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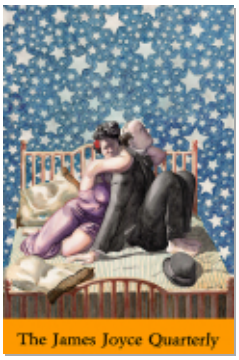


Matthew Fogarty

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# Henry Flower Esq. and the Uses of History for Life in *Ulysses*

Matthew Fogarty
*University College Dublin*

Much has been said about James Joyce's literary engagement with Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy during the six decades that have elapsed since Richard Ellmann first proposed that "at heart Joyce can scarcely have been a Nietzschean any more than he was a socialist."[1] In the 1960s and 1970s, this appraisal established a foundation for the common belief that Joyce identified with aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy for a brief period during the summer of 1904, before outgrowing these ideas as he matured.[2] As shown by the following note to George Roberts, dated 13 July 1904, there is no question that Joyce was familiar with Nietzsche's philosophy at that time:

> Dear Roberts: Be in the "Ship" tomorrow at 3.30 with £1. My piano is threatened. It is absurd my superb voice should suffer. You recognise a plain duty—Well then—
>
> James Overman.[3]

The term "Overman" is one of the monikers used to refer to Nietzsche's self-creating "*Übermensch*" or "Superman." Indeed, this biographical detail is reflected in Joyce's fictionalized recollection of the period; it is, after all, Buck Mulligan, the literary alter ego of Joyce's then roommate, Oliver St. John Gogarty, who proclaims himself the "Übermensch" before plunging into the ocean at the end of "Telemachus."[4] It was also during the summer of 1904 that George Russell, having been impressed by an early draft of *Stephen Hero*,[5] asked Joyce if he could write a "simple, rural live-making" short story for the *Irish Homestead*, according to Ellmann (169). This prompted Joyce to begin composing the short stories that would eventually be published as *Dubliners*, in which he offers his first literary allusion to Nietzsche's writing; in "A Painful Case," the narrator tells us that the protagonist, a Mr. James Duffy, possessed "two volumes by Nietzsche: *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and *The Gay Science* (*D* 112)."[6] It is more difficult, however, to substantiate the claim that Joyce simply outgrew these ideas after immigrating to mainland Europe in the autumn of 1904. In fact, his library at Trieste, where he lived peri-

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odically between 1904 and 1920, held the Oscar Levy English translations of Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, *The Case of Wagner*, *Nietzsche Contra Wagner*, *Selected Aphorisms*, and *The Gay Science*.[7] Published over a five-year between 1909 and 1913, the Levy translations were far superior to those made available by Alexander Tille and Thomas Common in the late nineteenth century, who reductively interpreted Nietzsche's philosophy from a Darwinist perspective. Since both *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses* were published over a six-year period between 1916 and 1922,[8] scholars have had good reason to re-evaluate the specific nature and extent of Joyce's engagement with key Nietzschean philosophemes.

Over the last four decades, those who have re-evaluated the Joyce-Nietzsche relationship have, with equally good reason, focused on the ways in which Joyce's literary output engages with the foremost components of Nietzsche's philosophy, such as the theory of eternal recurrence, the proclamation of God's death, the *Übermensch*, perspectivism, master-slave morality, historical genealogy, and the will to power.[9] But there are additional aspects of Nietzsche's thought, most notably his reflections on "cultural paralysis"[10] and what he calls the "suprahistorical approach,"[11] which resonate with some of Joyce's principal thematic and stylistic preoccupations. This essay brings these under-discussed aspects of Nietzsche's speculations into a productive philosophical dialogue with a comparably under-examined aspect of *Ulysses*, that is, the significance of the role performed by Leopold Bloom's alter ego, Henry Flower. I argue that Bloom creates this alter ego using a process that is reminiscent of Nietzsche's suprahistorical approach, which proposes that an individual, or a body politic, might benefit from selective historical remembrance, with a view to overcoming the paralyzing trauma triggered by the death of his infant son, Rudy. As Luke Gibbons points out, this paralysis establishes a correlation between the lived experience of Bloom and that of his co-protagonist, Stephen Dedalus, while capturing the quintessence of an Irish nation that stuttered toward modernity and its postcolonial existence at the outset of twentieth century.[12] Mindful of the temporal vantage point from which Joyce reflects upon on the fictionalized events of 16 June 1904, this essay demonstrates that the creation of Henry Flower completes the kaleidoscopic mode of narration through which Joyce refracts the stifling legacy of Irish history; first through Stephen Dedalus, then through Leopold Bloom, and ultimately through Henry Flower. When viewed from this perspective, it becomes apparent that the creation of Henry Flower allows Bloom to recognize the restorative potential of a surrogate father-son relationship with Stephen. In this way, Henry Flower performs a conciliatory function that establishes a philosophical blueprint for postcolonial nation-building, thereby underscoring the produc-

tive potential that resides in even the most disconcerting depths of Nietzsche's philosophical vision.

## Cultural Paralysis and the *Übermensch* Ideal

As Joseph Valente has observed, Stephen Dedalus's journey toward self-determination in *A Portrait* is, in essence, a "Zarathustrian project" (87). Even at this early stage in Stephen's development, the broader cultural significance of these "*Übermenschean*" aspirations is underscored by his stated determination "to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (*P* 253). Coming shortly after his vow to fly the nets of "nationality, language, religion" (*P* 220), Stephen's parting declaration constitutes the culmination of his efforts to overcome the existential restrictions imposed by cultural norms and societal expectations. For all his commitment to this radical mode of self-fashioning, however, the Stephen Dedalus who resurfaces in the opening episodes of *Ulysses* is a far cry from the autonomous entity that he aspires to become in *A Portrait*. If anything, these episodes demonstrate that his endeavors to fly these cultural nets have merely drawn them ever tighter. In "Telemachus," this is primarily conveyed through the ghostly presence of Stephen's recently deceased mother, who operates as a locus for the convergence of these constricting cultural forces. The futility of Stephen's attempts to elude the imposition of familial kinship is, for example, made explicit by the revelation that his return from France was prompted by his mother's impending death (*U* 3.198-99). As Sam Slote points out, however, Stephen subsequently realizes that the remorse initiated by his refusal to pray at his mother's deathbed conducts a more powerful force than that which was wielded by his living mother (40-42). This imbues Stephen's experience of traumatic loss with a religious dynamic. The constraining weight of these familial and religious responsibilities is intensified by the legacy of Ireland's colonization as Stephen conflates the spectral presence of May Dedalus with the image of Cathleen ní Houlihan.[13] This amalgamation of national and personal history crystalizes when Stephen joins Buck Mulligan and Haines at the breakfast table, thus setting the scene for Joyce's synecdochal representation of Ireland's colonization. Although the narrative voice that reimagines the milkwoman as this archetypal "poor old woman," Haines as "her conqueror," and Mulligan as her "gay betrayer" (*U* 1.403-05) might appear external to Joyce's protagonist, these descriptions are inflected with a mode of free indirect discourse that implicates Stephen in this narrative act. In addition to prioritizing Stephen's perspective by stating that "he watched her pour into the measure and thence into the jug rich white milk," the emphasis placed on the Old Woman's breasts underscores his active involve-

ment in this narrative sequence, coming as it does almost immediately after a ghostly depiction of May Dedalus (*U* 1.397-98, 270-72). The episode's reliance on the "strangers in the house" motif further indicates the involvement of a literary-minded character such as Stephen. As Nicholas Grene notes, this motif had been established as a firm favorite among Revivalist playwrights prior to 16 June 1904.[14] Indeed, the old milkwoman does not enter "from a morning world" (*U* 1.399), as this polyphonic mode of narration suggests, but rather from the harrowing amalgamation of personal and cultural memories that constitutes Stephen's mournful mind.

The subject of Irish history is brought more sharply into focus with Haines's apologist account of Ireland's colonization: "we feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly," he glibly explains; it "seems history is to blame" (*U* 1.648-49). Much like the ethereal presence of May Dedalus, the idea that Ireland's colonization might be the fault of an abstraction such as "history" also rematerializes throughout the Telemachiad. In "Nestor," the anti-Semitic Mr. Deasy mouths the conspicuously Hegelian idea that "all human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God" (*U* 2.380-81). Indeed, Stephen's often-cited response to Mr. Deasy's xenophobic apologism—"History . . . is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (*U* 2.377)—is as much inspired by Haines's overly simplistic assessment of Ireland's colonization. Like the cultural forces personified by the ghost of May Dedalus, these efforts to escape the paralyzing clutches of the past are principally conveyed through the medium of Stephen's inner monologues. The first occurs as he reflects on the form and function of history in the period between his conversations with Haines and Mr. Deasy:

> Had Pyrrhus not fallen by a beldam's hand in Argos or Julius Caesar not been knifed to death. They are not to be thought away. Time has branded them and fettered they are lodged in the room of the infinite possibilities they have ousted. But can those have been possible seeing that they never were? Or was that only possible which came to pass? (*U* 2.48-52)

These reflections upon the potential existence of alternative pasts, unrealized presents, and banished futures are subsequently projected onto all that surrounds Stephen in "Proteus." As Gregory Castle has observed, the markedly Nietzschean realization that there is no grand historical narrative presiding over the fate of humankind is manifested in the material instability of Sandymount Strand (286). This newfound understanding of the malleability of history, however, also makes its presence felt on a formal level in "Proteus," when the seemingly distinct voice of the text's omniscient narrator gradually fades

in conjunction with Stephen's growing mistrust of historical metanarratives. Despite his newfound appreciation for these historiological complexities, the constrictive fusion of the personal and cultural past continues to plague Stephen's mind. This is exemplified by the allusions to Douglas Hyde's "My Grief on the Sea" that materialize in the poem that Stephen begins composing in this episode.[15] In addition to reaffirming the paralyzing force exerted by the nets of nationality, language, and religion, the final moments of "Proteus" recall the conclusion of *A Portrait*, as we again bid Stephen a temporary farewell while he gazes wistfully toward the ocean. In *Ulysses*, however, Stephen's youthful aspirations are tempered by his futile efforts to create himself in an image of his own making.

It has thus far remained unacknowledged that these paralyzing cultural forces are as Nietzschean as the Zarathustrian project that delivers Stephen to this existential impasse. There is no question that Joyce's fascination with "paralysis" can, at least in part, be traced to his brief spell as a medical student in 1902. This is underscored by the medical discourse Joyce uses to address the subject in a 1904 letter to Constantine Curran: "I am writing a series of epicleti—ten—for a paper. I have written one. I call the series *Dubliners* to betray the soul of hemiplegia or paralysis which many consider a city" (*LettersI* 55). It is more difficult to identify what inspired Joyce to associate this medical phenomenon with the state of early-twentieth-century Irish culture. Gibbons has speculated that Joyce may have been inspired by the following passage from Filson Young's *Ireland at the Crossroads*, published in 1903: "The sands of national life have run very low in the glass; the people are physically and mentally exhausted, apathetic, resigned; the very soil of the country itself is starved and impoverished. So stands Ireland, weak and emaciated, at the crossroads."[16] But it is also possible that Joyce drew inspiration from Nietzsche's reflections on the phenomenon of cultural paralysis. In fact, Stuart Gilbert places the undated letter in which Joyce refers to hemiplegia between another note to Curran, dated 3 July 1904, and the 13 July note to Roberts in which Joyce signs off as "James Overman" (*LettersI* 55). In *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche writes:

> Paralysis of will: where does one fail to find this cripple sitting at present? And yet how bedecked often! How seductively decked out! There are the finest parade dresses and disguises for this disease; and that, for example, most of what is at present exhibited in the showcases as "objectivity," "the scientific spirit," "*l'art pour l'art*," "pure, voluntary, knowing" is merely decked-out scepticism and paralysis of will—I will answer for this diagnosis of the European disease.[17]

Although the first English translation of *Beyond Good and Evil* would not appear until 1907,[18] this passage was included in a 1901 publication titled *Nietzsche as Critic, Philosopher, Poet and Prophet: Choice Selections from His Works*. The language Nietzsche uses here is certainly consistent with the propensity toward pathologization that largely characterized late-nineteenth-century debates around "degeneration." Nietzsche's diagnosis, however, stands diametrically opposed to those advanced by the foremost proponents of degeneration theory. Where Max Nordau, for example, defended Enlightenment values against the degenerative decadence he associated with the *fin de siècle* spirit, Nietzsche renounces as "degenerate" all those facets of western culture that Nordau endeavored to safeguard.[19] The cultural paralysis that stifles Stephen in his quest for existential autonomy is attuned to degeneration as Nietzsche conceives it because this restrictive force is the culmination of traditional cultural values. For his part, Nordau would doubtless have considered Stephen's desire to overcome these traditional values as a pathological marker of degeneration.

The various correspondences between Stephen's experiences in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* and the biographical details of Joyce's life have been well documented.[20] The guilt that plagues Stephen's grief-stricken mind at the outset of *Ulysses*, though, points to yet another correspondence between Joyce's life and that of his alter ego. In a letter addressed to his partner and future wife, Nora Barnacle, dated 29 August 1904, Joyce writes: "My mother was killed slowly, I think, by my father's ill-treatment, by years of trouble, and by my cynical frankness of conduct. When I looked on her face as she lay in her coffin—a face grey and wasted with cancer—I understood that I was looking on the face of a victim and I cursed the system which made her a victim."[21] In the context of *Ulysses*, this shared experience also points to Bloom's status as a comparable alter ego for his creator. In addition to being traumatized by his son's death, Bloom is also a writer and creator, albeit a more modern configuration of the creator figure who plies his trade in marketing and advertisements. This does not distinguish Bloom from his high-modernist creator as decisively as one might imagine. In fact, Joyce assumed control of some important marketing responsibilities for *Ulysses* prior to its publication.[22] In addition to circumventing the narrow limitations of an Irish-English character by equating the people of Ireland with the Jews, as Vincent J. Cheng has shown, this second alter ego affords Joyce a critical distance from which to engage with many of the paralyzing cultural forces that stifle Stephen in his quest for existential authenticity.[23] As Bridget English explains, Bloom's status as a transcultural signifier is underscored by the fact that this ostensibly Jewish protagonist "has been baptized both as Protestant and as Catholic and is religious in outward appearance but secular in belief."[24] From

the moment the narrative shifts away from Stephen's perception at the end of "Proteus," Bloom eyes many of the most constrictive aspects of early-twentieth-century Irish culture from a perspective that is not available to Stephen or to his non-Jewish peers. In "Lotus Eaters," for example, Bloom expresses genuine bemusement at the prospect of transubstantiation: "I bet it makes them feel happy," he thinks, "bread of angels it's called. There's a big idea behind it, kind of kingdom of God is within you feel. . . . Hokypoky penny a lump" (*U* 5.359-62). Emer Nolan notes that this demythologizing irreverence is prefigured by Buck Mulligan's parody of the Eucharistic sacrament in "Telemachus," as he assumes a preacher's tone and says: "For this, O dearly beloved, is the genuine christine: body and soul and blood and ouns. Slow music, please. Shut your eyes, gents. One moment. A little trouble about those white corpuscles. Silence, all" (*U* 1.20-23).[25] Indeed, Jean-Michel Rabaté has argued that Mulligan's lampoonery renders him "the most Nietzschean" of the characters assembled in *Ulysses* (*Distance* 59). From a Nietzschean perspective, however, Mulligan's insubordination bears the slavish insignia of *ressentiment*, insofar it exacts only an "imaginary revenge" against a disempowering Catholicism.[26] Although tinged with a modicum of suspicion, Bloom's indifference to the Eucharistic sacrament in "Lotus Eaters" distinguishes itself from Mulligan's lampoonery in "Telemachus" because Bloom is not self-consciously ridiculing a once-imposing cultural practice. By using Bloom to reconfigure these traditional values in a way that counteracts the phenomenon of Nietzschean paralysis, without falling foul to the trappings of *ressentiment*, Joyce adopts a suprahistorical approach to the past that ultimately mirrors the role that Henry Flower performs within the context of *Ulysses*.

### Henry Flower and the Suprahistorical Approach

Although Nietzsche's intellectual legacy was for a long time clouded by the prevailing misconception that his philosophy was devoid of all logic and cohesion,[27] many of the seeds from which his mature work evolves can be found in his 1874 essay, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life." Largely written as a riposte to G. W. F. Hegel's idealism and the Great Man theory popularized by Thomas Carlyle in the mid-nineteenth century,[28] the essay distinguishes among three ways in which to approach with the past.[29] The first, labeled as "historically," refers to those who look backward to summon up the wisdom and courage to move forward ("Uses" 65). The second, "unhistorically," refers to those fleeting moments of unbridled happiness when the individual forgets all else and fully occupies the present moment ("Uses" 61). The third, for which Nietzsche coins the term "suprahistorically," describes an aspira-

tional synthesis of the historical and unhistorical approaches ("Uses" 65). It involves reconfiguring the specificities that constitute the past in a manner that would propel the individual beyond the paralyzing clutches of history. As Nietzsche explains, the "suprahistorical thinker beholds the history of nations and of individuals from within, clairvoyantly divining the original meaning of the various hieroglyphics and gradually even coming wearily to avoid the endless stream of new signs" ("Uses" 66). Comparatively speaking, it is but a short leap from this suprahistorical vantage point, which authorizes an individual, or indeed a body politic, to select which elements of the past are remembered, and how they are remembered, to the self-creating *Übermensch* that emerges in Nietzsche's later work. Where the suprahistorical approach is designed to "cure [us] of for ever [*sic*] taking history too seriously," as Nietzsche puts it ("Uses" 65), the *Übermensch* ideal is designed to cure us of forever taking too seriously the values that have been sanctified by historical precedents. Both concepts are explicitly contrived to maximize the individual's capacity to achieve existential authenticity.

Much as the critical distance that Bloom provides arrives on cue in "Calypso" just as attention shifts away from Stephen and the cultural paralysis personified by the ghost of May Dedalus, so too does Henry Flower appear to afford Bloom the opportunity to reconfigure the cultural paralysis personified by the specter of Rudy. To bring this conciliatory function into focus, it will be useful to converge on those instances when Bloom's interior monologues are briefly interrupted by Rudy's spectral presence. The first occurs in "Hades" as Bloom studies the faces of those around him enroute to Paddy Dignam's funeral:

> If little Rudy had lived. See him grow up. Hear his voice in the house. Walking beside Molly in an Eton suit. My son. Me in his eyes. Strange feeling it would be. From me. Just a chance. Must have been that morning in Raymond terrace she was at the window watching the two dogs at it by the wall of the cease to do evil. And the sergeant grinning up. She had that cream gown on with the rip she never stitched. Give us a touch, Poldy. God, I'm dying for it. How life begins. (*U* 6.75-81)

Even at this initial juncture, it appears that Rudy's death has somehow become bound up in Bloom's psyche with the moment of his son's conception. It is remarkable how quickly "[i]f little Rudy had lived" turns to "[h]ow life begins." When Rudy reappears soon after in "Lestrygonians," the pathological nature of this connection is stated more explicitly as Bloom recalls the impact Rudy's death has made upon his marriage: "When we left Lombard street west something changed. Could never like it again after Rudy. Can't bring back

time. Like holding water in your hand" (*U* 8.609-11). The acknowledgment that Bloom "[c]ould never like it again after Rudy" alludes to his apparent incapacity to have conventional sexual intercourse with his wife during the eleven-year period since their son's death. For her part, Molly later confirms that sexual relations with Bloom now involve him masturbating while demanding to know who she fantasizes about: "who is in your mind now," she recalls, "tell me who are you thinking of who is it tell me his name who tell me who the german Emperor is it yes imagine Im him think of him" (*U* 18.94-96). Coupled with Molly's struggles to remember "the last time he came on [her] bottom" (*U* 18.77), these reflections suggest that Bloom now finds himself frozen at the precipice of procreation because the act of sexual intercourse has become bound up in his psyche with the trauma of Rudy's death. Much like Stephen in "Proteus," Bloom's creative impulses are profoundly stifled by the paralyzing nightmare that constitutes his past.

Thoughts of Rudy next materialize in "Sirens," inspired this time by Ben Dollard's rendition of "*The Croppy Boy*" (*U* 11.991). Here, the episode's fugal structure implicates all those who are present, and indeed those who are remembered, in a harmonious arrangement providing the first indication that Bloom's traumatic history is also bound up with Ireland's cultural history. Written to commemorate the 1798 Rebellion, "The Croppy Boy" describes a confessional encounter in which a young man vows to follow in the footsteps of his martyred father and brothers by fighting for the Irish cause. Joyce was fully aware of the song's potency. In a letter addressed to Giorgio Joyce, he explains: "It is a pure and noble musical poem, profoundly sincere and dramatic. When you sing it, be sure to hold the balance equal between the captain and the young man. The last stanza is sung on a solemn and impersonal note. . . . This is not a patriotic song like *Wearing of the Green*."[30] As Zack Bowen points out, Joyce's version of the folk song extends the father-son motif, connecting it with political and social themes accentuating the communality of existence, which in turn mirrors the narrative patterns established in the novel.[31] From the vantage point of Bloom's interior monologue, for example, we learn that the song's evocative lyrics have struck him in an intensely personal way:

> All gone. All fallen. At the siege of Ross his father, at Gorey all his brothers fell. To Wexford, we are the boys of Wexford, he would. Last of his name and race. I too. Last of my race. Milly young student. Well, my fault perhaps. No son. Rudy. Too late now. Or if not? If not? If still? He bore no hate. Hate. Love. Those are names. Rudy. Soon I am old. (*U* 11.1063-69)

The episode's fugal structure also reveals how these lyrics have elicited a similarly impassioned, if decidedly more bitter, response from Stephen's father, Simon Dedalus:

> They listened. Tankards and miss Kennedy. George Lidwell, eyelid well expressive, fullbusted satin. Kernan. Si. The sighing voice of sorrow sang. His sins. Since Easter he had cursed three times. You bitch's bast. And once at masstime he had gone to play. Once by the churchyard he had passed and for his mother's rest he had not prayed. A boy. A croppy boy. (*U* 11.1038-43)

In this way, the "Sirens" song binds together the ghosts of Rudy Bloom and May Dedalus, the dismal fate of grieving husbands, sons, and fathers, the force exerted by Irish Catholic culture, and, indeed, the haunting legacy of Ireland's 1798 Rebellion, in a suprahistorical and perfectly harmonious melody that prefigures the surrogatory father-and-son roles that Bloom and Stephen will ultimately identify in each other.

It is, perhaps, to be expected that Rudy's ghost and the haunting resonances of this profoundly evocative crescendo rematerialize in perfect synchronicity at the Holles Street Maternity Hospital in "Oxen of the Sun." Amid the multiplicity of styles that traces the development of the English language, from the primitive incantations of "Deshil Holles Eamus" to the Wakean doggerel that precedes the final utterance, "Just you try it on" (*U* 14.01, 1590), the intergenerational trauma encoded in Joyce's suprahistorical rendition of "The Croppy Boy" reappears in the following detail:

> No, Leopold. Name and memory solace thee not. That youthful illusion of thy strength was taken from thee—and in vain. No son of thy loins is by thee. There is none now to be for Leopold, what Leopold was for Rudolph. The voices blend and fuse in clouded silence: silence that is the infinite of space: and swiftly, silently the soul is wafted over regions of cycles of generations that have lived. A region where grey twilight ever descends, never falls on wide sagegreen pasturefields, shedding her dusk, scattering a perennial dew of stars. (*U* 14.1074-82)

Despite these numerous appearances, and the telling implication that Bloom's sexual behavior has been significantly shaped by the tragedy of loss, the magnitude of his neurotic relationship to Rudy's spectral memory only materializes fully in "Circe." Much as the complex historical narrative that lingers beneath the surface of Stephen's interior monologues in the Telemachiad crystallizes here in the image of Private Carr's assault (*U* 15.4747-48),[32] so too does the pathological depths of Bloom's psychosis appear in vivid imagery. There is a critical disjunction between the images of Rudy that materialize in

"Hades" and "Circe." In the earlier episode, Bloom contemplates whether the deceased Paddy Dignam now has a "dwarf's face, mauve and wrinkled like little Rudy's was" (*U* 6.326). In the dream-like sequences of "Circe," however, Rudy rematerializes as "a fairy boy of eleven, a changeling, kidnapped, dressed in an Eton suit with glass shoes and a little bronze helmet, holding a book in his hand" (*U* 15.4957-59). Although the deathly image of Rudy that appears in "Hades" implies that his passing has registered in his father's conscious mind, the phantasmagoria of "Circe" is emblematic of Bloom's apparent incapacity to come to terms with his son's death. Indeed, it seems that Rudy still lives, breathes, and evidently ages within the pathological crypt that is Bloom's unconscious mind.

Gibbons notes that this kind of hallucinatory phenomena is consistent with the pathological denial of loss that Sigmund Freud calls "melancholia," and with the unsuccessful internalization of loss that Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok designate as "incorporation."[33] In both cases, these psychoanalysts note that the traumatized subject often expresses masochistic tendencies. As Freud explains, these individuals tend to experience "a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment" (244). For their part, Abraham and Torok acknowledge that these subjects "seem to inflict pain on themselves, but in fact they lend their own flesh to their phantom object of love" (137). These descriptions are also compatible with Bloom's sexual proclivities. In addition to eliminating even the possibility of creation in the aftermath of Rudy's death, Bloom's masturbatory rituals are mediated by a self-imposed humiliation that draws on the real-life pain induced by Molly's acts of infidelity. By creating Henry Flower, however, Bloom manages to re-transmogrify these intensely neurotic self-revilings through a suprahistorical reconfiguration of the past. In doing so, he mirrors the way in which Joyce creates Bloom to transcend the point of paralysis at which Stephen remains deadlocked at the end of "Proteus." While Bloom might well be harnessing the power of Nietzsche's suprahistorical approach unconsciously, the timing of Bloom's and Henry Flower's respective arrivals suggests that Joyce is knowingly relying upon a suprahistorical mode of narration, even if Joyce is not self-consciously drawing inspiration from Nietzsche's philosophy.

Bloom's alter ego makes his entrance by way of a letter addressed to "Henry Flower Esq," which he collects from a postbox located in Dublin's Westland Row at the outset of "Lotus Eaters" (*U* 5.62). Written by a correspondent known only as "Martha," it indicates that Bloom's *doppelgänger* has expressed a desire to be verbally admonished and punished:

> Dear Henry
>
> I got your last letter to me and thank you very much for it. I am sorry you did not like my last letter. Why did you enclose the stamps? I am awfully angry with you. I do wish I could punish you for that. I called you naughty boy because I do not like that other world [*sic*]. Please tell me what is the real meaning of that word? Are you not happy in your home you poor little naughty boy? . . . Please write me a long letter and tell me more. Remember if you do not I will punish you. So now you know what I will do to you, you naughty boy, if you do not wrote [*sic*]. . . . Goodbye now, naughty darling. (*U* 5.241-55)

The associations between Bloom's masochistic role-playing and the paralyzing trauma induced by his son's death come most clearly into focus in the previously discussed passage from "Lestrygonians." In this instance, Rudy's reappearance coincides with the suggestion that Bloom's identity has become bifurcated:

> I was happier then. Or was that I? Or am I now I? Twentyeight I was. She twentythree. When we left Lombard street west something changed. Could never like it again after Rudy. Can't bring back time. Like holding water in your hand. Would you go back to then? Just beginning then. Would you? Are you not happy in your home you poor little naughty boy? (*U* 8.608-12)

Indeed, the conflation of Bloom's traumatic loss with his alter ego's masochistic desires is compounded by the recurrence of the question that Bloom recently read in Martha's letter to Henry Flower: "are you not happy in your home you poor little naughty boy?" (*U* 5.246-47). In addition to providing Bloom with an avenue through which to navigate the neurotic self-revilings initiated by his incapacity to internalize Rudy's death, this suprahistorical reconfiguration of the past further establishes the blueprint by which Bloom might advance beyond the paralyzing legacy of this loss.

### Mourning and the Postcolonial Subject

The potential for this advancement through the mourning process is facilitated by the intertwining of the co-protagonist's narrative arcs in the final episodes: in Stephen, Bloom identifies a surrogate of sorts for Rudy; in Bloom, Stephen finds a father figure apt to replace the one from whom he finds himself estranged in the wake of his mother's death.[34] The chameleonic narrator of "Oxen of the Sun" first draws attention to this potential as it formulates in Bloom's mind:

> now sir Leopold that had of his body no manchild for an heir looked upon him his friend's son and was shut up in sorrow for his forepassed

> happiness and as sad as he was that him failed a son of such gentle courage (for all accounted him of real parts) so grieved he also in no less measure for young Stephen for that he lived riotously with those wastrels and murdered his goods with whores. (*U* 14.271-76)

Stephen's openness to this possibility is less explicitly implied through his *Hamlet* theory, which, as Buck Mulligan derisively explains, "proves by algebra that Hamlet's grandson is Shakespeare's grandfather and that he himself is the ghost of his own father" (*U* 1.555-57). The most clearly distilled image of this relationship's potential, which also appears among the dream-like sequences of "Circe," does nonetheless suggest that Stephen is, at least unconsciously, aware of these possibilities: "*Stephen and Bloom gaze in the mirror. The face of William Shakespeare, beardless, appears there, rigid in facial paralysis, crowned by the reflection of the reindeer antlered hatrack in the hall*" (*U* 15.3821-24). In addition to presenting the paralyzed reflections of both Bloom and Stephen, it is telling that this image of surrogatory potential relies on Stephen's *Hamlet* theory. If this surrogatory relationship is to prove fruitful, however, both characters will have to assume a suprahistorical vantage point when surveying the traumatic legacy of their respective pasts.

As Slote has observed, Stephen's ontological meanderings in "Proteus" allow him to construct "a genealogy of himself, fashioning himself through his partial, delimited perspectives of the world around him" (51). Much like the breakfast in "Telemachus," this genealogical, indeed Nietzschean, approach becomes apparent as Stephen projects the focus of his interior monologue outward onto the two women who appear upon the strand. Stephen traces his maternal lineage beyond his own mother and aligns himself with these women by way of the "Algy, coming down to our mighty mother. . . ., Heva, naked Eve" (*U* 3.31-41). Thus, the genealogical attitude that informs Stephen's reflections on ancient Greek and Roman history in "Nestor" makes its presence felt once again in "Proteus." On this occasion, however, it resurfaces in response to the more personal matter of the protagonist's familial history. Much like the image of Cathleen ní Houlihan that materializes at the breakfast in "Telemachus," these interwoven narratives comprise the dense fabric of the history from which Stephen is trying to awake. Although these reflections might well prepare him for the familial resolution that his encounter with Bloom will later offer, this genealogical engagement with the past does not contain the profound freedom that characterizes the suprahistorical approach. For all his desperation to fly the constrictive nets of family, nation, and religion, Stephen's genealogizing still brings him to the archetypal mother figure, Eve, much as his

reconfiguration of the mother figure in "Telemachus" brings him to the image of Mother Ireland.

The means through which Bloom invents Henry Flower to operate as a vehicle for the transposed self-revilings induced by the trauma of Rudy's death rely upon a far more complex and decisive engagement with the past. Mark Osteen has pointed out that Henry Flower is, in effect, a "brand name," that is, one of many pseudonyms that "generate an anonymous, collective self . . . and free him from his usual role as outcast and his new role as cuckold."[35] In her analysis of consumer culture in "Nausicaa," Jennifer Wicke has shown how the items that comprise Gerty MacDowell's "girlish treasure trove, the tortoiseshell combs, her child of Mary badge, the whiterose scent, the eyebrowleine, her alabaster pouncetbox and the ribbons to change when her things came home from the wash and [the] beautiful thoughts written in . . . violet ink that she bought in Hely's of Dame Street" (*U* 13.638-43), allow Gerty's world to "open up into a fantasy scripted by her, and for her."[36] As an expert in marketing and advertising, Bloom's capacity to recontextualize the components of his life, whether these components are real or imagined, and to re-invent himself accordingly, far surpasses that of the teenage Gerty. Indeed, Bloom promptly rebrands their fleeting encounter, during which he masturbates and climaxes while eying Gerty from a distance, as "*[t]he Mystery Man on the Beach*, prize titbit story by Mr Leopold Bloom" (*U* 13.1060).

Bloom's ability to recontextualize these events into a fantasy scripted by him, and for him, coincides with the following revelation: "Damned glad I didn't do it in the bath this morning over her silly I will punish you letter" (*U* 13.786-87). This relief at having resisted the urge to masturbate in the guise of Henry Flower in "Lotus Eaters" and his dismissal of Martha's letter as "silly" is followed a moment of self-reflection that appears to resolve the sense of bifurcated identity revealed by way of Bloom's interior monologue in "Lestrygonians." Following his distant encounter with Gerty, Bloom muses:

> Tired I feel now. Will I get up? O wait. Drained all the manhood out of me, little wretch. She kissed me. Never again. My youth. Only once it comes. Or hers. Take the train there tomorrow. No. Returning not the same. Like kids your second visit to a house. The new I want. Nothing new under the sun. Care of P. O. Dolphin's Barn. Are you not happy in your? Naughty darling. . . . Think you're escaping and run into yourself. Longest way round is the shortest way home. (*U* 13.1101-11)

These reflections set the scene for Bloom's symbolic rejection of the Henry Flower persona that brings "Nausicaa" toward its conclusion. In a passage that assembles thoughts of picking up "[p]etticoats for Molly," his illicit correspondence with Martha, and his recent encounter with Gerty, the narrator tells us:

> Mr Bloom stopped and turned over a piece of paper on the strand. He brought it near his eyes and peered. Letter? No. Can't read. Better go. . . . O! Exhausted that female has me. Not so young now. Will she come here tomorrow? . . . Write a message for her. Might remain. What? . . . What is the meaning of that other world. I called you naughty boy because I do not like. . . . He flung his wooden pen away. The stick fell in silted sand, stuck. . . . We'll never meet again. But it was lovely. Goodbye, dear. Thanks Made me feel so young. (*U* 13.1244, 1246-73)

Although we cannot know what exactly Bloom intended to carve upon the shifting sands, we do know it begins with an affirmative "I. . . . AM. A." (*U* 13.1258-64), which reconciles the questions that materialize alongside thoughts of Martha's letter in "Lestrygonians": "Or was that I? Or am I now I?" (*U* 8.608). Indeed, it hardly seems a coincidence that all of this occurs on Sandymount Strand, where Stephen stood frozen on the precipice of creation at the end of "Proteus."

The way in which Bloom's encounter with Gerty is described at the outset of this episode further suggests that Bloom is masturbating as himself, rather than as his alter ego. Clearly, the initial descriptions of Bloom incorporate stock phrases from the romantic-fantasy genre in ways that implicate Gerty in the narrative act. We are told, for example, that "[h]is eyes burned into her as though they would search her through and through, read her very soul" (*U* 13.412-13). These phrases, however, are counterbalanced by a description that suggests either remarkable intuition on Gerty's part or a certain understanding that supersedes the knowledge available to her: "He was in deep mourning, she could see that, and the story of a haunting sorrow was written on his face. She would have given worlds to know what it was" (*U* 13.421-23). Moreover, the critical post-orgasmic moment that marks this episode's stylistic transition from tumescence to detumescence, as Joyce notes in the Stuart Gilbert schema,[37] re-affirms Bloom's identity in a brief metafictional comment to the reader and suggests a certain sense of reconciliation:

> Leopold Bloom (for it is he) stands silent, with bowed head before those young guileless eyes. What a brute he had been! At it again? A fair unsullied soul had called to him and, wretch that he was, how had he answered? An utter cad he had been! He of all men! But there was an infinite store of mercy in those eyes, for him too a word of pardon even though he had erred and sinned and wandered. (*U* 13.744-49)

With the possible exception of "Circe," where Henry Flower appears twice among the cavalcade of images that comprise the episode's dream-like sequences, we never again encounter references to Henry Flower or to Martha's letter by way of Bloom's interior monologues.

Indeed, it is immediately after Bloom departs from the shifting sands on Sandymount Strand and bids a symbolic farewell to his alter ego that he identifies Stephen as a possible surrogate for Rudy in "Oxen of the Sun."

Horst Breuer has proposed that the "florid rhetoric" apparent throughout "Eumaeus" makes insinuations about Henry Flower's involvement in the narration of this episode.[38] For Breuer, this episode operates "as a gigantic wish fulfilment, a fantastic allegory revealing a secret compartment of the protagonist's soul, a projection of Bloom's half-conscious cravings that he himself, on the realistic plane of the story, would be very ashamed to have dragged into the open so mercilessly" (98). However, in an episode marked by "shifting and uncertain identities," as Terence Killeen succinctly puts it, the distance between this narrative voice and the events that are described in "Eumaeus" appears as significant as the stylistic markers that indicate Henry Flower's role in chronicling Bloom's first meaningful interaction with Stephen.[39] Although Breuer does acknowledge that Bloom's alter ego is, in effect, "brought to life" in this episode (98), it should also be noted that Flower's emergence as an independent entity coincides with his departure from Bloom's interior monologues. In much the same way as Henry Flower's emergence from the deepest recesses of Bloom's mind can be read as a release of the pathological self-revilings that were triggered by Bloom's inability fully to internalize Rudy's death, the creative process that casts Henry Flower to perform as a conduit for these paralyzing emotions can be read as a blueprint for the creative process that allows Bloom to see in Stephen the potential for surrogatory kinship. Just as the melancholic denial of loss that provokes Bloom's pathological appetite for punishment is transferred onto Henry Flower, so is his love for the deceased Rudy transferred onto the living Stephen Dedalus. Where Stephen's genealogical attempt to transcend the paralyzing trauma of his mother's death in "Proteus" leads only to the Biblical Eve and the religious orthodoxy she represents, the suprahistorical reimagining of the past that allows Bloom to transfer the crippling legacy of loss onto his fictitious alter ego offers a far more radical and tangible solution in the form of surrogatory kinship.

While dealing with personal loss is by no means an insignificant process, the suprahistorical approach championed by Nietzsche and utilized by Bloom within the context of *Ulysses* points to wider possibilities. Although he does so rather tentatively, Freud proposes that mourning, or its pathological bedfellow, melancholia, may also be triggered by the loss of "one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on" (243). Benedict Anderson has shown how the obverse of this proposition rings true, citing the dedication of tombs to unknown soldiers as the foremost initiator of the nationalism that unites modern imagined

communities.[40] Joyce was undoubtedly aware of this galvanizing phenomenon, having lived through the immense outpouring of grief prompted by Charles Stewart Parnell's funeral and the flowering of cultural nationalism that filled the vacuum created by his death. Indeed, the broader sociohistorical significance attributed to the spectral presences of May Dedalus and Rudy Bloom suggests that *Ulysses* is cognizant of a broader form of cultural paralysis akin to that described by Freud. There is no question that the prospect of a nation picking and choosing which elements of the past are to be remembered, and how these events are to be remembered, proves problematic when considered in light of the genocidal atrocities that have been committed by imperial forces and fascist regimes. In *Ulysses*, this problematic potential is perhaps best exemplified by the revisionism that buttresses the Citizen's anti-Semitism in "Cyclops." However, the suprahistorical approach that Bloom adopts to move beyond the recurring nightmare that constitutes his past could operate as a powerful lifeline for nations that find themselves paralyzed by the legacy of colonization. In addition to circumventing the narrow parameters of an Irish-English dichotomy when equating the Irish people with the Greeks and Jews, by using Homer's *Iliad* as an aesthetic framework and portraying Bloom as a Jewish everyman figure, the role performed by Henry Flower in *Ulysses* points toward the conciliatory power these cultural connections can lend to postcolonial nations, even if these associations are established through a suprahistorical reimagining of the past. The open ending of *Ulysses* offers no indication with respect to the viability of the suprahistorical approach, and in this regard it shares with *A Portrait* the hallmark of the postcolonial *Bildungsroman*.[41] It does, nonetheless, acknowledge the emancipatory potential made available to postcolonial nations who are forced to reconfigure the traumatic specificities, or indeed the overwhelming opacities, that linger among the shadows of the past.

## NOTES

I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to discuss an early draft of this essay at the Newberry Irish Studies Seminar. I am particularly grateful for the insights of the seminar's co-organizers, Bridget English and Colleen English, and for those of my respondent, Jean-Michel Rabaté.

[1] Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), p. 142. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

[2] See Marvin Magalaner, *Time of Apprenticeship: The Fiction of Young James Joyce* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1959), p. 40; David S. Thatcher, *Nietzsche in England, 1890-1914: The Growth of a Reputation* (Toronto: Toronto Univ. Press, 1970), p. 136; Patrick Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: A Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1972), p. 142; and the notes on "A Painful Case," in

"*Dubliners": Text, Criticism, and Notes*, ed. Robert Scholes and A. Walton Litz (New York: Viking Press, 1977), p. 486. Further references to *Dubliners* will be cited parenthetically in the text by *D* and the page numbers.

[3] Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce, Volume I*, ed. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 56. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text by *LettersI* and the page numbers.

[4] Joyce, "*Ulysses": The Corrected Text*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler et al. (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 1.708. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text by *U* and the episode and line numbers. For the *Übermensch*, see Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None*, trans. Adrian Del Caro (1883-1885; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006).

[5] Joyce, *Stephen Hero*, ed. John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon (New York: New Directions, 1963).

[6] Nietzsche, *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in German Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, ed. Bernard Williams, trans. Josefine Nauckhoff and Del Caro (1882; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001).

[7] The Levy translations were published in Edinburgh by T. N. Foulis under the title *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche: The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), *The Case of Wagner* (1888), *Nietzsche Contra Wagner* (1889), *Selected Aphorisms* (1888), and *The Gay Science* (1882-1887). On the contents of Joyce's library, see Michael Patrick Gillespie, *James Joyce's Trieste Library: A Catalogue of Materials at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, The University of Texas at Austin* (Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, 1986), p. 177.

[8] Joyce, "*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man": Text, Criticism, and Notes*, ed. Chester G. Anderson (New York: Viking Press, 1968). Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text by *P* and the page numbers.

[9] See Joseph Buttigieg, "The Struggle Against Meta (Phantasma)-Physics: Nietzsche, Joyce, and the 'excess of history,'" in *Why Nietzsche Now?* ed. Daniel O'Hara (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 187-207; Joseph Valente, "Beyond Truth and Freedom: The New Faith of Joyce and Nietzsche," *JJQ*, 25 (Fall 1987), 87-103; Gregory Castle, "'I am almosting it': History, Nature, and the Will to Power in 'Proteus,'" *JJQ*, 29 (Winter 1992), 281-96; Jean-Michel Rabaté, *James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), and *The Pathos of Distance: Affect of the Moderns* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Andrew John Mitchell, "'So it appeals to all of us:' The Death of God, *Finnegans Wake*, and the Eternal Recurrence," *JJQ*, 39 (Spring 2002), 419-33; Sam Slote, *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and Patrick Bixby, "Becoming 'James Overman': Joyce, Nietzsche, and the Uncreated Conscience of the Irish," *Modernism/modernity*, 24 (January 2017), 45-56. Further references to the Valente, Rabaté, Castle, and Slote works will be cited parenthetically in the text with the Rabaté one by *Distance*.

[10] Nietzsche, *Between Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London: Penguin Publishers, 1983), pp. 137-40. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text by *Prelude* and the page numbers.

[11] Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," *Untimely Meditations*, trans. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press,

1983), p. 65. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text by "Uses" and the page numbers.

[12] See Luke Gibbons, *Joyce's Ghosts: Ireland, Modernism, and Memory* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2015).

[13] For a detailed exposition of how these mother figures are conflated in Joyce's text, see Caitriona Moloney, "The Hags of '*Ulysses*': The 'Poor Old Woman,' Cathleen Ni Houlihan, and the Phallic Mother," "Joyce's Women," *JJQ*, 34 (Fall–Winter 1996), 103-20.

[14] Nicholas Grene, *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in Context from Boucicault to Friel* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), p. 51.

[15] Douglas Hyde, "My Grief on the Sea," in *Poems for the Irish*, ed. Monk Gibbon (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1963), pp. 13-14. Richard Begam has observed reverberations of Hyde poem, specifically, "And my love came behind me/ He came from the South/His breast to my bosom/His mouth to my mouth," *Poems for the Irish* (pp. 21-24) in Stephen's "[h]e comes, pale vampire, through storm his eyes, his bat sails bloodying the sea, mouth to her mouth's kiss" (*U* 3.397-98)—see Begam, "Joyce's Trojan Horse: *Ulysses* and the Aesthetics of Decolonization," in *Modernism and Colonialism*, ed. Begam and Michael Valdez (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2007), p. 197.

[16] See Gibbons, "'Have you no homes to go to?': James Joyce and the Politics of Paralysis," *Semicolonial Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), p. 150, and Filson Young, *Ireland at the Crossroads: An Essay in Explanation* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), p. 16.

[17] Nietzsche, *Nietzsche as Critic, Philosopher, Poet and Prophet: Choice Selections from His Works*, trans. Alexander Tille and Thomas Common (London: Grant Richards, 1901), pp. 53-54.

[18] On this, see Thatcher's *Nietzsche in England* (p. 23), and see Nietzsche, *Between Good and Evil*, trans. Helen Zimmern (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1907).

[19] Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (London: William Heinemann, 1895). For a detailed examination of the late-nineteenth-century debates around degeneration theory, see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989).

[20] For an overview of these correspondences, see R. B. Kershner, "Introduction: Biographical and Historical Contexts," in *Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism: "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*," ed. Kershner (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993).

[21] Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce, Volume II*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 48.

[22] In *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998), p. 64, Lawrence Rainey has acknowledged that Joyce selected the paper, typeface, and page layout that was used for each issue. He also chose the color of the cover and specified which inks were to be used to produce this color.

[23] Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), p. 47.

[24] Bridget English, *Laying Out the Bones: Death and Dying in the Modern Irish Novel* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2017), p. 31.

[25] Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge Publishers. 1995), p. 60.

[26] For a detailed account of "*ressentiment*" as Nietzsche conceives it, see his *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, trans. Carol Diethe (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 20-22.

[27] In his highly prejudicial analysis of Nietzsche's life and work, published in *Degeneration* for the first time and translated into English in 1895, Nordau did his utmost to ensure that Nietzsche's writings became associated with the image of a "madman, with flashing eyes, wild gestures, and foaming mouth, spouting forth defaming bombast" (p. 416). He dismissed the work entirely as "a succession of disconnected sallies, prose and doggerel mixed, without beginning or ending" (p. 419). In a trilogy of essays published in *The Savoy* magazine, "Friedrich Nietzsche—I" (April 1896), 79-96, "Friedrich Nietzsche—II" (July 1896), 68-81, and "Friedrich Nietzsche III" (August 1896), 57-63, Havelock Ellis defended the work that Nietzsche produced between 1877 and 1882, that is, *Human, All Too Human: A Book for Free Spirits*, trans. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), *Daybreak: Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morality*, 2nd ed., ed. Maudemarie Clark and Brian Leiter, trans. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), and *The Gay Science*. However, he nonetheless dismissed *Thus Spake Zarathustra* as Nietzsche's "most personal utterance," and everything that followed on the basis that it revealed "the magnification of his own personal mission which finally became a sort of megalomania"—see *Affirmations* (London: Walter Scott, 1898), p. 37. The long-lasting influence of this late-nineteenth-century propensity toward pathologization can be seen in many early-twentieth-century assessments of Nietzsche's writing. Although far more attuned to the subtle complexities in Nietzsche's thought, the first analysis of the German author's work to appear in an Irish periodical, written by John Eglinton and originally published in the vol. 1, September 1904, issue of *Dana* (p. 187), nonetheless concluded that the "conception of the Superman, moulded chiefly by hatred of Christianity and the obsession of his mind by Darwinism, is undoubtedly a little crazy"—see also "A Way of Understanding Nietzsche," in *Anglo-Irish Essays* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1917), p. 99. Coupled with the common misconception that Nietzsche championed the fascistic values espoused by the National Socialists during the interwar period, the question marks around Nietzsche's sanity in the years prior to his complete mental collapse in 1889 persisted until the 1950 publication of Walter Kaufmann's *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1950).

[28] On G. W. F. Hegel, see his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), and see Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, & the Heroic in History* (London: James Frazer, 1841).

[29] In this essay, Nietzsche argues that "there has been no dangerous vacillation or crisis of German culture in this century that has not been rendered more dangerous by the enormous and still continuing influence of this philosophy, the Hegelian" ("Uses," p. 104). Although Nietzsche does not name Carlyle in the text, he would later trace the origins of that which he denounced as prostrated hero worship to the "presumptuous old grumbler and muddle-head Carlyle"—see *Daybreak: Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morality* (p. 154).

[30] Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce, Volume III*, ed. Ellmann (New York: Viking Press, 1966), pp. 335-36.

[31] Zack Bowen, *Musical Allusions in the Work of James Joyce: Early Poetry through "Ulysses"* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1974), p. 62.

[32] See Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2015), p. 249.

[33] See Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey et al. (London: Hogarth Press, 1914-1916), 14:243-58, and Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, *The Shell and the Kernel: Renewals of Psychoanalysis*, ed. and trans. Nicholas T. Rand (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994), 1:126. Further references to both of these works will be cited parenthetically in the text. See also Gibbons's *Joyce's Ghosts* (pp. 160-61).

[34] On this, see Barry McCrea, *In the Company of Strangers: Family and Narrative in Dickens, Conan Doyle, Joyce, and Proust* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011), p. 5.

[35] Mark Osteen, *The Economy "Ulysses": Making Both Ends Meet* (New York: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1995), p. 133.

[36] Jennifer Wicke, "Joyce and Consumer Culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, 2nd ed., ed. Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), p. 244.

[37] For the schema of *Ulysses* Joyce sent to Stuart Gilbert, see Jeri Johnson, ed., *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 734-35.

[38] Horst Breuer, "Henry Flower Writes a Story," *JJQ*, 47 (Fall 2009), 87. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

[39] Terence Killeen, "*Ulysses" Unbound: A Reader's Companion to James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (Dublin: Wordwell Limited, 2012), p. 207.

[40] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (London: Verso Books, 2006), p. 9.

[41] For a discussion of *A Portrait* as a postcolonial *Bildungsroman*, see Gregory Castle, "'Terrible queer creatures at the latter end of the world': *A Portrait* and the Global *Bildungsroman*," *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, 9 (2017), 1-29.