

Ulysses journey - the First Sightings of James Joyce's Masterpiece

By Ed Mulhall

STATELY, plump Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead, bearing a bowl of lather on which a mirror and a razor lay crossed. A yellow dressing gown, ungirdled, was sustained gently behind him on the mild morning air. He held the bowl aloft and intoned:

—*Introibo ad altare Dei,*

Halted, he peered down the dark winding stairs and called up coarsely:

—Come up, Kinch. Come up, you fearful Jesuit.

One of the most famous opening scenes in literature was first published one hundred years ago in March 1918 in a small American literary magazine, the *Little Review*.¹ The opening episode of James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*, not to be published in book form until 1922, introduced Buck Mulligan standing on the parapet of the Martello Tower in Sandycove Co. Dublin, and blessing, with shaving foam, the emergence of Stephan Dedalus at the start of his epic day in Dublin of 1904. That edition of the *Little Review*, published in New York and edited by Margaret Anderson, included pieces by Wyndham Lewis, Ford Madox Ford (Hueffer), Arthur Symons and Ezra Pound. It was the poet Pound, the designated foreign editor of the journal, who had facilitated Joyce's contribution, just as he had done with the serialisation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, in the *Egoist* in London four years earlier.² Pound had joined the *Little Review* with the expressed purpose of publishing Joyce together with his own work, that of T.S. Eliot (who had only recently published his first book *Prufrock and other Observations*) and Wyndham Lewis. He wrote to Margaret Anderson in January 1917: 'I want an "official organ" (vile phrase). I mean I want a place where I and T.S. Elliot can appear once a month (or once an issue) and where James Joyce can appear when he likes, and where Wyndham Lewis can appear if he comes back from the war.'³ Pound had also secured funding from the American lawyer and collector John Quinn to pay for the contributions he sourced.⁴ When commissioning Joyce to contribute Pound had not seen a word of *Ulysses* but once Joyce was

¹ The *Little Review*, New York, March 1918, Vol. 4 No.11. See http://modjourn.org/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=LittleReviewCollection

² See Edward Mulhall, *The Story of James Joyce's tiresome book*, Century Ireland. <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/publishing-the-artists-portrait-james-joyce-and-his-tiresome-book>

³ Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, 26th January 1917, *Pound/The Little Review, the letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson*, edited by Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman, London, 1989 p 6.

⁴ For context of Quinn see B. I. Reid, *The Man from New York, John Quinn and his Friends*, New York, 1965 and Pound: A. David Mood, *Ezra Pound: Poet, Volume 1, The Young Genius*, Oxford, 2007

amenable he committed the *Review* to publish it in serial form (in an arrangement that would also see some of it appear in the *Egoist* as well).⁵ When Pound received the first draft of the opening he immediately saw it was special, he wrote back in a colloquial style: ‘Wall, Mr Joice, I recon your a damn fine writer, that’s what I recon’. An’ I recon this here work o yourn is some concern’d litterchure. You can take it from me, an’ I’m a jedge’. But he also recognised that publishing it was going to cause great difficulty: ‘I suppose we’ll be damn well suppressed if we print the text as it stands. BUT it is damn well worth it.’⁶

The editor of the *Review*, Margaret Anderson, too, was in no doubt once she read the opening episodes. On receiving the first three episodes – which she read together – from Pound, she came to the opening of the third episode ‘Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of things I am here to read...’, she recalled: ‘This is the most beautiful thing we’ll ever have, I cried. We’ll print it if it’s the last effort of our lives.’⁷

Over the next three years they would print episodes (or parts of episodes) nearly every month. Four times issues fell foul of the law; three were seized after publication and burned by order of the Post Office and one led to a prosecution with the editors in court, a case they lost thus preventing further publication. In all, thirteen episodes and part of a fourteenth were published in the *Little Review* (‘Telemachus’ to ‘Oxen of the Sun’), from March 1918 to September/October 1920, with each episode sent first to Pound, who edited sections at times to try and prevent further censorship. The challenge of serial publication gave Joyce a real momentum in his writing of the novel which was growing in complexity as it developed. He worked and reworked episodes while still trying to keep pace with the publication schedule. The planned parallel publication in London did not occur to the same extent with only five small extracts from four episodes published in the *Egoist* due to restrictions from printers fearing litigation.

It was through the *Little Review* that readers saw the developing work of *Ulysses* and Joyce’s reputation as an important figure was established. The poet W.B. Yeats wrote that summer from his tower under re-construction at Ballylee: ‘If I had had this tower of mine when Joyce began to write I dare say I might have been of use to him, have got him to meet those who might have helped him. I think him a most remarkable man, & his new story in *The Little Review* looks like becoming the best work he has done. It is an entirely new thing — neither what the eye sees nor the ear hears but what the rambling mind thinks & imagines from moment to moment. He has certainly surpassed in intensity any novelist of our time.’⁸ George Bernard Shaw, who was sent free copies of the journal at

⁵ See Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver*, New York, 1970, Forrest Read editor, *Pound-Joyce* (New York, 1970)

⁶ Pound to Joyce 19th December 1917, Forrest Read editor, *Pound-Joyce, The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce* (New York, 1970) p. 128

⁷ Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years War*, New York, 1930, p 175. Online here: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39076006846765;view=1up;seq=8>.

⁸ W.B. Yeats to John Quinn, 23rd July 1918, *W. B. Yeats Collected Letters, The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*. Electronic Edition, Virginia, 2002

Pound's insistence, recalled later to Sylvia Beach: 'I have read several fragments of *Ulysses* in its serial form. It is a revolting record of a disgusting phase of civilisation; but it is a truthful one; and I should like to put a cordon round Dublin; round up every male person in it between the ages of 15 and 30; force them to read it; and ask them whether on reflection they could see anything amusing in all that foul mouthed, foul minded derision and obscenity. To you, possibly, it may appeal as art: you are probably (you see I don't know you) a young barbarian beglamoured by the excitements and enthusiasms that art stirs up in passionate material: but to me it all hideously real...It is, however, some consolation to find that at last somebody has felt deeply enough about it to face the horror of writing it all down and using his literary genius to force people to face it. In Ireland they try and make a cat cleanly by rubbing its nose in its own filth. Mr Joyce has tried the same treatment on the human subject. I hope it may prove successful.'⁹

The consideration of the work in literary circles and its development during the serialisation can be seen in Virginia Woolf's reaction. Woolf had been approached by Harriet Weaver, Joyce's benefactor and editor of the *Egoist*, who brought her transcripts to see if she might publish *Ulysses*. She was not inclined to do so: 'We both looked at the MS. Which seems to be an attempt to push the boundaries of expression further on, but still all in the same direction.'¹⁰ But with more of the episodes published other writers were promoting the work. Woolf wrote of a visit from T. S. Eliot: 'A personal upheaval of some kind came after *Prufrock*, & turned him aside from his inclination - to develop in the manner of Henry James. Now he wants to describe externals. Joyce gives internals. His novel *Ulysses* presents the life of man in 16 incidents, all taking place (I think) in one day. This, so far as he has seen it, is extremely brilliant, he says. Perhaps we shall try and publish it.'¹¹ It was however through the efforts of Weaver and Sylvia Beach that *Ulysses* would eventually be published in Paris in February 1922 and complete the journey begun by two other women, Margaret Anderson and her partner Jane Heap in the *Little Review* four years earlier.

The *Little Review* was founded in Chicago by Margaret Anderson who had been working as a literary editor in the city and was seeking on her own description 'inspired conversation'.¹² The magazine aimed to publish 'creative criticism' and in it also featured pieces supportive of radical changes in society including the anarchism of Emma Goldman. The magazine championed the poetry of the 'Imagists' including Pound who at the time of publication had already moved away from association with that group. The direction of the magazine shifted in 1916 when Anderson met Jane Heap, who became a lifelong companion and effective co-editor of the magazine. Heap's influence moved the periodical away from politics and anarchism and instead sought a new focus on quality: 'we shall

⁹ George Bernard Shaw to Sylvia Beach, 11th June 1921, *Bernard Shaw, Collected Letters, 1911-1925*, Edited by Dan H. Laurence, London, 1985, p 719.

¹⁰ Diary entry 16 April, 1918, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. 2, edited by Anne Oliver Bell, London, 1978, p. 137

¹¹ Diary entry 20 September 1920, Bell, London, 1978 p. 168

¹² See Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years War*, New York, 1930 and essays in James Joyce, *The Little Review Ulysses*, edited by Mark Gaipa, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, Yale, 2015 for background to The *Little Review*.

have Art in this magazine or we shall have nothing.’¹³ Dissatisfied with the quality of the material they were receiving, Anderson left thirteen pages of the September 1916 edition blank accompanied by the statement: ‘The *Little Review* hopes to become a magazine of Art. The September issue is offered as a ‘Want’ Ad’.¹⁴ The editors also moved the magazine from Chicago to New York. Pound who had made some small contributions to the magazine from London was prompted by the September edition to write to Anderson asking whether he could be of any use and in January 1917 made his proposal to take over and source funding for a number of pages of the magazine.¹⁵ Anderson readily agreed and in May 1917 Pound wrote his first editorial. At his instigation the masthead of the review now declared: ‘A Magazine for the Arts/Making No Compromise with the Public Taste’.

Pound now stated publicly his reason for becoming foreign editor of the magazine: ‘I wished a place where the current prose writings of James Joyce, Wyndham Lewis, T. S. Eliot and myself might appear regularly, promptly and together rather than irregularly, sporadically, and after useless delay.’ The recent work of the three named writers ‘are not only the most important contributions to English literature of the past three years, but they are practically the only works of the time in which the creative element is present, which in any way show invention, or a progress beyond precedent work.’ He declared too his non-compromising approach ‘The shellfish grows its own shell, the genius creates its own milieu. You the public can kill genius by actual physical starvation, you may perhaps thwart or distort it, but you can in no way create it...There is no misanthropy in a thorough contempt for the mob. There is no respect for mankind save in respect for detached individuals.’¹⁶ Pound and Anderson also acknowledged the association with the *Egoist* in London which had published Joyce’s *Portrait* and Eliot’s *Prufrock* as being ‘the two most important radical organs of contemporary literature’. The lawyer John Quinn delivered the necessary funding for contributors, later telling W.B. Yeats that he paid \$1150 in 1917 and \$750 in 1918 to the *Little Review*.¹⁷

Pound’s energy and contacts invigorated the magazine. He made lists of new subscriptions, wrote pieces for every edition and sourced content; in that May 1917 issue both Eliot and Wyndham Lewis featured; he prepared two special editions of the magazine, one on Henry James (August 1918) and one on French poets which ran for sixty pages (February 1918). He got contributions from Lady Gregory (‘*Hanrahan’s Oath*’), Ford Maddox Ford (‘*Women and Men*’); works by new writers Iris Barry and John Rodker and two significant selections from W.B. Yeats. T.S. Eliot contributed poetry and prose and from Wyndham Lewis there were ‘imaginary’ letters and stories including one for the October 1917 edition called ‘*Cantleman’s Spring-Mate*’ which was seized by the Post Office and saw the *Review* in its first legal battle, with its interests represented by John Quinn. The story concerned a soldier in France and his encounter with a young local girl, and Pound in the March 1918 issue responded to Judge Hand’s judgement which said that ‘classics’ were immune from such interference

¹³ Pound/*The Little Review*, the letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, edited by Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Freeman, London, 1989 p xxiii.

¹⁴ *The Little Review*, September 1916.

¹⁵ See correspondence in Scott/Friedman, London, 1989

¹⁶ All quotes from *The Little Review*, May 1917.

¹⁷ John Quinn to W. B. Yeats 13th September 1918 in *The Letters of John Quinn to William Butler Yeats*, Alan Hember, Ann Arbour, 1983, p. 182

as they ‘usually appeal to a comparatively limited number of people’: ‘No more damning indictment of American civilisation has been written than that contained in Judge Hand’s ‘opinion’. The classics ‘escape’. They are ‘immune’ ‘ordinarily’.’¹⁸

Pound had facilitated the publication of *A Portrait* in the *Egoist* and thus encouraged Joyce to complete his work on the novel and was in regular contact with him, sourcing funding and support.¹⁹ In March 1917 he wrote to Joyce with his plan for the *Little Review* and a request ‘I want SOMETHNG from you even if it is only 500 words...I don’t want at any price to interfere with the progress of “Odysseus”, but you must have some stray leaves of paper, with some sort of arabesques on them...If you haven’t, absolutely haven’t anything, will you send me a note of general good wishes, saying you are ill, but hope to send something soon.’²⁰ Joyce replied with the requested note: ‘I hope to send you something very soon - as soon in fact as my health allows me to resume work. I am much better however, though I am still under care of the doctor. I wish the *Little Review* every success.’ In an accompanying letter Joyce explained to Pound, he could have some poems already sent to *Poetry* if they hadn’t been used. ‘As regards stories I have none. I have some prose sketches, as I told you, but they are locked up in my desk in Trieste. As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter or part of it - which however would suffer by excision...I am a most tiresome writer - to myself at least. It exhausts me before I end it. I wonder if you will like the book I am writing? I am doing it, as Aristotle would say, by different means in different parts. Strange to say, in spite of my illness I have written enough already. As regards my novel it seems to have come to a standstill.’²¹

Joyce had been experiencing serious eye trouble throughout the first half of 1917, beginning with a severe attack of rheumatic iritis in February and this was obviously impairing his work on *Ulysses*.²² His report on the progress of the novel must be considered in light of what is now known of Joyce’s compositional technique.²³ There is a lot of evidence that, rather than work chapter by chapter in a consecutive, linear manner, Joyce instead wrote sections at a time, often from complex and diverse series of notes and only later combined them into the narrative. Thus he might often move to new episodes (or chapters) before finally completing them but knowing that he had the essence of the approach conquered. He wrote about this approach much later to Harriet Weaver: ‘the elements needed will fuse only after a prolonged existence together’²⁴ and he would explain to Pound: ‘I write

¹⁸ *The Little Review*, March 1918.

¹⁹See Edward Mulhall, *The Story of James Joyce’s tiresome book*, Century Ireland. <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/publishing-the-artists-portrait-james-joyce-and-his-tiresome-book>

²⁰ Pound to Joyce, 26th March 1917, Reid, 1970, p. 104

²¹ Joyce to Pound, 9th May 1917, *Letters of James Joyce, Volume 1*, edited by Stuart Gilbert (New York, 1957, p 101. No manuscript of this early version of the ‘Hamlet’ chapter has surfaced but the La Hune auction had an item consisting of ‘dialogues in the library’ that could have been it, it was purchased for Buffalo but never arrived. The earliest extant draft (from Summer 1918) is in the NLI and still is this dialogue format NLI MS 36,639/8. Crispi,2017

²² See Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York, 1959) 1982, Chapter 25 and 26.

²³ See works by Luca Crispi, Michael Groden, Rodney Wilson Owen, Daniel Ferrer and Sam Slote in Reading list.

²⁴ Joyce to Harriet Weaver, 12th July 1920, Gilbert, 1957, p 142.

and think all day and part of the night. It goes on as it has been going on these five or six years! But the ingredients will not fuse until they have reached a certain temperature.’²⁵ Thus when Joyce announced to his brother Stanislaus dramatically on 16 June 1915 that the first episode had been written and outlined the plan for the rest, he had in fact drafts already done of parts of the second and third episodes, as well, at least, as sketches for sections of many other episodes in the book.²⁶ And as we see from the letter to Pound the first episode was not in a publishable state yet. Herbert Gorman, his first biographer, whose work was overseen by Joyce, said that Joyce began serious work on *Ulysses* in Trieste in 1914 starting by outlining preliminary sketches of the final sections, then the opening ones and was in the middle of the third episode ‘Proteus’, with Stephen on Sandymount Strand, when he left Trieste for Zurich.²⁷ Gorman wrote that Joyce had reached the point in ‘Proteus’ which read ‘A choir gives back menace and echo, assisted about the altar’s horns, the snorted Latin of jackpriests moving burly in their albs, tonsured and oiled and gelded, fat with the fat of kidneys of wheat’ and would continue from there in Switzerland. Within days of the Stanislaus postcard (30 June), Joyce wrote to Pound that he had finished the ‘first two episodes’ and it was a ‘continuation of *A Portrait of the Artist as Young Man* after three years interval blended with many of the persons of *Dubliners*.’²⁸

Scholarship on Joyce’s writing method has been greatly enhanced by study of Joyce’s surviving manuscripts, with the earliest extant drafts from *Ulysses* - that of ‘Proteus’ and ‘Sirens’ - in the National Library of Ireland dated to 1917, with these likely to have been copied from even earlier versions. The ‘Proteus’ segment does not have the full text that would be sent for typing in December. The famous beginning sentence is not present and the sections are in a different order.²⁹ If Gorman was correct and Joyce continued work on ‘Proteus’ on arrival in Zurich then this draft could be a copy of that work as Joyce would later tell Harriet Weaver that it was a ‘long time’ in the second draft. It took him ‘200 hours of work before he wrote it out finally’, in the version completed in Locarno in December 1917, the manuscript of which also survived.³⁰ In October 1916, he told Weaver he had ‘almost finished the first part and had written out part of the middle and the end’ and

²⁵ Joyce to Pound 24th June 1917 cited by Luca Crispi, see his Luca Crispi, *A Ulysses Manuscripts Workbook, Appendix: A New Census of Ulysses Holograph Manuscripts*, Genetic Joyce Studies, Spring 2017. My thanks to Luca Crispi for copies of the unpublished Joyce Pound correspondence referred to.

²⁶ See Rodney Wilson Owen, 1983. Work in Trieste definitely included sketches of the final two sections Ithaca and Penelope as Joyce later sought them before completing the episodes, but also, Scylla, Sirens, Eumaeus possibly Lotus Eaters, Calypso, Hades see Crispi, 2017.

²⁷ Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce, A definitive biography* (London, 1941) p 222 and 228, for a guide to the episodes see Terence Killeen, *Ulysses Unbound*, Dublin, 2004.

²⁸ Pound to Joyce 30th June 1915, referenced by Crispi, 2017, Norburn, 2004

²⁹ See Luca Crispi, *A First Foray into the National Library of Ireland Joyce Manuscripts*, Genetic Joyce Studies, Spring 2011, Daniel Ferrer, What Song the Siren Sang is no longer beyond All Conjecture, *James Joyce Quarterly*, Fall 2001 and Sam Slote, *Epiphanic “Proteus”*, Genetic Joyce Studies, Spring 2005. For the most recent chronology of the manuscripts see Luca Crispi, *A Ulysses Manuscripts Workbook, Appendix: A New Census of Ulysses Holograph Manuscripts*, Genetic Joyce Studies, Spring 2017. See the Proteus manuscript, NLI MS 36,639/7/A-
Bhttp://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000357771#page/1/mode/1up

³⁰ Joyce to Weaver, 18/5/1918, Gilbert 1957, 1966, p.113, The Proteus draft is Buffalo, the NLI draft contains the words quoted by Gorman.

to Pound he added ‘all the rest of my work is bewildering mass of papers for *Ulysses* that I carry round in a very large envelope that I possess for the last twelve years.’³¹

In 1917, Pound persisted, saying he was trying to get the pages expanded so that the format was big enough to ‘hold’ *Ulysses* once it was ready.³² Throughout the summer Pound was making arrangements to help fund Joyce (who was to undergo eye surgery) including facilitating the purchase of manuscripts by John Quinn.

Joyce responded within a few weeks that he had finished the draft of ‘Hades’ and ‘Lotus Eaters’ and was getting the notes together for the ‘Aeolus’ episode.³³ The speed with which this was done indicates that these episodes had also been at advance stage at this time. The possibility of publication was an incentive for Joyce despite his continued eye difficulty. In late July he wrote a verse to Pound: ‘Ulysses born anew, In Dublin as an Irish Stew.’³⁴ Joyce committed in August that he would deliver it serially to the *Little Review* and *Egoist* (receiving double fees), starting in January with instalments of about 6,000 words.³⁵ He underwent an iridectomy on 21 August and spent the next two months recovering. Nora handled his correspondence during this time.³⁶

In September Pound wrote to Nora Joyce (as James was recovering) confirming the serialisation plan for *Ulysses*: ‘The *Egoist* is going to serialise *Ulysses* - that much you can tell James. So long as he gets paid very soon I don’t suppose it matters what month the actual printing of the story begins. The *Little Review* is ready to hold down the American copyright for him, and print to synchronise with the *Egoist*...I think the chances of James getting £100 altogether for the serial rights to ‘*Ulysses*’ (or for as much of it as printers will print) are fairly good.’³⁷

On 12 October Joyce was sufficiently recovered from his eye operation to travel from Zurich to Locarno to convalesce and within a week or two was back at work correcting proofs of his play *Exiles* and getting *Ulysses* ready. The prospect of serial publication meant that Joyce now turned to work on

³¹ Joyce to Harriet Weaver, 10th October 1916, Ellmann, 1966, Joyce to Pound 14th October 1916. The ‘middle’ could include “Sirens” (and ‘Scylla’) which might point to a composition of some of it adjacent to “Proteus”. The end certainly includes drafts of Ithaca and Penelope as Joyce remained confident in their state of readiness and had left notes for them behind in Trieste.

³² Pound to Joyce, 19 April 1917, Read, 1967 p. 111

³³ Joyce to Pound, 5 June 1917 referenced in Roger Norburn, *A James Joyce Chronology* (New York 2004) p 76 and see Norburn for the chronology which follows.

³⁴ Pound to Joyce, 24th July 1917, Crispi transcript. It begins “Now let a while my messmates be My Ponderous Penelope And thy Ulysses born anew, In Dublin as Irish stew.”

³⁵ Joyce to Pound, 20 August 1917 referenced in Norburn, 2004 p. 76

³⁶ See Ellmann, 1982

³⁷ Pound to Nora Joyce, 10th September 1917, Read 1967, p 125

the episodes consecutively to prepare them for typing and dispatch and to assist the work organised his available materials. Another important manuscript in the National Library collection the 'Subject Notebook' was begun then in Locarno. In it Joyce seems to gather collections of existing notes, adding new ones and grouping them under character and subject headings (Under Leopold's character his wife 'Mollie' is mentioned).³⁸

Examining the notebook has also allowed scholars access to sources of additions to the drafts such as that of the opening of 'Proteus' the final draft of which comes from these weeks.³⁹ The German words *Nacheinander* and *Nebeneinander* are attributed to notes from the concepts of Otto Weininger, copied to the notebook and added to the final draft completed in Locarno 'I am, a stride at a time. A very short space of time though very short times of space. Five, six the *Nacheinander*. Exactly: and that is the ineluctable modality of the audible. Open your eyes. No Jesus! If I fell over a cliff that beetles o'er his base, fell through the *Nebeneinander* ineluctably I am getting on nicely in the dark.'⁴⁰

Pound followed up with another letter to Nora asking whether *Ulysses* was so far finished that a chapter would be ready by the new year in spite of the operation. Joyce wrote in early December confirming the news that the first chapter was being typed in Zurich and that he would send it as soon as possible. He confirmed it was the three episodes of the 'Telemachus' ('Telemachus', 'Nestor' and 'Proteus', a 'chapter of the woovers falls out'), that the other sections were the 'Odyssey' with 12 episodes and the 'Nostos' for three episodes but the episode names were not to be used in the review.⁴¹ We know from other correspondence with Claud Sykes, the actor and producer (with Joyce) of the English Players in Zurich, who was organising the typing of the episodes, that Joyce had delivered the first episode for typing at the start of December. He sent the second episode to Sykes on the 16 December and was dealing with corrections of the typescript thereafter.⁴² Pound acknowledged receipt of the first typescript on 19 December suggested a new spelling for 'Daedalus' and enthused about the work: 'The opening is echt Joyce'.⁴³ In the January edition of the *Little Review* Margaret Anderson proclaimed that *Ulysses* would be serialised in the *Little Review* and cited Pound: 'It is, I believe, even better than the *Portrait*. So far it has been read by only one critic of international reputation. He says: 'It is certainly worth running a magazine if one can get stuff like this to put in it,

³⁸ NLI MS 36,639/3, viewable here;

<http://catalogue.nli.ie/Search/Results?lookfor=36%2C639%2F3&type=AllFields&submit=FINN>. For character development in *Ulysses* see Luca Crispi, *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in Ulysses*, Oxford 2015.

³⁹ Wim Van Mierlo, *The Subject Notebook: A Nexus in the Composition History of Ulysses- A Preliminary Analysis*, Genetic Joyce Studies, Issue 7, Spring 2007. See also Crispi, 2011 and 2015. Joyce followed a similar pattern of organising notes before completing an episode with Circe see Joyce to Weaver 5th June 1920. Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon, *James Joyce The Lost Notebook*, Edinburgh, 1989 has a reconstruction of another notebook from this time.

⁴⁰ *The Little Review*, May 1918. James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 3.11-15. The draft is in Buffalo, in a copybook similar to the notebook in the NLI.

⁴¹ Joyce to Pound, early December 1917, Crispi transcript..

⁴² See Norburn 2004 and Ellmann, 1982, for full details of transmission to Sykes.

⁴³ Pound to Joyce, 19 December, 1917, Read, 1917, p. 128

compression, intensity. It looks to me rather better than Flaubert.' This announcement means we are about to publish a prose masterpiece.'⁴⁴

Pound received the March edition on Good Friday, 29 March and wrote to Joyce: 'We got your first instalment into print. 30 copies have reached me here. I supposed we'll be suppressed. The *Egoist* printers won't set up the stuff at all. I don't mind suppression for the first chapter. It's worth it.' He was already wary of the content to come. He had read the typescript of Episode 4, 'Calypso', and the introduction of Leopold Bloom with his wife Molly in Eccles St.: 'Section 4 has excellent things in it; but you overdo the matter... I think certain things simply bad writing, in this section. Bad because you waste the violence. You use a stronger word than you need and this is bad art, just as needless superlatives are bad art. The contrast between Bloom's interior poetry and his outward surroundings is excellent, but it will come up without such detailed treatment of the dropping faeces'. Pound was even worried about the description of Bloom's breakfast kidneys: 'I'm not even sure 'urine' is necessary in the opening page. The idea could be conveyed just as definitely... At any rate the thing is risk enough without the full details of the morning disposition. If we are suppressed too often we'll be suppressed finally and for all, to the damn'd stoppage of all our stipends. AND I can't have our august editress jailed. NOT at any rate for a passage which I do not think written with utter maestria. (Hence these tears).'⁴⁵ Pound at the same time was defending the work to Quinn who had misgivings about the opening episode but he told him he had excised about twenty lines before sending off episode four to New York.⁴⁶

Pound and Anderson began silently editing the episodes to try and avoid suppression. Joyce, replying to Pound, was firm that his text was to stay exactly as he wrote it and insisted that publishers be told that any deletions must be restored. He pointed the deletions out to Harriet Weaver (who had been meeting the Woolf's) on 29 July as comprising of 'some sentences' in the March edition and these 'paragraphs' from episode 4.⁴⁷ Joyce, many years later, was quoted defending the principle of not changing his text to accommodate the censor: 'To consent would be an admission that the expurgated parts are not indispensable. Either they are put in gratuitously without reference to my general purpose; or they are an integral part of my book. If they are mere interpolations, my book is inartistic; and if they are strictly in their place they cannot be left out.'⁴⁸

The value of having this particular work in print as it progressed was evident to the writer himself. Joyce in Zurich in 1918 loaned the copies of the *Little Review* with the first three episodes to his friend the artist Frank Budgen. Budgen was impressed with 'Proteus'. Joyce agreed: 'It's my own

⁴⁴ *The Little Review*, January 1918

⁴⁵ Pound to Joyce, 29th March, 1918. Read, 1967 p 131.

⁴⁶ *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, edited by Timothy Materer London, 1991

⁴⁷ Joyce to Harriet Weaver, 29th July 1918, Gilbert, 1957, p.115. For detail on the editing of each extract see Gaipa, Latham and Scholes, 2015.

⁴⁸ Ellmann, 1982, p. 653

preference. You understand this is the opening of the book? My Ulysses appears in the next episode...It's the struggle with Proteus. Change is the theme. Everything changes- sea, sky, man, animals. The words change, too.'⁴⁹ Joyce then read through the work in a 'smooth easy way without emphasis', sometimes laughing, sometimes pausing for comment, as when he read the telegram summoning Stephen back to this mother's deathbed: 'I haven't let this young man off very lightly, have I? Many writers have written about themselves. I wonder if any of them have been as candid as I.' When he finished Budgen observed 'Joyce laid down the *Little Review*. At times in reading the long monologue, he had sunk his voice to a talking-to-himself murmur so that only precise articulation and a silent room allowed it to be audible. But inside this small scale of tones and with a minimum of emphasis he expressed all the moods of reverie, mockery, perception.'⁵⁰

Joyce's pace of completion was remarkable. Following 'Calypso' in March, he sent 'Hades' with Bloom in the funeral cortege in July, the fifth episode Lotus Eaters in April and in August 'Aeolus', the scene in the newspaper office, even though he had another eye attack that month. The next episode 'Lestrygonians' saw a longer gap, perhaps due to Joyce's health issues, the length of the piece and its growing complexity with a greater use of interior monologue. It was delivered to Pound in October but by then the serialisation had caught up, so there were no episodes in the November or December issues and when 'Lestrygonians', the episode with Bloom at lunch, appeared it was spread over two instalments.⁵¹ Pound had put the editors on notice that summer that there might be a break in the *Ulysses* extracts but he was also arranging the prompt publication of a new poem by W.B. Yeats that the poet wanted printed as soon as possible. Pound instructed that other poems by Yeats and Eliot be postponed to make way. The poem *In Memory of Robert Gregory* was in the September 1918 issue. Lady Gregory had asked Yeats to commemorate the death of her airman son; this was the first of four poems he would write.⁵² So in the bloody final weeks of a terrible war readers of the *Review* read Yeats's elegy where a 'thought of that late death took all my heart for speech', together with Eliot's *Sweeney among the Nightingales* where the nightingales 'sang within the bloody wood, when Agamemnon cried aloud' and then Joyce's 'Hades' with Bloom amongst the grief, the history and the grim headstones in Glasnevin cemetery 'How many. All these here once walked around Dublin. Besides how could you remember everybody?'⁵³ The end of the First World War with the Armistice on 11 November opened up new possibilities for Pound and Joyce with the prospect of being able to travel in Europe again.

⁴⁹Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the making of Ulysses*, Oxford, 1972 p 48,52

⁵⁰ Budgen, 1972, p 56, 57

⁵¹ Chronology from Norburn 2004, publication details from Gaipa/Latham/Scholes, Yale, 2015.

⁵² W.B. Yeats, *In Memory of Robert Gregory*, *The Little Review*, September, 1918. Pound to Anderson, 4th July 1918, Scott etc, 1988 p 237. For more on Gregory see Ray Burke, *Challenge to official account of Gregory death*, RTE, 6th January 1918: <https://www.rte.ie/news/analysis-and-comment/2018/0101/930446-robert-gregory/> and Ed Mulhall, *The Lady and the VC*, Century Ireland <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/the-lady-and-the-v.c.-lady-gregory-yeats-shaw-and-the-recruitment-play-that>.

⁵³ *The Little Review*, September 1918, for context see Gaipa, Latham, Scholes, 2015 pp 397-99. For the novel Joyce interpolated: "Faithful departed. As you are now so once where we." . Joyce, Paris, 1922 p 109.

The January 1919 edition with 'Lestrygonians' was seized by the Post Office before it had been fully mailed so the next issue with the second part was February/March. (January 1919 also contained a discussion of Joyce's play *Exiles* including Jane Heap and the *Dreaming of the Bones* play by W. B. Yeats).⁵⁴ Pound, unconnected to the seizure, had stopped acting as foreign editor of the *Little Review* in the spring of 1919 with the end of Quinn's direct funding and moved to France. Joyce finished 'Scylla and Charybdis', the "Hamlet" episode set in the National Library of Ireland, in December 1918 and, though ill in January, completed 'Wandering Rocks' by dictation to his friend Frank Budgen. 'Sirens' followed in May (with Joyce's work interrupted by some further eye difficulty).⁵⁵ 'Sirens', set in the Ormond Hotel, had changed a great deal from the early draft version that can be seen in the manuscript now in the National Library of Ireland. In the Library manuscripts scholars have traced the transitions. In the first segment after the early 'Proteus' draft Bloom is absent from the scene, a reference to the song 'my Irish Molly O' punctuates a pause in the writing. A later addition in the same copybook begins with Bloom present in the scene, his interior dialogue and the piece with its musical allusions begins to take more shape. A later manuscript also in the National Library notes the moment Joyce imposed a new stylistic 'musical' structure on the episode.⁵⁶ This marked Joyce entering a new phase of writing for the novel, with increasing complexity and the episodes taking a longer time to complete.⁵⁷ The May edition of *Little Review*, containing the second extract of 'Scylla and Charybdis' was again seized. Margaret Anderson had told her readers that she cut passages to avoid interference, as had happened in January, though they included 'natural facts known to everyone.'⁵⁸ (One passage was that where Buck Mulligan asserts Stephen had 'pissed' upon John Millington Synge's doorstep.)⁵⁹ John Quinn made a submission to the Post Office on behalf of the *Little Review* and defended Joyce saying that suppression was unjustified but the Post Office in reply said that it was not the passage of Joyce's work that was objected to but the edition in general including some nude drawings.⁶⁰

The magazine continued its publication with 'Wandering Rocks' in June and July and with 'Sirens' in August and September 1919. Joyce had begun work on the lengthy 'Cyclops' with its encounter between Bloom and the 'Citizen', throughout that summer and it was delivered to Pound in early October. Pound thought it 'the best thing you had written'.⁶¹ Joyce moved back to Trieste on the 17 October and was reunited with his brother Stanislaus, who had been interned during the war and also with his sister Eileen and with his books and notes. There was no episode published in the October issue but 'Cyclops' ran from November 1919 to March, 1920. But again the January 1920 edition with 'Cyclops' was seized by the Post Office and the copies burned. Around this time Joyce wrote to

⁵⁴ *The Little Review, January 1919.*

⁵⁵ See Budgen's account of Ulysses : Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the making of Ulysses*, Oxford, 1972.

⁵⁶ See Crispi and Ferrer , 2001. NLI MS 36,639/7/B and NLI MS 36,639/9. Viewable here:

<http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000357775/HierarchyTree> . Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Focus*, Florida, 2010 p. 28

⁵⁷ See Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Progress*, Princeton, 1977 and *Ulysses in Focus*, Florida, 2010.

⁵⁸ *The Little Review* May 1919.

⁵⁹ Joseph M. Hassett, *The Ulysses Trials*, Dublin, 2016, p. 62

⁶⁰ See Hassett, 2016 for full account of legal details.

⁶¹ Pound to Joyce, 25th October, 1919.

Harriet Weaver 'This is the second time I have had the pleasure of being burned while on earth so that I hope that I shall pass through the fires of purgatory as quickly as my patron S. Aloysius.'⁶² (As he was referring to the May burning in this letter, he had in fact been burned a third time!) Harriet Weaver's own efforts to serialize *Ulysses* came to an end in December 1919 when the *Egoist* ceased to publish. It had only succeeded in publishing about three and a half episodes, using the *Little Review* typescripts, in five numbers.⁶³ Margaret Anderson recalled her frustration at the latest seizure by the Post Office: 'The care we had taken to preserve Joyce's text intact; the worry over the bills that accumulated when we had no advance funds; the technique I used on printer, bookbinder, paper houses - tears, prayers, hysterics or rages - to make them push ahead without a guarantee of money; the addressing, wrapping, mailing; the excitement of anticipating the world's response to the literary masterpiece of our generation...and then a notice from the Post Office: BURNED.'⁶⁴

'Nausicaa', with Bloom and 'Gertie MacDowell' on Sandymount Strand, was sent to Pound in February 1920 (Joyce told Jane Heap in March that part of the final 'Nostos' section has already been written and he was at work on "Oxen of the Sun").⁶⁵ 'Nausicaa' began in the *Little Review* in April 1920, continued in May-June (when 'Oxen' was sent to Pound) and completed in July/August. Joyce and his family moved to Paris to live in July at Pound's urging and met him there. (He was sharing accommodation with eleven others in Trieste and had originally considered returning to Ireland for three months to complete 'Circe', the long Nighttown episode, and the close of the book, with Nora and the children staying in Galway, but the 'disturbed state of Ireland' was a reason not to⁶⁶). Joyce encountered Sylvia Beach at her bookshop Shakespeare and Company on 12 July, a few days after arriving, and the same day wrote to Harriet Weaver that he had come to Paris to complete the 'last adventure' 'Circe' in peace and also the first episode of the closing, a great part of the final two episodes had been written 'several years' ago.⁶⁷ (He had brought with him a recast of his notes for the episode, a manuscript and notes of the insertions to be made into earlier episodes). 'Oxen of the Sun', set in the maternity hospital and with its complex literary style, was featured in the September-December 1920 issue of the *Little Review*, the last to carry an extract.⁶⁸

The July/August edition containing the final selection of 'Nausicaa' saw the *Little Review* prosecuted. The case was taken by John Sumner, the secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, an organisation invested by the New York State legislature with the power to enforce the state's

⁶² Joyce to Weaver, 25th February 1920, Gilbert 1957 p136

⁶³ *Egoist* :Nestor Jan-Feb 1919, Proteus Mar-April, Hades July, Hades Sept. and Wandering Rocks Dec. 1919 . Digital copies here: http://www.modjourn.org/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=EgoistCollection. See Lidderdale/Nicholson, New York 1970 for story of magazine.

⁶⁴ Anderson, 1930, p.175

⁶⁵ Norburn, 2004, p. 91

⁶⁶ Joyce to Pound, 5th June 1920, Ellmann, 1966 p 468)

⁶⁷ Joyce to Weaver, 12th July 1920, Gilbert, 1957 p. 142

⁶⁸ Chronology from Norburn 2004, publication details from Gaipa/Latham/Scholes, Yale, 2015

obscenity laws. Pound wrote to Joyce 'Nausika has been pinched by the PO-lice'.⁶⁹ For Joyce *Ulysses* was becoming his 'world troubling seaman.'⁷⁰ It was initially the Washington Square bookseller from whom the daughter of a New York lawyer purchased the edition that was prosecuted but Anderson and Heap were substituted as defendants and represented in the case by John Quinn. Quinn initially tried to negotiate a settlement with Sumner over the heads of the editors by promising that the magazine would cease publishing extracts but the prosecution had been set in train and went to court.⁷¹ The case had its preliminary hearing on 21 October 1920, with Anderson and Heap granted bail until the trial proper before the Court of Special Sessions on 14 and 21 of February 1921. Joseph Hassett has argued that Quinn was an unsuitable counsel. He was conflicted through his own financial interest in having the work published as a novel rather than in a magazine, his own prudish and conservative views were not disposed to argue for *Ulysses* as a work of Art and he was not in tune with the potential of recent judgements on free speech and censorship in the region.⁷²

W. B. Yeats' father John Butler Yeats had sent Quinn a detailed argument supporting the work on artistic grounds. 'Joyce is a man of genius, inspired by an intense feeling for what is actual and true, and he sees the whole world, especially in his own native city, Dublin, living luxuriously in the lap of falsehood. He would awaken these people. He is a patriot, above all an Irish patriot.'⁷³ But despite this and the wishes of the editors, Quinn did not argue on artistic or free speech grounds. He said that the work was too complex to corrupt an innocent mind. The average reader would not be harmed by Joyce's prose 'because if they read the magazine, which was improbable, they would be either unable to comprehend Joyce's style, or would be bored and disgusted.'⁷⁴ The prosecution countered by reading out large sections of the episode. Quinn said that even he did not understand it, to which one judge responded: 'Yes... it sounds to me like the ravings of a disordered mind - I can't see why anyone would publish it.'⁷⁵ Joyce, having read an account of the trial in the *New York Tribune*, commented to Harriet Weaver that the offence was less grotesque than the defence. Anderson and Heap were found guilty and fined \$50 each and barred from printing any additional portions of *Ulysses* in their magazine. Quinn had persuaded them they had no chance in an appeal thus the September-December 1920 edition, with only part of 'Oxen and the Sun' published, saw the end of the *Little Review* and *Ulysses*. It also meant that there was a legal obstacle preventing *Ulysses* being published in the United States and this would continue until Judge John Woolsey's celebrated judgement in 1933.⁷⁶ The principles enshrined in that judgement that the artistic quality of a work was

⁶⁹ Pound to Joyce, October 1920, Read, 1967, p 184, see Hassett, 2014 for full account of legal proceedings, see also Kevin Birmingham, *The Most Dangerous Book*, London 2014

⁷⁰ Joyce to Quinn 20th November, 1918, quoted in B. I. Reid, *The Man from New York, John Quinn and his Friends*, New York, 1965 p 440

⁷¹ See Reid, 1965 p 445.

⁷² Hassett, 2004 and Paul Vanderham, *James Joyce and Censorship*, New York, 1998.

⁷³ William M. Murphy, *Prodigal Father*, Cornell, 1978, p 518. For more on John Yeats see Colm Tóibín, *The Father in Exile*, London Review of Books, VI N2, 25th January 2018.

⁷⁴ Hassett, 2016, p 97.

⁷⁵ Margaret Anderson editor, *The Little Review Anthology*, New York, 1955 p 307.

⁷⁶ See Hassett, 2016, Chapter 6.

a defence against suppression on obscenity grounds, those not argued by Quinn in the earlier case, remain important safeguards against suppression of literary works in the United States.⁷⁷

Joyce had been shown the account of the trial in the *Tribune* by Sylvia Beach in her Paris bookshop and had transcribed its detail. Now he approached her to publish the book. She agreed.⁷⁸ It was published on February 2nd 1922. Her partner Adrienne Monnier published the first French translation. Pound remained closely involved with Joyce telling him on 29 October 1921 that with his completion of 'Ithaca', with Bloom and Stephen returning home, the writing of *Ulysses* was ended.⁷⁹ Quinn received the completed fair copy manuscript and later, much to Joyce's annoyance sold it on to Dr. A.S. Rosenbach in whose library collection it remains. John Quinn and James Joyce met in Paris for the first time in the summer of 1921. Quinn told Yeats they discussed him and Joyce's memory of his meeting John M. Synge in Paris in 1902.⁸⁰ The *Little Review* had published what was almost a first draft of the novel. In a celebrated photograph from a later Paris visit Joyce and Quinn are seen with the other important writers of the *Little Review*, Pound and Ford Maddox Ford.⁸¹ In addition to the four episodes not included in the *Review*, Joyce added an estimated third of extra text as the work was prepared for publication. Reading the *Little Review* in sequence shows the bare essence of the work, uncluttered by the elaborate structural and stylistic additions, with the principal characters of Stephen and Bloom more to the forefront in the absence of Molly's final flourish. But there too is a work in development with Joyce growing more confident and ambitious in his approach to the centre of the work as the episodes expanded, perhaps now seeing more clearly the book as a whole knowing that its end sequence was drafted and waiting.

The *Little Review* lost its printer after the court case but despite some interruption continued publication until 1929. In 1923 Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap moved to Paris. Anderson was inspired to travel to Europe by a meeting with W.B. Yeats and they were entertained on their crossing by a fellow passenger who had once shared a bill with Joyce, tenor John A. McCormack. In Paris they finally met James Joyce and Nora at Ezra Pound's studio. Anderson recalled her first impression: 'Joyce was like a portrait of my father as a young man - the same gentle bearing, the same kindness, the same deprecating humour in the smile, the same quality of personal aristocracy...He gave me the impression of having less escape from suffering about irremediable things than anyone I had ever known...No writer has such need of his eyes than Joyce... and Joyce's eyesight is failing.'⁸² Joyce

⁷⁷ For a contemporary example see Joseph M. Hassett, *Trump can't ban 'Fire and Fury.'* Thanks to Joyce's 100-year old 'Ulysses' for that," Washington Post, 15th January, 2018.

⁷⁸ Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, New York, 1959, p 47.

⁷⁹ Joyce to Pound, 29th October, 1921, ref Crispi notes. 'Penelope' had been completed earlier.

⁸⁰ Quinn to Yeats, 6th September, 1921, *The Letters of John Quinn to William Butler Yeats*, Alan Hiber, Ann Arbor, 1983, p 260

⁸¹ See 1923 photo here: <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/joyce/network/index.html>, and here; <http://www.alamy.de/stockfoto-joyce-pfund-quinn-ford-nfrom-von-links-nach-rechts-schriftsteller-james-joyce-und-ezra-pound-rechtsanwalt-und-kunstmazen-john-quinn-und-autor-ford-madox-ford-fotografiert-in-pounds-haus-in-paris-1923-95580467.html>.

⁸² Anderson, 1930 p 244 to 248

told Anderson of his meeting with Proust at a dinner ‘I regret that I don’t know Mr Joyce’s work’, said Proust. ‘I have never read Mr. Proust,’ said Joyce. And that was the end of their conversation.’⁸³ Nora, Anderson recalled, was: ‘charming. She is good drama. Her Irish mockery and personal challenge furnish Joyce with a continual, necessary and delightful foil. She teases and tyrannises him. She has spirit and independence which she has been willing (one feels not without rebellion) to subordinate to her devotion to a great man she considers great in spite of ‘his necessity to write those books no one can understand.’ Joyce though ‘doesn’t consider it a valid excuse for people to say they can’t read him because he is too hard to understand.’⁸⁴ He felt they should make the effort.

In the final edition of the *Little Review*, in May 1929, Jane Heap wrote that the publication of *Ulysses* was the one ‘masterpiece’ that they had produced. ‘*Ulysses* will have to be the masterpiece of this time. But it is too personal, too tortured, too special a document to be a masterpiece in the true sense of the word. It is an intense and elaborate expression of Mr. Joyce’s dislike of this time.’⁸⁵ For the final edition, the editors sent out a questionnaire asking ‘the artists of the world what they were thinking and feeling about their lives and work.’ Most of their contributors responded, among them Emma Goldman, Jean Cocteau, Tristan Zara, Ernest Hemingway, Aldous Huxley, Marianne Moore, Gertrude Stein, Bertrand Russell and Mina Loy. Wyndham Lewis sent best wishes, T.S. Eliot and Ford Maddox Ford longer letters. Ezra Pound wrote asking that they print pieces they had rejected in 1926, when last he had assisted them. (Anderson replied that his ‘stale witticisms’, had been thrown into the waste basket ‘you really couldn’t expect to get away with them in a magazine published in New York in 1926’). Joyce asked them to come over to his apartment to discuss the questionnaire: ‘Mr Joyce decided to produce his answers after tea, or during his evening walk along the Rue de Grenelle. Later he telephoned that he really could find nothing to say.’⁸⁶

Note: all copies of the *Little Review* containing *Ulysses* can be seen in a digital format at the Modernist Journal Project from Volume 4 Number 11 to Volume 7 Number 3:
http://modjourn.org/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=LittleReviewCollection.

The National Library of Ireland ‘Proteus’ Manuscript is here:
<http://catalogue.nli.ie/Search/Results?lookfor=proteus&type=AllFields&filter%5B%5D=format%3A%22Manuscript%22&view=lis>

⁸³ Anderson, 1930 p 248, For photo of Anderson, Heap and Pound in Paris see
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jane_Heap#/media/File:Jane_Heap,_Mina_Loy,_and_Ezra_Pound.jpg

⁸⁴ Anderson, 1930 p 246

⁸⁵ Anderson, 1955, The *Little Review*, May 1928.

⁸⁶ Anderson, 1955, p 370

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