as "accurate, just, and satisfactory," drops the reader right in the middle of rainy day on Wicklow Street (*L II* 115). The

scene opens to an apathetic Mr. O'Connor resting by a warm hearth where he should be canvassing. One by one, the disgruntled canvassers for "Tricky Dicky Tierney," as the men call him, come in and voice their complaints about the state of Ireland's political climate. To them, it is about as dismal as the dark and gloomy weather outside. Joyce sets the men at odds with one another, creating a subtle tension between them. Conversation is polite, but the sense of camaraderie and unity is absent. Mr. Henchy's character is suspicious of Mr. Hynes, and blatantly asks Mr. O'Connor after Hynes leaves, "What brings our friend in here? What does he want?" (*D* 124). Mr. O'Connor assures Henchy that Hynes is a decent man, but Henchy follows by saying, "To tell you my private and candid opinion… I think he's a man from another camp" (*D* 124). Immediately, Mr. Henchy assumes Mr. Hynes is a spy, and vocalizes it to Mr. O'Connor, thus spreading the toxicity of possible betrayal. This is because the men know the consequences of betrayal, and Mr. O'Connor, who wears his ivy leaf on his lapel, is acutely aware of the power of betrayal. The men recall Tim Healy, William Gladstone, and Michael Davitt supporting Parnell's exile from politics. The men who worked closest with Parnell became his downfall. The sense of apprehension hovers around the Committee Room, and Joyce gives each character his own wariness. For example, while Mr. Henchy believes Hynes is a "man from another camp," Mr. Hynes is hiding something, not because he is a traitor, but because he has been loyal even after death. After entering the Committee Room, "Mr. Hynes took off his hat, shook it, and then turned down the collar of his coat, displaying, as he did so, an ivy leaf in the lapel" (*D* 122). Mr. Hynes does not immediately remove his hat and coat, which suggests that he is not yet entirely comfortable in his surroundings; furthermore, Mr. Hynes must "turn down" the collar of his coat to display his ivy leaf, thus making it known he is

a Parnellite. The act of turning down his coat collar is a confession of his allegiance, which might be dangerous in a day when the political climate is run by "low-lived dogs," as Mr. Dedalus might put it (*P* 33).

Apathy among the men in the Committee Room is prominent as well, and signifies Ireland's loss of direction without the leadership of Parnell. Joyce paints a gray picture of the scene, "dismal and cold out of doors," slowing the pace of the characters and the story's movement. Mr. O'Connor's apathy, though subtle, is staggering, as he uses his canvassing card to light his cigarette, and *insists* on using the canvassing card even after Old Jack offers to find him a match (*D* 119). Mr. O'Connor's burning of the card should come as no surprise after reading the candidate's name he has chosen to support: Tierney. Frank Callanan offers an interesting analysis pertaining to the card, explaining that "Mr. Richard J. Tierney P.L.G." is a typical candidate, nothing special or charismatic about him. Callanan states, "Tierney's political allegiance is artfully subdued… As a Poor Law Guardian, he is a respectful personage likely to be of socially conservative disposition" (76). Tierney is the safety net of the candidate pool, and is especially appealing to anyone who has little energy left to invest in a hopeless post-Parnell Ireland. Even the layout of Tierney's canvassing card, Callanan's points out, "admits of a cunning obsequiousness intended to convey to Unionist voters that they can safely vote for Tierney in the absence of a candidate of their own" (76).

Tierney's plainness adds to the apathy in the room, as does the men's concern for getting paid for canvassing. With a promising candidate like Parnell, followers naturally rallied behind him, but Tierney's predictable canvassing card and background lacked inspiration to convince voters, unless canvassers are promised payment. As Thomas O'Grady argues in his

article “Ivy Day in the Committee Room: The Use and Abuse of Parnell,” in Parnell’s days, “a man would volunteer for the cause, for the ideal; but now money is the only motivator” (35). However, according to O’Grady, Tierney is not only simple, he is also “corrupt,” hence the nickname “Tricky Dickey Tierney.” A corrupt candidate is equally discouraging to Ireland’s future, considering there would be no hope to fill the chasm that Parnell left in Irish politics. Joyce’s illustration of apathy continues with the other canvassers who steadily enter the Committee Room. Their candidates vary from conservative to socialist, yet the lack of pride or eagerness to win votes for them on this rainy Dublin afternoon serves as Joyce’s commentary that the anger surrounding Parnell’s death had cooled off and solidified into paralysis.

It is important to note the lack of passion in these characters, considering “Ivy Day in the Committee Room” was originally written in 1905, five years after the Home Rule Party had reunified. Joyce’s disdain for the reunification of the party is shown clearly in his critical work “A Shade of Parnell.” He begins his essay stating, “By passing the bill for parliamentary autonomy on its second reading, the House of Commons has resolved the Irish question, which, like the hen of Mugello, looks newborn, though it is a hundred years old” (*CW* 223). Joyce and his countrymen were aware that Ireland needed a central guiding force to advance their country; however, Joyce disliked the naïve attitude exemplified by the parliamentary members who acted as if the idea of one Home Rule Party was a new concept. After the reunification of the party, Joyce distanced himself even further from his native country, believing they had forgotten about - or were robbing Parnell of - the progress he achieved while still in office. Joyce continues:

> Within two years at the most… the doors of the old Irish parliament will be reopened; and Ireland, released from its century-old prison, will walk forth toward the palace like a new bride… A grand-nephew of Gladstone, if there is one, will scatter flowers beneath the feet of the sovereign; but there will be a ghost at the banquet – the *shade* of Charles Parnell. (*CW* 224; my emphasis)

Joyce seeks vindication for his countrymen's forgetfulness. He will not allow the celebration of Home Rule's reunification to exist without reminding the celebrants who they should truly be celebrating. Parnell's shade haunts the future and haunts the "new palace" in the same way that it haunts the Committee Room in the story and the other stories throughout *Dubliners*. Parnell is etched in the past and present of Ireland, even though, as Joyce suggests, some politicians fail to give him due credit.

Because the canvassing men lack motivation to inspire voters, Joyce's theme of paralysis becomes evident inside and outside the Committee Room. Inside the Committee Room, Joyce evokes a sense of nostalgia, first through the shades upon the wall and second by the remarks from the characters. The shadows produced by the fire, the same fire that illuminated Mr. O'Connor's ivy leaf, sit quietly along the walls. They do not disturb the scene or create the tension; they merely observe the happenings of the committee. These shades or shadows bear resemblance to Gabriel's inner monologue "we are all becoming shades" in "The Dead" and also to Joyce's naming Parnell a shade. Parnell's shade, however, is not fading in the Committee Room, but rather hovers over the remnants of a once active political climate, just as it would in the "new palace" Joyce evokes years later in "A Shade of Parnell." The men in the room have differing viewpoints on their current political climate, such as the arrival of "King Eddy," yet

none seem to vehemently disapprove of King Edward's visiting their country. Their apathy serves as a catalyst for paralysis; the men do not believe a Monarch visiting their country will change their bleak circumstances, and so Joyce depicts their light banter as trivial and somewhat meaningless, even when discussing Parnell, "The Chief." Mr. Lyons speaks ill of Parnell on the anniversary of his death, yet there is no quarrel, but instead a brisk reminder from Mr. O'Connor to "not stir up any bad blood. We all respect him now that he's dead and gone – even the conservatives" (*D* 132).

Mr. Henchy's character illustrates the paralysis of Dublin's society in multiple ways, not just in his suspicions of Mr. Hynes, but in his lack of decisiveness. He has no real candidate, but instead talks about all candidates and all characters that enter conversation, whether it be Mr. Hynes, Father Keon, King Edward VII, or Parnell. Joyce uses Mr. Henchy's hypocrisy to comment on the foolish state in which Irish politics has put itself. For example, although Mr. Lyons disrespects Parnell by bringing up the divorce scandal on the anniversary of his death, he does so in response to Mr. Henchy's proposal about King Edward VII visiting Ireland: "He's fond of his glass of grog and he's a bit of a rake perhaps, and he's a good sportsman. Damn it, can't we Irish play fair?" (*D* 132). Mr. Lyons compares the character of King Edward VII to Parnell, suggesting the two have similarities. Mr. Henchy does not see the parallels, but to anyone who knows Parnell's history, as Joyce and his intended audience would, the parallels are clear. Like King Edward VII, Parnell drank in his younger days and was a star cricketeer. And while the King was known for being a "rake" or "womanizer," the rumors about Parnell were unfounded. Having fallen in love with a married woman, he was, indeed, an "adulterer"; yet, paradoxically, his affair with Katherine O'Shea was one of pure loyalty where he found himself completely

devoted to her. Given Parnell's background, his morals exceeded that of King Edward's, and perhaps that is Joyce's reasoning for stating that there is no comparison between the England's King and the "Uncrowned King." Nevertheless, the characters understand the comparison to be a negative one, thus illustrating Mr. Henchy's delusion about the political climate he lives in. To Joyce, Dublin was filled with men analogous to Mr. Henchy, further paralyzing any understanding of how to move Ireland forward even after the reunification of the Home Rule Party.

Mr. Henchy's commentary on Father Keon – he calls him "a black sheep" (*D* 126) – provides insight to the story as well, given Parnell's condemnation by the Catholic clergy and Joyce's own distance from religion. Hesitancy on the part of all characters in the room is pervasive because none of them knows exactly whom they can trust. However, Mr. Henchy's hesitancy towards "a black sheep" Father Keon alludes to the fact that the Father has fallen away from his original calling as a priest *(D* 126). To further deepen his jab at the clergy, Joyce has Mr. O'Connor confess to seeing Father Keon and a man named Fanning at Kavanagh's together (*D* 126). According to *Joyce Annotated*, Kavanagh's was a Dublin pub frequented by many politicians "in search of political favors" (Gifford 93), which points to the mingling of church and politics, the same pairing that caused Parnell to lose his position. By casually suggesting that Father Keon loiters in such places, Mr. Henchy (and Joyce) criticizes the corruption of the Church and undermines the authority of Dublin's clergy.

Joyce's description of Father Keon when he first enters the Committee Room connotes instability or suspicion as well. The line "A person resembling a poor clergyman or a poor actor appeared in the doorway" foreshadows the hesitancy about against Father Keon's character.

Before he is even identified by name, he has already been depicted as a “poor actor” or a “poor clergyman” (*D* 125). Joyce’s use of adjectives is key in this description. The word “poor” can either be taken in two contexts: lacking money or lacking ability; so, at first, we are apt to believe that the character entering the door is just in the grips of poverty, though it may be his ineptitude that is in question. The fact that Father Keon is being compared to an actor at all shows contempt for the Church’s authority, but the description of “poor actor” illustrates that nobody believes him to be the priest he claims to be. Moreover, while “poor” has two meanings, it is possible that for this phrase Joyce intended the meaning to be uniform – meaning that Father Keon lacks the ability to be a clergyman and fails to fool everyone into believing otherwise.

Father Keon’s attire and actions further demonstrate the fall of the Catholic Church and the decline in Dublin’s moral standards since Parnell’s passing. Father Keon is dressed in “black clothes” and “it was impossible to say whether he wore a clergyman’s collar or a layman’s collar because the collar of his shabby frock coat… was turned up about his neck” (*D* 125). His black clothes foreshadow the dark stairs he will eventually descend when departing the Committee Room, and the shabbiness and incongruity of his outfit mark him as another member of the disillusioned cast in the story. He, the so-called priest, should be the one to lead the men to their fullest potential, yet as he exits the Committee Room he ignores Mr. Henchy’s request for lighting his way down the shadowy staircase and instead stumbles back down into the darkness.

Perhaps the most important and symbolic section of “Ivy Day in the Committee Room” is the poem written and recited by Joe Hynes, avid Parnellite. It is worth quoting it here in full before I proceed:

THE DEATH OF PARNELL
6 October 1891

He is dead. Our Uncrowned King is dead.
O, Erin, mourn with grief and woe
For he lies dead whom the fell gang
Of modern hypocrites laid low.

He lies slain by the coward hounds
He raised to glory from the mire;
And Erin's hopes and Erin's dreams
Perish upon her monarch's pyre.

In palace, cabin or in cot
The Irish heart where'er it be
Is bowed with woe — for he is gone
Who would have wrought her destiny.

He would have had his Erin famed,
The green flag gloriously unfurled,
Her statesmen, bards and warriors raised
Before the nations of the World.

He dreamed (alas, twas but a dream!)
Of Liberty: but as he strove
To clutch that idol, treachery
Sundered him from the thing he loved.

Shame on the coward, caitiff hands
That smote their Lord or with a kiss
Betrayed him to the rabble-rout
Of fawning priests — no friends of his.

May everlasting shame consume
The memory of those who tried
To befoul and smear the exalted name
Of one who spurned them in his pride.

He fell as fall the mighty ones,
Nobly undaunted to the last,

And death has now united him
With Erin's heroes of the past.

No sound of strife disturb his sleep!
Calmly he rests: no human pain
Or high ambition spurs him how
The peaks of glory to attain.

They had their way: they laid him low.
But Erin, list, his spirit may
Rise, like the Phoenix from the flames,
When breaks the dawning of the day.

The day that brings us Freedom's reign.
And on that day may Erin well
Pledge in the cups he lifts to Joy
One grief — the memory of Parnell.

(*D* 134-35)

The poem functions as a lament for the "Uncrowned King" on the anniversary of his death. Joyce's poem could function as a nod to an episode from his own childhood when he wrote a poem vindicating Parnell, entitled "Et Tu, Healy," and to *A Portrait* where young Stephen also writes a poem for Parnell (*P* 73). The men's apathetic responses that close the story are very telling:

> — Good man, Joe! said Mr O'Connor, taking out his cigarette papers and pouch the better to hide his emotion.
>
> — What do you think of that, Crofton? cried Mr Henchy. Isn't that fine? What? Mr Crofton said that it was a very fine piece of writing" (*D* 135)

This abrupt ending causes critic Keri Walsh to ask whether Mr. Crofton is "praising the quality of the poem's writing to avoid having to make a negative or socially unpopular judgement on its content," only to conclude that the "placement of this guarded assessment at the end of the story leaves the reader uncertain which point of view (if any) has authority" (19).

Indeed, the reader is unsure of the meaning of Crofton's assessment, and I argue that Joyce probably did not want to include a commentary on the poem that functions as another lethargic reaction to the demise of the "Uncrowned King." Joyce structures the language of Hynes' poem after typical Irish propaganda of the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The lines deliberately evoke phrases such as "O' Erin," "Rise like a Phoenix from the flames," and "the green flag gloriously unfurled," which reduce the poem to sentimental cliché. "Erin," Ireland's mythic name, is mentioned multiple times in the piece. "Rising like a Phoenix from the flames" connotes a romanticized view of Parnell and a wish for his Phoenix-like return, a rise like a glorified Christ figure. The blatantly nationalistic trope of "green flag" is also ironic in the fact that Parnell despised the color green (Flynn 10). Joyce's choice to include these elements suggests that the poem is satirical and, just like the rest of the story, it is a critique on how low the standards have fallen in Dublin. In addition, while the sentiments behind the poem's lament might be noble, they end up reducing the death of Parnell into mere wordy cliché. The words cannot bring him back, but Joyce manages to evoke the presence of Parnell in his works through much more than just descriptive statements or rhetorical gestures; he recreates him as a "shade," a hovering force that is not seen or spoken, but *felt*.

Judging from the thematic richness of Joyce's stories, we can surmise that Joyce, given his own background and that of Parnell's, intended not only to show a connection between his own experiences and the experiences of his audience, but also to comment on the dismal political climate. According to Frank Callanan, Joyce's "strategic choice to render Parnell through his myth resolved an artistic problem that extended beyond Joyce's austere critique of

Parnellite rhetoric" (88). Joyce's artistic problem, as discussed earlier, also manifests itself in Joyce's essay "A Shade of Parnell," where Joyce gives voice to his attempt to reinstate Parnell back into the historical and political rhetoric to which he originally belonged. But the myth Callanan alludes to does not solely exist in one story of *Dubliners*, "Ivy Day in the Committee Room." As I will discuss in the chapter that follows, Joyce's realization that "Parnell's persona was hard to render, and direct depictions of him in life or death as heroic leader were… all too prone to falling flat" does not impede his ability to include Parnell's myth (or shade) in the multiple sections of the book both before and after the "turn" of Dubliners (*L II*, 115). In fact, Joyce's use of the myth renders the romanticized Parnell affair even more realistically than he might have intended. Because the Parnell Affair raised the anxieties of so many Irishmen, it stands to reason that the resurrected myth, or shade, or ghost of Parnell is hard to identify. Still, Joyce's portrayal of such Dublin characters, like Eveline, Mr. Doran, Little Chandler, Mr. Duffy, and Gabriel, shows that all of them are psychologically aware of the consequences of Parnell's love affair, and their memories influence their behavior and choices. The next chapter further expands on the effects their behavior and choices have on the outcome of their lives, which adds to the paralysis of Dublin and Joyce's belief that the lack of Parnell's leadership cast a shadow over Ireland.

Chapter 4:
"A Shade Over Dublin": Parnell's Presence in *Dubliners*

Joyce begins his essay "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" by saying, "Nations have their ego, just like individuals" (*CW* 154). Although his essay highlights the patriotism of Ireland, discussing the language, heritage, and the revival of these aspects through the Gaelic League, it also alludes to a gap that Joyce later discusses in more detail in his 1912 essay "A Shade of Parnell." Without explicitly evoking Parnell's name, Joyce states that Ireland has a history of calling itself an "Island of Saints and Sages," a land of intellect and wisdom; yet those "Irishmen who carried the torch of knowledge and wisdom" are not given due credit. Instead, "their traces are still seen in abandoned altars, in traditions and legends where even the name of the hero is scarcely recognizable" (*CW* 154).

Parnell's name might have been "scarcely recognizable" after his death and the reunification of the Home Rule Party, yet to Joyce the "Shade of Parnell" lived on, and thus appeared in not just one story in *Dubliners*, but in multiple stories. Parnell's "shade" spans far and wide, reaching from the classy walls of Corless's in "A Little Cloud" to the Sydney Parade Station in "A Painful Case" and beyond. Joyce utilizes this "shade" to present the state of Ireland during the early twentieth century, which seemed bleak at best, and that shade, which was once Ireland's greatest chance for escaping such paralysis, now hovers over the city as a dark shadow. In "A Shade of Parnell," Joyce makes it clear that there is no remedy to Ireland's betrayal of Parnell, that "[t]hey did not throw him to the English wolves; they tore him to pieces themselves" (*CW* 228). Therefore, because no remedy can bring back Parnell's charismatic

leadership, Joyce takes it upon himself to illustrate how the "shade of Parnell" draped over Ireland affects many aspects of Dublin society, including relationships, marriage, and desire.

As a capital city, "Dear Dirty Dublin," called so by Gallaher in "A Little Cloud" and by Joyce himself, was gloomy and sullen compared to its counterparts, such as London and Paris. In Dublin, Parnell's shadowy presence fell on its citizens, leaving behind a "dirty" aftermath of lethargy and paralysis. All citizens felt the paralysis of Parnell's shadow, including one of Joyce's youngest characters – the boy from "Araby" who Joyce chooses to leave nameless. Instead, the audience experiences the young narrator's epiphany from a first-person point-of-view, which clearly illustrates a shadow of disappointment in the young boy when he realizes his "muse" is not the romantic figure he originally perceived. Harry Stone further elaborates on this disappointment in his article "'Araby' and the Writings of James Joyce," stating that "[t]he boy does not know, cannot face, what he is. He gazes upon the things that attract or repel him, but they are blurred and veiled by clouds of romantic obfuscation" (311). Stone's words of "blurred" and "veiled" echo the metaphoric shadow being cast upon the young boy. His "romantic obfuscation" deludes him into thinking that his passionate desire for Mangan's sister will end fruitfully if only he can successfully attain a gift for her after completing his quest. Yet his quest ends in literal shadows as night descends and the boy remarks, "Nearly all the stalls were closed and the greater part of the hall was in darkness" (*D* 34). These shadows continue to descend after the boy's encounter with the young lady working a stall. Once he hears that "the tone of her voice was not encouraging; she seemed to have spoken to me out of a sense of duty," the romantic idea of his quest is completely foiled, thus creating the picture of a deeper darkness at the conclusion of the story: "I heard a voice call from one end of the gallery that the

light was out. The upper part of the hall was now completely dark. Gazing in the darkness I saw myself as creature driven and derided by vanity; and my eyes burned with anguish and anger" (*D* 35). The glaring lamplights and the shadows of darkened halls at the end of the boy's quest connote the shadow of Parnell's betrayal. There is no light in a world of betrayal, especially when the betrayal has been self-inflicted as is with the case of the boy. His romanticized thoughts lead not just to disappointment, but to "anguish and anger." Joyce evokes the encroaching darkness as a symbol of a powerful shadow that paralyzes hope in even the youngest and most optimistic of the Dublin characters.

Harry Stone also touches upon the role of Mangan's sister in "Araby," which is the role of the muse or the madonna. He argues, "All women, for Joyce, are Eves: they tempt and they betray" (313). The "temptresses" of his stories are then working against the male characters, although this is not always explicitly stated. Stone continues, "By the same token, men, in their yearning to worship, contrive (perhaps even desire) their own betrayal and insure their own disillusionment" (313). By following this argument, one might surmise that the women in these stories function as a sort of "shadow" or paralysis of men in these stories. Mangan's sister is enshrouded in shadow as well, as Joyce plays with the lighting while describing her: "The light from the lamp opposite our door caught the white curve of her neck, lit up her hair that rested there, and, falling, lit up the hand upon the railing" (*D* 32). While the lighting illustrates an angelic look, there must be a shadow to pair with it, as the boy quickly finds out when his quest to please her ends in darkness. Therefore, it stands to reason that Mangan's sister functions as a temptress to disillusionment. There is also speculation that Parnell was undone by his desire and disillusionment towards his "Queenie" Katherine O'Shea, whose love cost him, and some

might argue his country, dearly. Katherine O'Shea was placed among the many temptresses of Irish history after her affair with Parnell, thus earning the derogatory nickname "Kitty." And while Mangan's sister does not operate on the same caliber as Katherine O'Shea, it could be argued that the dynamics are there; her presence provokes a desire in the boy that leads to his own disappointment.

The story "Eveline" evokes a very similar shadow, this time haunting the female protagonist as she struggles with a life-altering decision. Eveline feels this hovering shadow pulling her in two directions – to escape from the abusive relationship with her father and to follow through with her new relationship with Frank. Eveline's persona, like that of many young women of her time, is caught between the desire for freedom and the fear of exile. In her book *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity*, Katherine Mullin discusses the migration of men and women from Ireland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Her chapter, "Eveline: White Slavery and Seductions of Propaganda," argues that Joyce was not simply commenting on the paralysis of young Irish women that prevented them from leaving Ireland (as he and Nora did in 1904), but instead shedding light on the "white slavery" epidemic that seduced young Irish brides away from their homes with prospects of marriage. These brides would board a ship to Buenos Aires, and "once away from home, were forced into 'regulated houses' or legalized brothels in countries that tolerated prostitution" (Mullin 66). Mullin discusses how this "white slavery" epidemic produced propaganda in many newspapers, including the *Irish Times* and such groups as the National Vigilance Agency or the Travellers' Aid Society (66). Given that the issue was well circulated in the news, it is possible that Eveline knew the dangers she faced by running away with Frank.

That being said, the anxiety of running away with a man who might possibly fit the profile of men who lure girls into dangers advertised in the papers acts as a shadow on her freedom – a shadow of possible betrayal. She is unable to fully trust Frank and she feels no love for him; at first, she feels "excitement … to have a fellow and then she had begun to *like* him" (*D* 39; my emphasis). Frank, however, may have been her one opportunity to escape the lethargic existence her mother had suffered. Parnell's shadow, a shadow filled with memories of betrayal, *seems to* fully fall upon Eveline as she waits to board the ship with Frank. Joyce does not allow her to complete her escape, and instead, we see her at the crucial moment of her life standing at the dock, frozen: "Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition" (*D* 41). In this case, Joyce seems to cast Parnell's shadow of betrayal three-fold on Eveline: on the one hand, she appears to be paralyzed by the fear of betrayal of her mother whom she promised "to keep the home together as long as she could" (*D* 40); though, on the other, by staying behind, she betrays Frank, who promised her an escape from her stagnant life, as she *also* may be escaping the possibility of being betrayed by the man who claims to be her savior.

In essence, Parnell's shadow functions so that Eveline fears she must leave but cannot leave at the same time. Mullin also looks at Eveline's obligation to her country, which serves as a form of Parnell's shadow as well. Mullin's chapter discusses how scandalous and disloyal it would be for any Irishman, man or woman, to emigrate from his or her country. Given the effects of the Famine and stagnant state of Dublin, emigration was at an all-time high at the turn of the twentieth century, so high that the Home Rule Party spoke out against those leaving the country. Tim Healy, the same man who vilified Parnell for his immoral behavior, remarked,

"It is a monstrous thing that a foreign government trying to recruit its population here should be allowed to bring ruin on thousands of people" (Healy, qtd. in Mullin 64). While it might seem that the MP is concerned for the well-being of Ireland's young maidens, it is more likely that Healy is following suit with the rest of his country. A push for social purity, as Katherine Mullin explains in her book, paralyzed many Irish people, especially women, into a strict life of following rules and clerical regulation. Mullin remarks that "women were slamming the door on the 'home country' which *The Irish Homestead* and affiliated nationalist groups promoted as a woman's proper place. Their behavior unleashed a widespread moral panic about these unchaperoned, independent and adventurous women, and the sexual dangers which could await them" (60). As Eveline pleads with God "to direct her, to show her her moral duty," she does not realize that she is also attributing herself to the "proper place" of a woman, and thus giving into paralysis and into a static role she does not desire. Yet, the shade has been drawn over her. She is blind to the possibility of change just like the rest of Dublin living in a post-Parnell Ireland.

Joyce's story "A Boarding House" uses multiple characters to illustrate the "shade of Parnell" hovering over Dublin. Mr. Doran, a tenant under the roof of the "shrewd" Mrs. Mooney, finds himself at a disadvantage thanks to the anxiety looming around Parnell's shadow. Just like Parnell, Mr. Doran finds that his nightly activities with Polly, Mrs. Mooney's daughter, could land him in a serious scandal. Similar to Parnell, Mr. Doran realizes that his employment of "thirteen years in a great Catholic wine merchant's office" could be jeopardized should his and Polly's relationship gain publicity. Yet Joyce states earlier, "All the lodgers in the house know something of the affair; details had been invented by some," which is why Mr.

Doran fears "the loss of his sit" (*D* 65). The possibility of losing his job and being publicly shamed draws a shadow over Mr. Doran's freedom, and Joyce is using Mr. Doran's unfortunate circumstance to illustrate that scandals were faced by all Dublin citizens. In her book, *Scandal Work*, Margot Gayle Backus discusses how Joyce illustrates both major and minor scandals throughout his works:

> By producing what are, in effect, scandals with scandal fragments omitted, Joyce created stories full of scandal-like rituals and speech acts that do not carry the malignant force of scandal. Through this strategy of obverse suppression – a distinctive alternative to the sensational work of Parnell, Healy, Stead and even Wilde – Joyce forced a representational strategy calibrated to substitute his own "nicely polished mirror" for the "cracked lookingglass" of the New Journalism. Both *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* direct our focus away from sensational scandal fragments and onto their characters' gnawing unease concerning their own and other potentially scandalous but unspecified private transgressions. (104)

Indeed, Joyce uses his characters and their private transgression to create a "gnawing unease" towards many circumstances that are borderline scandalous. However, it can be argued that his inclusion of these minor scandals draws attention to the bigger scandals and do not "direct our focus away," as Backus seems to claim. Joyce never explicitly names the larger scandals occurring at the time – be it Parnell or Wilde – yet the anxiety of those scandals still lingers in the journalism of the time and therefore influences Joyce's development of characters. For example, Polly, in her "wise innocence," seems to understand the implications of her flirtations with Mr. Doran, as she has put herself in the role of the temptress, as mentioned before. This

leaves Mr. Doran to deal with either the scandal of marrying a girl who he felt was beneath him: "[f]irst of all there was her disreputable father and then her mother's boarding house was beginning to get a certain fame," or not marrying her after "the instinct of the celibate" had failed him (*D* 67).

Mrs. Mooney's character is both paralyzed by and benefits from the shadow looming over her boarding house. Her paralysis lies in her marriage. Mr. Mooney, as Joyce describes him, "began to go the devil" as soon as his father-in-law was dead:

> He drank, plundered the till ran headlong into debt […] By fighting his wife in the presence of customers and by buying bad meat he ruined his business. One night he went for his wife with the cleaver and she had to sleep in a neighbour's house. After that they lived apart. (*D* 61)

Despite the dangerous living conditions, Mrs. Mooney could only procure a separation from the Catholic priest, not an actual divorce, from which the Catholics were barred, thus drawing a shade over her possibility of full freedom from her abusive, alcoholic husband. However, Joyce uses Mrs. Mooney as a cyclical force in this instance. She contributes to the paralysis of Mr. Doran, which actually works to Mrs. Mooney's benefit. Because she is "a big imposing woman" and "shrewd judge," she is the only character that uses the overbearing moral code of society to her advantage. She carefully calculates how she will "have the matter out with Mr. Doran" after she has enough reason to suspect there has been a sexual relationship between him and her young daughter, and she is aware that "she had all the weight of social opinion on win" (*D* 64). Her confidence can be tied to the shadow that is cast over Dublin. The Catholic clergy would condemn and brand unwed lovers, and Joyce uses Mrs. Mooney's agency as catalyst for

enforcing rules of sexual conduct and punishing those who break them. Joyce recognizes that it is not just the Catholic doctrine that holds the state of Ireland in paralysis, but the citizens who operate by it as well. However, this seems to be the first time that Joyce creates a character who uses the Catholic mores as an ends-to-her-own-means.

Marriage in *Dubliners* suffered greatly from the shadow of Parnell. Joyce's character Little Chandler in "A Little Cloud" finds himself paralyzed in a dull marriage with no prospects of becoming the successful writer he once aspired to be. Little Chandler's character functions as a testimony to Dublin citizens whose dreams have been shadowed by societal expectations of domesticity – marriage, children, and so forth. This shadow deepens when Ignatius Gallaher, Little Chandler's friend who he has not seen in eight years, decides to return to "Dear Dirty Dublin" and invites Little Chandler to have a drink with him. Gallaher lives the life Little Chandler wishes he could have lived: Gallaher, by his own admission, is "a brilliant figure on the London press," a world traveler, and most importantly, unmarried (*D* 71). Joyce crafts the conversation between Gallaher and Little Chandler in a way that builds the tension, until finally the topic of marriage climaxes the passive-aggressive argument between the two: "Must get a bit stale, I should think," remarks Gallaher as retort to assert his masculinity over Little Chandler. This parting remark sets the next scene, as Joyce indicates that the center of paralysis for Little Chandler is not his inability to write or to travel; Little Chandler has been ensnared by the bond of holy matrimony, which in an Irish Catholic society binds people until death. Here again we see the grasp of the clergy casting a shadow over Little Chandler's dreams just as they cast a deathly shadow over Parnell's.

Gabriel and Gretta's marriage in "The Dead," while quite different from the Mooneys' or Little Chandler and Annie's, still operates under shadow, literally and figuratively. It isn't until the end of story, in "the staircase scene," that Joyce reveals Gretta as a central figure. Here is a description of what Gabriel sees atop a dark staircase:

> Gabriel had not gone to the door with the others. He was in the dark part of the hall gazing up the staircase. A woman was standing near the top of the first flight, in the shadow also. He could not see her face, but he could see the terracotta and salmonpink panels of her skirt which the shadow made appear black and white. It was his [Gabriel] wife […] He asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to distant music, a symbol of. If he were a painter he would paint her in that attitude. Her blue felt hat would show off the bronze of her hair against the darkness and the dark panels of her skirt would show off the light ones. (*D* 209)

Joyce's attention to "shadow" and "black and white" plays on the idea of Gabriel's heightened sense of separateness, a "shade" that hovers over his entire evening. Gabriel's and Gretta's evening ends in dark shades with the snow, "falling on every part of the dark central plain […] softly falling into the dark mutinous Shannon waves" (*D* 223). Joyce creates a scene of pensive melancholy, which sparks Gabriel's inner monologue about mortality that "[o]ne by one they were all becoming shades" (*D* 223). The connection between "death" and "shade" parallels nicely with the "shade" of paralysis Parnell's absence casts over Dublin. Joyce emphasizes inevitable mortality by introducing Michael Furey's character, which Gabriel, after asking his wife about Michael, surmises, "while he had been full of memories of their secret life together […] she had been comparing him in her mind to another" (*D* 219). The shadow of doubt cast

upon Gabriel about Gretta's loyalty evokes a sense of possible betrayal, but it is never fulfilled after Joyce reveals that Michael is dead. However, Michael's death still influences both Gretta and Gabriel, and puts an end to Gabriel's "fever of rage and desire" (*D* 217). Therefore, Joyce illustrates that "the dead" possess the power to influence society even after they have become a "shade."

Gabriel's speech at the dinner scene also alludes to the power of "the dead" to shape and influence the living, and seems to, discreetly, call on Parnell's memory. As his speech progresses, Gabriel states, "I fear that this new generation, educated and hyper educated as it is, will lack those qualities of humanity, hospitality, of kindly humour which belonged to an older day" (*D* 203). He goes on to say that the party guests should "still cherish in our hearts the memory of those dead and gone great ones whose fame the world will not willingly let die" (*D* 203). Parnell's shadow can be found hidden in the undertones of Gabriel's speech, as he is certainly among the heroes, as far as Joyce is concerned, "whose fame the world will not let die." What is even more interesting is Gabriel's repetition of the word "hospitality" or "Irish hospitality" (*D* 203). Throughout Gabriel's short speech, Joyce includes the word "hospitality" six times, perhaps indicating that Gabriel's overuse of the word ironically comments on the lack of hospitality by the Irish towards thought who don't conform – something Miss Ivors accused Gabriel of earlier by calling him a "West Briton" (*D* 190). The excessive use of this one term could also imply Ireland's lack of hospitality towards Parnell in his time of need. It is ironic that Gabriel evokes the memory of a hospitable older generation, which he urges the crowd to emulate, yet to Joyce any trace of "Irish hospitality" was buried with Parnell. Nevertheless, Gabriel's image of honoring "thoughts of the past, of youth, of changes, of absent faces that we

miss here tonight" suggests that the shadows cast on this evening paralyze all generations, past, present, and possibly future, because Ireland cannot escape the "shade" it has drawn over itself (*D* 204).

In addition to young relationships and marriage, there is also the complex companionship between Mr. Duffy and Mrs. Sinico in "A Painful Case." In his article "Perversion and the Press: Victorian Self-Fashioning in 'A Painful Case,'" Patrick Bixby argues, "Given Joyce's lifelong fascination with Parnell it is not surprising that cultural messages about sexuality became a concern of his writing or that late Victorian discourses on sexuality play an important role in his construction of characters" (113). Mrs. Sinico and Mr. Duffy exemplify how the fine line between friendship and relationship can be blurred when sexuality could become an added tension, as when Mr. Duffy remarks, "Love between a man and woman is impossible because there must be sexual intercourse," insisting that their friendship cannot go any further lest it cause a scandal (*D* 112). Joyce again uses the "shade" or "shadow" of Parnell to illustrate how the stagnant country acts in the confines of its own moral code. Furthermore, Joyce ends the story in a shadow of ultimate betrayal very similar to what Parnell himself faced.

Mrs. Sinico's death is tragic, perhaps fueled by the loss of something she once loved. The assistant house surgeon records Mrs. Sinico's death as "probably due to shock and sudden failure of the heart's action," which sounds very similar to dying of a broken heart, the rumored cause of death of Parnell (*D* 114). Mr. Duffy then betrays Mrs. Sinico in a similar way to Ireland's betrayal of Parnell. At the news of Mrs. Sinico's passing, Mr. Duffy muses that "she had been unfit to live, without any strength or purpose…But that she could have sunk so low!" (*D* 115). This recalls the Catholic clergy deciding that Parnell was "unfit to rule." As soon as these

condemning words were spoken, the tide of public opinion shifted away from Parnell, just like Mr. Duffy's good opinion of Mrs. Sinico changes. Joyce's use of the phrase "But that she could have sunk so low" echoes the cries of many Irish people after hearing of the O'Shea divorce scandal. Dante's character in *A Portrait* is a testimony to this, as she is also one who believes Parnell has sunk to the lowest, base standards, even though at one point she proudly supported Parnell herself. Mr. Duffy also feels Mrs. Sinico's ghost pressing upon him, not unlike the "Shade of Parnell" hovering over Dublin. The emotions experienced by Mr. Duffy – anger, grief, disillusionment, and acceptance – mirror the emotions Ireland faced after the loss of Parnell. Regardless, Joyce uses Mr. Duffy and Mrs. Sinico to critique the complex levels of relationships and the boundaries and constraints people face because of strict moral code imposed by societal forces. This strict morality is what ultimately led Parnell to his early grave, thus casting his shade over Ireland and preventing the "Uncrowned King" from fulfilling his promise of leading Ireland to its desperately needed independence.

Conclusion

Dubliners served as Joyce's first attempt at creating a space for social commentary. His desire to inspire change in his countrymen could only be accomplished by meticulous writing and word-crafting, and each sentence served an exact purpose for the reader. Just like Parnell, Joyce desired change, and in order to do so he created a picture of Dublin where change could not exist in a post-Parnell world. By evoking Parnell's myth, Joyce instilled Parnell's legacy in many of his short stories, and, in a way, resurrected the myth of Parnell, whose ghost "shadows" many of Dublin's dwellers. That is, it fell upon Joyce to incite the change his country needed, though not through politics, but through art:

> What Parnell had tried to do politically, with the help of Fenians, Joyce envisaged himself as doing in art… He would win Home Rule for art; with him, modern Ireland would truly begin and so too would Irish literature. He would be the uncrowned king of Irish letters and the first writer to give to the Irish people a representation of spiritual freedom. (Deane xxxv-xxxvi)

By honoring Parnell's legacy, Joyce succeeds in painting a Dublin that is silently being led towards epiphany but cannot attain it. Eveline will not reach the escape she craves. Mr. Doran will retire with Polly, living a life he will not enjoy, as we find out from *Ulysses*. Little Chandler will never see Paris. Mr. Duffy will never be loved. Gabriel will become the shade we are all destined to be, and the men in the Committee Room will sit sipping on their drinks, letting the stagnant echoes of Mr. Hynes' poem reverberate off the denuded walls. It is perpetually October 6, 1891, throughout the entire story, yet Joyce's writing is not as gloomy as to not incite change. Rather, it functions to ignite passions that Parnell inspired in his own followers. If

Joyce's dislike of his country's political climate led him to exile because he thought that change was impossible, he felt it his duty to give his Irish readers "one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass" (*SL* 90). Joyce works to restore Parnell into Irish narrative and he starts with creating his own, hoping that the legacy of the "Uncrowned King" of Irish politics and that of the "Uncrowned King" of Irish literature can finally move Ireland forward.

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