

# THE CELTIC UNCONSCIOUS

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Joyce and Scottish Culture

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- CP* Joyce, James. *Collected Poems*. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
- CSD* Robinson, Mairi, ed. *Concise Scots Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Polygon at Edinburgh, 1999.
- CW* Joyce, James. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*. Edited by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1959.
- D* Joyce, James. *Dubliners*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- FW* Joyce, James. *Finnegans Wake*. New York: Viking Press, 1939. Citations are made in the standard fashion, i.e., page number followed by line number.
- JJI* Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- JJII* Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- LI, LII, LIII* Joyce, James. *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol. I, edited by Stuart Gilbert. New York: Viking Press, 1957. Vols. II and III, edited by Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1966.
- OCPW* Joyce, James. *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writings*. Edited by Kevin Barry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- OED* Online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.
- P* Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- PE* Joyce, James. *Poems and Exiles*. London: Penguin, 1992.
- U* Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Edited by Hans Walter Gabler. Corrected text. New York: Random House, 1986. Citations are made in the normal way: episode number followed by line number.

# Introduction

## Joyce, Celticism, and Scotography

Over the past few decades the critical conception of James Joyce as a detached, apolitical, and denationalized writer has been abandoned. Works such as Emer Nolan's *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1995), Vincent Cheng's *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (1995), Trevor Williams's *Reading Joyce Politically* (1997), and Andrew Gibson's *Joyce's Revenge* (2002) have placed Joyce's work firmly within political contexts and into the vexed debates of postcolonial discourses. According to Leonard Orr, "it will surprise most readers to note how recent the concept of a political Joyce is. . . . Critics of the 1950s through 1970s treated Joyce as either entirely disinterested in politics or having only a superficial understanding [of] matters outside of literature and aesthetics" (Orr, 1). Furthermore, Joyce's specific cultural and historical context—his background in late nineteenth- / early twentieth-century Ireland—has been given much greater attention. Gregory Castle has commented that "Joyce's Irishness, when it is not subordinated to considerations of style and narrative, frustrates those critics who wish to read his work in the context of an Anglo-European tradition of modernism that eschews the local in favor of a pan-historical universalism" (*Modernism*, 208).

Naturally, as part of this relatively new presentation of Joyce as a writer engaged with the themes of imperialism, colonialism, and Irish history, a great deal of attention has been paid—in theory—to Joyce's

commentary on Britain. Unfortunately, what this has almost always meant in practice is the production of work on Joyce and England. See for example the absence of any real deconstruction of the term Britain in Andrew Gibson and Len Platt's *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* (2006). As a result of this critical neglect, a crucial area of Joyce studies has been left totally underdeveloped, namely the matter of Joyce and Scotland. And as Willy Maley points out, "the separateness of Scotland from the rest of Britain has, along with its affinities with Ireland, been rendered invisible in much history and criticism" ("Kilt by Kelt," 202). This is despite the fact that, for example, "Ireland . . . was a lordship of the English crown from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries while Scotland enjoyed relative autonomy" (203). Maley argues that "any critique of the British state has to be thoroughgoing. It cannot stop at 1800, or at Ireland" (203).

Why is a consideration of Joyce and Scotland important for an understanding of modern(ist) literature? There are two main reasons. First, the work of writers such as James Hogg, David Hume, and Robert Louis Stevenson provided Joyce with the means with which to create what I call a de-Anglicized unconscious in *Finnegans Wake*. The double consciousness and radical interiority of *Finnegans Wake* is partly based on Scottish (and therefore, for Joyce, "Celtic") precedents. As any student of Irish literature or modernism knows, Ireland and her history are near obsessions in Joyce's texts. So, a second reason to consider the relationship between Joyce and Scotland is that in order to gain a comprehensive overview of Joyce's commentary on Irish history it is necessary to view all of the separate political and cultural relationships at work in the Atlantic archipelago—including the vital Irish-Scottish connection—rather than concentrating narrowly on the singular English/Irish colonial interface. As the historian J. G. A. Pocock has noted, "'British history' itself has in the past denoted nothing much more than 'English history' with occasional transitory additions" (Pocock, 77). However, the convenient, simplistic, and incorrect conflation or interchanging of the terms "Britain" and "England" in Joyce studies (see, for one example in a general myriad, Nolan, *Nationalism*, 215–16) is not conducive to a thorough understanding of the representations of Ireland's past that underpin *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. As Maley has written, "Cyclopean Joyceans holding to a singular vision of Ireland and Panoptic Joyceans

wishing to cut him loose from any national moorings are ill-equipped to discern divisions within British identity. Joyce, on the other hand, is famously adept at seeing double (“Kilt by Kelt,” 203). In line with developments in the study of “British” history such as Pocock’s treatment of an archipelagic “plural history” (29) and developments in politics such as the advent of Scottish Devolution in 1999, the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014, or the 2016 EU “Brexit” crisis, the time is ripe for a “devolved” and unpacked reading of Joyce and Scottish culture. As Pocock argues, “there was, and still is, no ‘British history’ in the sense of the self-authenticated history of a self-perpetuating polity or culture. The term must be used to denote a multiplicity of histories, written by or (more probably) written about a multiplicity of kingdoms and other provinces” (75).<sup>1</sup>

The critical discussion of Joyce and Scotland is relatively unheard of. Maley’s groundbreaking essay on Joyce and Scotland, a piece by Scott W. Klein examining Walter Scott’s influence on *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and Anne Marie D’Arcy’s article in *The Review of English Studies* on the two-headed octopus of *Ulysses* are the very small number of available attempts at discussing the Scottish aspects of Joyce’s work. As Maley points out, a silence on the topic of Joyce and Scotland has been part of a larger problem: “Those engaged in Irish studies appear reluctant to enter into dialogue, or ‘proximity talks,’ with Scotland, and for good historical reasons, for their own standpoints depend upon an unproblematized Anglo-Irish relationship and a safe and smooth passage between ‘English’ and ‘British’ paradigms. The significant works on Ireland in recent years have largely ignored the impact and influence of Scotland” (“Kilt by Kelt,” 203–4).<sup>2</sup> Maley wrote his essay in the late ’90s. Since then, the larger issue of a lack of critical material bringing Scotland into the Irish studies equation has been addressed to some extent by the inauguration of a combined Irish and Scottish studies field. The cooperation of Queen’s University Belfast, Trinity College Dublin, and the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen has resulted in the production of a great deal of work on the area Maley delineated in his essay. But with regard to the particular scotoma of Joyce and Scotland, there have been precious few developments.

The “unproblematized Anglo-Irish relationship” Maley describes is well demonstrated by the volume *Joyce, Ireland, Britain*, which,

regrettably, hardly bothers to mention Scotland at all. None of the essays in this volume actually address the issue of Joyce's views on Ireland's relationships with the various countries and cultures found across the Irish Sea. The supposed aim of the collection of essays is described in the foreword: "Joyce is placed in four widening circles: as an English writer, as an Anglo-Irish writer, as a European, and as a citizen of the world. The first of these is not a misprint: part of this book's genius is to refocus critical attention on Joyce's affinities with English culture" (Knowles, vii). Certainly Joyce was influenced by English culture, but that hardly makes him an English writer or a "British Irishman" (Gibson and Platt, 47). Furthermore, his decision not to avail of an Irish passport after the establishment of the Free State does not mean that he did not consider himself an Irishman: "He may have been a British subject, but he was scarcely a patriotic one" (A. Gibson, *James Joyce*, 107). With regard to culture, how could any writer growing up under the British Empire avoid English culture? In *Ulysses*, as Andrew Gibson has demonstrated in *Joyce's Revenge*, English culture is very often "defaced" or purposefully contaminated (182). Furthermore, the case for "affinities" can also be overstated. For example, and as I shall discuss later, it is remarkable how uninterested Joyce is in English philosophy. And as he remarked to Arthur Power, "It is my revolt against the English conventions, literary and otherwise, that is the main source of my talent" (quoted in Golden, 429). See also the following: "I cannot express myself in English without enclosing myself in a tradition" (*JJII*, 397); "I have little or nothing to learn from English novelists" (*LII*, 186); and "To me . . . an Irish safety pin is more important than an English epic" (*JJII*, 423). Joyce is also reported to have described English novels as "terribly boring" (*JJII*, 233) and English literature as "pompous and hypocritical" (*CW*, 212).<sup>3</sup>

In any case, the foreword of *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* does not really apply to the content of the essays. The introduction to the volume promises to address the "complications of British-Irish" politics:

Complication is partly what emerges from this collection as a whole. In this respect, it does something to mirror what have traditionally been and still are (at times forbidding) ramifications and complications of British-Irish politics. *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* is centrally shaped by the notion that to think of Joyce in relation to Ireland

also requires that we think of him in relation to Britain, not least because Ireland as Joyce knew it for most of his life was still in some degree a part of Britain. These relations are nothing if not intricate, nuanced, ambivalent, even byzantine. The subject is explicitly treated in only one section of the book, “British-Irish politics”—the others are “Joyce and English Culture” and “Joyce, the Local, and the Global”—but the political theme is never far from the surface. (Gibson and Platt, 20)

Of course, Gibson and Platt are correct to assert that we must think of Joyce in relation to Britain as well as to Ireland while also embracing “complications” (Gibson and Platt, 20). However, in many ways, the volume avoids intricacies. In the book’s introduction Britain and Ireland are described as “two different constituencies” (Gibson and Platt, 23). That is a stunning oversimplification, especially appearing as it does in a book that claims to be dealing in complications. In relation to Scotland, the writers of *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* have kept to the “unproblematized” position Maley has described, largely equating Britain with England. Joyce’s texts outline much more complicated relationships involving the various societies and cultures of the Atlantic archipelago rather than narrowly focusing on connections between English politics and culture and their counterparts in Ireland. Scotland’s distinctness (its long and separate pre-Union history; its detached religious, legal, and education systems; its particular philosophical and cultural traditions; its different languages; its own interactions with other European nations) is totally overlooked in *Joyce, Ireland, Britain*. I suggest it would be advantageous for Joyce’s students to consider Britain as a multination state consisting of distinct nations—in line with modern historians such as Pocock—rather than as one indivisible entity or “constituency” à la Gibson and Platt. Moreover, all of these nations have had different and complicated historical relationships with Ireland. In other words, Joyceans should start treating Britain as a multination state rather than as a nation-state. Throughout his work, in his fiction and his nonfiction, Joyce himself approaches Scotland, England, and Wales as distinct entities.<sup>4</sup> This work will be operating in the same manner since it will be a more appropriate method for dealing with the “complications” of Joyce’s texts.

There are few countries in the world where the Irish have had such a long-standing impact as in Scotland. Since Joyce's massive, all-encompassing text *Finnegans Wake* is so concerned with Irish history, it follows that Scotland would have a significant presence in the work, that the work would demonstrate a "caledonian capacity" (*FW*, 187.07). Commenting on Joyce's *supposed* lack of engagement with Scottish issues and on the work of Willy Maley, Edna Longley has written: "On the one hand, Joyce is perfectly entitled to 'overlook Scotland.' On the other hand, when 'Irish nationalist critics' also overlook Scotland, or notice it selectively, it is precisely owing to Presbyterian Scotland's complicity in 'plantation and partition.' It is because 'Scotland and Ulster' lurks in 'Scotland and Ireland'" (Longley, 157).

No, Joyce is categorically *not* entitled to overlook Scotland. Not if he wants to create an in-depth and comprehensive vision of Irish culture and history in *Finnegans Wake*, an assignment that is evidently a crucial part of the overall enterprise. As Pocock writes, "no nation's history can be understood without that of its interaction with other histories" (Pocock, 94–95). So how can we hope to understand fully Joyce's view of Irish history if we fail to grasp his representations of Ireland's interactions with the histories of other nations? As for negligence in "Irish nationalist critics" towards Scotland, Scottish involvement in the "partition and plantation" in the north of Ireland is more—not less—of a reason to consider Scotland when engaged in Irish studies (especially the study of *Finnegans Wake*, a text composed in the years following the partition of Ireland). In short, the new "Irish," more local readings of Joyce cannot function properly and completely without a clear understanding of all of Ireland's historical relationships and their place in his work. However, a consideration of Joyce and Scotland can also form an important and unique bridge between readings of Joyce as Irishman and Joyce as cosmopolitan European modernist. This is because, on the one hand, Scottish history is so closely intertwined with Irish history, while on the other, Scottish culture provides important influences on Joyce's avant-garde literary innovations.

Paradoxes abound in Joyce's engagements with Scotland. For example, Joyce's attacks on early twentieth-century notions of racial purity can be illustrated through references to a shared Irish/Scottish past of

repeated migrations and population mixing. However, Joyce also appeals to a shared “Celtic spirit” in his lecture “Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages” and is happy to categorize Ireland as a “Celtic” nation despite it being an “immense woven fabric” in terms of race (*OCPW*, 118). In a chapter entitled “Joyce, Colonialism, and Nationalism” Marjorie Howes has stated that “[Joyce’s] works offer many different ideas about what kinds of community or collectivity might exist or be possible. Most of them involve the Irish, or some portion of them, but they rarely coincide neatly with the borders of the whole island or of the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State. Here again, Joyce is most interested in an Irish nation characterized by global connections and internal divisions” (266). Joyce’s tracing of the “global connections” of the Irish in *Finnegans Wake* inevitably leads him to Scotland. Furthermore, in Scottish history—namely the Ulster Plantation—he locates important sources of Ireland’s “internal divisions.” Thomas Hofheinz notes that “Joyce, in his lifetime, participated in a vast immigration from Ireland to many different countries” and asks, “How could [Joyce] avoid mapping Ireland onto the world, or the other way around?” (Hofheinz, 187). Joyce’s charting of Scottish/Irish connections is a vital illustration of this “mapping” of Ireland onto the world and the world onto Ireland. Scottish history provides one of the earliest example of the Irish existing as a community not “coinciding neatly with the borders of the whole island.” Especially in his final two works, Joyce follows the wake-like patterns created by successive journeys of Irish and Scottish seafarers.

As we shall see, this complicates our understanding of Joyce as an anti-imperialist writer somewhat, since he includes Ireland in his sometimes rather neutral and ambivalent critique of empire building and overseas conquest. And while Joyce does probe constructed racial or national identities in *Finnegans Wake*, at other points in his career he clearly buys into essentialist notions of the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon. As Nabokov once remarked, “Joyce is sometimes crude in the way he accumulates and stresses so-called racial traits” (Nabokov, *Lectures on Literature*, 287). In “Realism and Idealism in English Literature” (1912) a Scottish figure is linked by Joyce to the visionary Celt, distant from the more practical Anglo-Saxon in terms of genetics or “blood” (*OCPW*, 185). Parts of “The Centenary of Charles Dickens” (1912), with its talk of “spirit” and

“blood” (*OCPW*, 185), now appear like notions that derive from the era of Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold rather than from the pen of a supposedly completely progressive and unprejudiced modern writer.

So, the current view of Joyce as the epitome of a modern “liberal broadmindedness” as questioned by Emer Nolan (Nolan, *Nationalism*, 52) is also tested by a consideration of Joyce’s views on Scotland and its contrasts with England (as well as its “familial” links with Ireland). If Joyce totally gives up these ideas by the time he composes *Finnegans Wake*, it represents something of a volte-face. If not, it poses a problem for critics such as Len Platt who read Joyce as a radical dismantler of ideas of national or racial cohesion. Even if Joyce seeks to dismantle ideas of racial types, there still remain—at least—important elements of “culturalism” in his works. As Nolan suggests, that Joyce rejects ideas of racial purity does not mean that he does not have an interest in racial “identity” (see Nolan, *Nationalism*, 148). I hope to demonstrate that these quasi-Arnoldian cultural conceptions stay with Joyce throughout his career and influence the very concept and style of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce remains—and will remain forever—a writer of the early-to-mid-twentieth century.

It is difficult to navigate by stormy issues such as migration and the nation in modern literature without in some way confronting the treacherous waters of postcolonialism. So, how do we approach the delicate issues of Joyce as postcolonial writer and of Scotland as a potentially postcolonial or semicolonial society? In *Reading Joyce Politically*, Trevor Williams has discussed the problematic issue of Joyce’s insecure status as colonial or postcolonial author: “It is still difficult to visualize Joyce, the giant of modernism, the genius, the law unto himself, as a colonial or a postcolonial writer . . . partly because Joyce is white and partly (an old problem) because Ireland is so close to the British metropolis that it is difficult for non-Irish to see it as ‘different.’” (Williams, 119). For strikingly similar reasons, many critics have been unwilling to stamp Scotland’s “postcolonial passport” due to its incorporation into the British state and its closeness to “the British metropolis” (Maley, “Kilt by Kelt,” 207). In the postcolonial manual *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin discuss the banishment of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland from the postcolonial studies territory: “While it is possible to argue that these societies were the first victims of English expansion, their sub-

sequent complicity in the British imperial enterprise makes it difficult for colonized peoples outside Britain to accept their identity as postcolonial” (33).<sup>5</sup> For both Joyce and Scotland then, proximity to a dominating culture is given as a reason for their exclusion from postcolonial discourse. The writer and the nation, respectively, are both considered not sufficiently marginal; they are too central to be accepted as postcolonial “subjects.”

However, as we shall see, much of Joyce’s interest in Scottish literature and philosophy stems from his attempt to create a kind of Celtic consciousness (or unconscious, to be more specific) as a cultural response to what he saw as an overwhelmingly materialist English civilization. Scottish writing and history is drawn into Joyce’s powerful response to British imperialism in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, through a kind of ethno-philosophical aesthetic that seeks to undermine colonial values. Furthermore, attention paid by Joyce to racial or psychological doubling points towards another type of postcolonial legacy, that of cultural and psychic division. So, regardless of whether or not we can consider Joyce a “true” postcolonial writer or Scotland a “valid” postcolonial society, Joyce’s work displays all the classic hallmarks of postcolonial literature—obsessions with language, “hybridity,” power struggles, and so on—while persistently raiding Scottish culture in order to create a response to, or diagnosis of, a colonial legacy. For Attridge and Howes, it is best to adopt a “semicolonial” template, which they describe as “a complex and ambivalent set of attitudes, not reducible to a simple anticolonialism but very far from expressing approval of the colonial organizations and methods under which Ireland had suffered during a long history of oppression” (Attridge and Howes, 3).<sup>6</sup>

Despite being informed by postcolonial theory and discourse, this text is more concerned with viewing Irish and Scottish historical connections in terms of processes of ongoing seaborne exchange in a time frame that includes, but is more extensive than that of, the British Empire. Such a model can consider the relationship between Ireland and Scotland as an evolving pattern of contacts connected by industry, politics, culture, and migrations rather than as discrete components of a Celtic “periphery,” “fringe,” or “margin” to an English “center.” As Ray Ryan has noted, “the need now is for more alternative analyses and comparisons, histories and causalities, than can be produced under a single

methodology like postcolonialism or a single notion like identity” (10–11). Reading the Scottish aspects of Joyce’s work complicates and undermines the standard historical and critical British (read English)/Irish binary relationship as exemplified in texts such as *Joyce, Ireland, Britain* by stressing not only Joyce’s awareness that the term Britain is not synonymous with England, but that Ireland and Scotland have had their own distinct relationship and attendant processes of cultural and social exchange. Considering Joyce’s extensive work on Scotland will also challenge the standard “colonial–postcolonial” binary system in accordance with current critical developments. This type of reading will be in line with “recent work in Irish studies [which] tends to problematize binarity by focusing on contradictory, multiple and fluid historical conditions and social spaces” (Castle, “Post-colonialism,” 100). Furthermore, this approach allows us to explore Joyce’s unique vision of Celtic identity, one based less on Irish Literary Revival–type concerns of “authentic” folklore, primitive vitality, and linguistic or cultural “purity” and more on an idiosyncratically Joycean concept of a shared philosophical culture of skepticism and idealism. Admittedly, it is a strange state of affairs where the most modern of modernists draws heavily from eighteenth-century philosophy. However, much of literary modernism is decidedly backward looking.

Joyce’s various representations of Scottish culture and history destabilize the traditional binary representation of Ireland and Britain as two detached, contrasting, and homogenous entities, an enterprise that is part of his overall project aiming to undermine the traditional structures and categories that exerted such an influence on the imaginations of his peers: “The complexity of the Joycean cultural critique was its refusal to inhabit the binaries of Celtic or Saxon, Catholic or Protestant, modern or traditional, national or cosmopolitan, English or Irish—the binaries that so transfixed his contemporaries (and later commentators). Yeats, for example, reversed the value systems of Celtic/Saxon, traditional/modern, but still left the binaries intact. Joyce rejected the categories, instead seeking to dismantle the binary system itself” (Whelan, 66–67). I would suggest that instead of rejecting the categories, Joyce finds new ways of deploying them and for new ends. However, as Megan Quigley rightly points out, “historical dynamics make taking a post-colonial approach to Irish literature necessary. That said, they must always be care-

fully weighted against other historical factors . . . which stretch beyond any simple Ireland/England, colonized/colonizer binary” (172). We will see the extent to which Joyce reinvents the classic nineteenth-century Celtic/Saxon binary and how he investigates and blurs the binary relationships of Ireland and England by bringing Scotland into the equation. Sometimes Joyce replaces one set of oppositions with another less obvious pairing, or places a binary set within another to produce a kind of *mise en abyme* structure. The net effect is a constant clashing of identities and language where no origin or resolution can be found. However, the very incertitude this confusion creates, the disordered and enigmatic universe these patterns are set into, is, I will argue, a representation of Joyce’s summing up of Celtic culture.

Although the standard binary systems of postcolonialism—center and periphery, colonizer and colonized—are steered clear of here, close attention is paid to Joyce’s use of contrast and duality in relation to Ireland and Scotland (and to the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon). For this study G. Gregory Smith’s concept of the “Caledonian Antisyzygy”—his theory that Scottish literature is marked by the coming together of contraries—is adopted. This idea can be profitably applied to much of Joyce’s work, especially *Finnegans Wake*, where Joyce creates what may be termed a “Hibernian Antisyzygy” in order to reflect both the pre- and post-partition internal divisions of Ireland and to register a type of Celtic “spirit.” On the whole, however, it is wise to bear in mind Thomas Hofheinz’s caution that “an obsession with axiomatics often reveals a temptation to reduce Joyce’s texts to data accessible through theoretical programs” (Hofheinz, 54). If ideas can be communicated without extra complications, then Occam’s Razor should be applied. *Finnegans Wake* is complicated enough as it is.

Joyce’s final and most ambitious work provides a far more advanced and nuanced sense of Scotland’s identity and role in Irish history than has previously been supposed. Maley, in his essay “‘Kilt by Kelt Shell Kithagain with Kinagain’: Joyce and Scotland,” discusses a small selection of Scottish “interludes and interpolations” (209), including a few words from *Finnegans Wake*, before offering this tentative conclusion:

My own impression, tinged with sadness, is that Joyce appears to have shared the prejudice of those Irish of the time who assumed that

all Scots were incorrigibly Protestant, Conservative, and Unionist. Certainly, in Arthur Balfour they had a prime example of that type. In *Finnegans Wake* a reference to a “scotobrit sash” reminds readers that the origins of Orangeism and its continuing influence in the North of Ireland have a distinct Scottish dimension (387.5). Other histories, other possibilities, remain hidden. (216)<sup>7</sup>

It is certainly true that *Finnegans Wake* records the Scottish dimension to the origins of Orangeism with the reference that Maley quotes here. However, the present study explores some of the previously neglected “other possibilities” Maley alludes to. The aim here is to shed some light upon an area that has so far languished in obscurity, putting forward alternative ways of interpreting Joyce’s views on Scotland and highlighting where Joyce engages with Scotland’s radical poetic traditions, its history of resistance to English rule or Unionism, its strong cultural links with Ireland (especially in terms of language, mythology, and philosophy), and its various cultural similarities.

The idea that Scotland and Ireland possess clear likenesses is hardly novel: J. G. A. Pocock has described the formation of a “Celtic, oceanic and extra-European world” to the west of England during the period of consolidation of the Scottish kingdom (31). Of course, the Celtic world here is “extra-European” since “the Roman empire . . . [did] not effectively penetrate to all the oceanic or Atlantic regions of the archipelago, and the second-largest island [was] not directly affected by Roman government” (30). In subsequent chapters we shall examine the attention Joyce pays to the “oceanic” nature of this “extra-European world.” Cullen and Smout have pointed to the numerous parallels between Ireland and Scotland: “Even on the most superficial examination, it [is] clear that both countries have been profoundly affected by a similar geography, by a Celtic heritage, and by a history of close political and economic links with England” (v). Ray Ryan has elaborated this theme: “The empirical and cultural bases for the Scottish comparison are easily listed: Scotland and Ireland both have Gaelic and English linguistic tradition (with Scots a third dimension in Scotland), a Catholic and Protestant sectarian conflict, urbanized centres, and benighted rural hinterlands; and linked to this last point, the creation of a mystique of Irishness and Scottishness traceable to these depopulated zones” (10).

Given these factors, it should not be surprising that Joyce often uses Scotland as a point of comparison for Ireland. Disagreeing strongly with Maley that Joyce held a prejudiced view of Scotland, this study shows that Joyce used Scotland as a symbol of the convergence of a number of contrasting tendencies in *Finnegans Wake*, such as the division of individual and national psyches into divergent yet mirrored elements and the formation of countries through the amalgamation of separate peoples. Scotland is drawn into an exploration of the national configuration of Ireland and vice versa. In the text, the twins Shem and Shaun—who in turn are connected to Irish and Scottish tribes and who, at one point, appear as HCE stares at his own reflection in a mirror—represent this simultaneous contrast and connection. This focus on internal division must, of course, be read in the historical context of postpartition Ireland, a schism which Joyce links to Scottish involvement in the Plantation of Ulster. Scotland often functions as a mirror image of Ireland, with a certain “invertedness” (*FW*, 522.31) serving to highlight both the underlying connections of the two countries and their “reversed” features. What this means in practice is that representations of Scotland as a combination of imperial aggressor and victim often also applies to Ireland in a two-way critique. However, this connection of Scotland with inner psychic division operates in tandem with an idealist vision based on Joyce’s conception of a “Celtic” form of philosophy that is at a remove the external world but which “contains” history. This Celtic unconscious is a response to what Joyce saw as an essentially materialist Anglo-Saxon culture. All of this can easily be reconciled with the central aim of Joyce’s artistic project. As Seamus Deane has declared, “An act of writing which will replace all earlier acts; which will make history into culture by making it the material of consciousness—this extraordinary ambition is at the heart of Joyce’s enterprise” (*Celtic*, 97).<sup>8</sup>

As I have suggested, Scotland looms large in Joyce’s work due to its critically important historical links with Ireland and because of the strong influence of Scottish literature on his texts. However, Joyce’s interest in Scotland also stems from the incidents and connections of his own life. In fact, Joyce had a number of Scottish relatives, and this association began at one point to influence his rather ostentatious fashion sense. In 1930, Joyce developed a certain fondness for tartan clothing and became interested in the Scottish Murray clan: “On 5 October he

writes to the wife of Herbert Gorman, enclosing a letter from someone he alludes to as his 'Scotch cousin.' On 22 October he writes to her again, this time asking whether she might be able to find him a plaid tie, patterned after the Murray tartan. Mrs Gorman duly obliged. . . . One of the ties can be seen in the well-known photograph (monochrome, unfortunately) taken of Joyce with Augustus John" (V. Deane et al., 6. See cover image).<sup>9</sup> Following this letter, Joyce then writes again to Gorman of "that highly treasonable Stuart tie" (*LIII*, 206), highlighting "the Jacobite loyalties of some of the Murrays" (D'Arcy, 10).

Joyce's mother's maiden name was Murray, and Joyce must have felt that this gave him a family "tie" with Scotland as well as with Jacobitism, since Murray is a Scottish as well as an Irish name.<sup>10</sup> Joyce must have developed a sense of kinship towards the Murray clan in general (a feeling not shared by his father).<sup>11</sup> His sporting of tartan apparel, a dandy-like display of cultural identification and personal connection with Scotland, is certainly not the kind of thing someone with an antipathy towards the country would be likely to consider, although the idea that Joyce resented Scotland has previously been suggested (see Maley, "Kilt by Kelt," 216). It would be far-fetched to describe Joyce as ever feeling "half Scotch" (*FW*, 487.15) (although Ezra Pound did once describe him as a "dour Aberdeen minister" [*JIII*, 510]). However, this affiliation-flaunting tartan fashion show goes some way to proving that Joyce cannot have held a total aversion towards Scotland as has previously been suggested. Furthermore, Scotland was also the very first foreign country the eventual exile Joyce ever visited, the first port of call in Joyce's life of European travel.

Joyce's maiden venture outside of Ireland was a sea voyage with his father to Glasgow in 1894 when he was twelve years old. The original plan was to make it as far as Edinburgh, but the intrepid Dubliners quickly ran into difficulties. John Wyse Jackson has described the background of the journey and the trip itself, which perhaps descended into a pub-crawl:

In June news came that Jim had vindicated his father's boasts about him to FR Conmee and had been awarded £22 for himself and £12.4s.0d for the College in the 1894 Preparatory Grade Intermediate Examination. The money was paid to John but he passed it on

to Jim, who promptly began to spend it, even taking his parents out to dinner at an expensive restaurant. It was probably this windfall and the goodwill it engendered between them that prompted John to invite Jim to accompany him on a summer trip to Scotland (perhaps, as “The Dead” seems to hint, for the wedding or funeral of one of the Malinses). John did not have to pay for the sea crossing: as a seafaring man who knew the language since his Queenstown days, he had made friends with some of the personnel of the shipping companies when he was a collector in the North Dock Ward and persuaded the captain of one of the Duke Line steamers to allow them an unused berth up the Irish Sea. Jim with his winnings could help to subsidise food, entertainment and somewhere to stay. . . . As Stanislaus remembered, they went first to Glasgow, then a city with a greater claim than Dublin to be the second city of the Empire: its industrial vigour unlike anything to be found in Dublin. James Joyce’s notes for *Stephen Hero*, however, strongly suggest that a visit to Edinburgh featured in the lost chapters of that book—the existing parts of which are firmly rooted in fact. Depressingly, it poured with rain, which likely forced them to spend much of their time sheltering in city gin palaces. (Jackson and Costello, 185–86)<sup>12</sup>

It is unfortunate that so little is known about Joyce’s trip to Scotland. Equally unfortunate is that the latter chapters of *Stephen Hero* (the abandoned novel later reworked as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*), which probably featured a trip to Edinburgh, have not survived. Scotland provided Joyce’s first taste of a physical escape from Ireland. Later its literary culture would provide a different type of withdrawal.

It should be of little surprise then, given this biographical background, that Joyce goes on to study the effects of sea crossings between Ireland and Scotland, having in all probability gained insights into the large-scale Irish emigration to the Scotland of this period through this trip. His early passage from Dublin must have given Joyce a vivid sense of the proximity of the two countries, of how the Irish Sea acts as a corridor for migration, and of the inevitable links that the sea had brought about. Joyce goes on to use maritime imagery to highlight in his work the unavoidable historical clashes and connections the sea link between Ireland and Scotland has created.

The themes of sea and distant family connections—together with aspects of Scottish culture—gather mainly in Joyce’s work in the polysemic, polylingual, allusion-heavy murk of his final text, *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce’s slightly belated attention to Scotland means that we are not given an immediately clear view of his observations on Scottish issues since matters will always be partially hidden in the infamous Wakean obscurity. However, this point is revealing in itself, since it is when Joyce attempts to describe mental interiority in a sustained way that Scottish culture becomes heavily involved in his work. Most of the material relating to Scotland in *Ulysses* is scarcely any more straightforward or transparent than that in *Finnegans Wake*, however, appearing as it does in the more challenging sections of the work such as “Oxen of the Sun” and “Circe.” Why is it that, in general, Scotland is most present in “late Joyce”? What is it about *Finnegans Wake* in particular that requires Joyce to borrow lines of poetry from Macpherson and Burns and to discuss ethnic groups from ancient Scottish history?

Well, as Colin MacCabe has suggested, “*Finnegans Wake*, with its sustained dismemberment of the English language and literary heritage, is perhaps best understood in relation to the struggle against imperialism” (MacCabe, “*Finnegans*,” 4). This assault is a continuation and elaboration of a feature of *Ulysses* which Andrew Gibson has called Joyce’s “Celtic revenge” (*Joyce’s Revenge*, 1). But aside from its assault on novelistic conventions and linguistic “purity,” how is this struggle actually enacted? I want to argue that the *methodology* of *Finnegans Wake* is an application of what Joyce saw as a specifically Celtic form of skeptical idealism, an inner, alternative world of possibilities as opposed to the actualities of Anglo-Saxon materialist civilization. Scottish literature and philosophy provided Joyce with valuable material in this late, peak modernist, anti-imperialist, anti-materialist phase of his career where “the English language and literary heritage” are most enthusiastically assailed. The complications of Joyce’s response to Scotland’s own role in imperialism will be addressed in due course.

In his 1901 letter to Henrik Ibsen, Joyce writes of his interest in the Norwegian playwright’s “battles”: “not the obvious material battles but those that were fought and won behind your forehead” (*LI*, 52). Despite the bodily nature of much of his work, the mind is always the site of the

real battles in Joyce's output, whether in the struggle with paternal authority in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*—"But he'll beat you here, said the little old man, tapping his forehead and raising his glass to drain it" (*P*, 101)—or in the case of a more specific reaction to the imperial (and clerical) presence in the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*: "(he taps his brow) But in here it is I must kill the priest and the king" (*U*, 15.4436–37). In other words, the British Empire (and the Catholic Church) must be overcome in the mind. Similarly, Joyce preferred the wily Odysseus to a host of Homeric hard men. Declan Kiberd has written of the main characters of *Ulysses* that "each . . . is driven back into his or her head as a consequence of frustration and defeat in the outer world. . . . [It is a] defensive tactic of the marginalized" (Kiberd, "Postcolonial Modernism?," 279).<sup>13</sup> As Stephen famously declares in the "Nestor" chapter of *Ulysses*, "History . . . is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (*U*, 2.377). Seamus Heaney claimed that Joyce attempted to "marginalise the imperium which had marginalised him by replacing the Anglocentric Protestant tradition with a newly forged apparatus of Homeric correspondences, Dantesque scholasticism and a more or less Mediterranean, European, classically endorsed worldview" (Heaney, 199). In *Ulysses*, perhaps. In *Finnegans Wake*, however, Humean idealism and a more or less Celtic, skeptical worldview prevails. For Kimberly Devlin "the Wakean dreamer shares with Joyce's earlier characters the desire to escape from a mundane, transient, and imperfect world" (*Wandering*, 65).<sup>14</sup>

Sheldon Brivic has linked the attempt to distill the thought of humanity into a singular consciousness in Joyce to the plight of Ireland: "To construct the human mind through his own is a goal Stephen Dedalus announces, referring to the mind of man in the singular: 'to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race' . . . This consciousness, however, is not something that has never existed, but something that has been uncreated by denial, by the unfairness of history, and by the fallen world—factors that Stephen sees most directly in Ireland" (Brivic, "Mind Factory," 8). By *Finnegans Wake*, the mind and its attendant language becomes the only available refuge since it is—in keeping with the idealist philosophy that Joyce becomes increasingly attracted to—all we really have access to. Furthermore, the third chapter of the present study demonstrates that a major preoccupation of *Finnegans*

*Wake* is the connection between the (sleeping) individual mind and the nation, the “imagined community” of the “little brittle magic nation, dim of mind” (*FW*, 565.29–30). See also “hibernating” (*FW*, 316.15–16).

The terms Celtic and “unconscious” should be clarified at this point. Joyce uses the word Celtic in a very loose and atypical fashion. Rather than using the term to define a strict linguistic or cultural community or the members (or descendants) of an ancient European race or culture, he uses it simply to denote the non-English nations and inhabitants of the Atlantic Archipelago, regardless of period, place, or language. For example, the modern, lowland, non-Gaelic speaking Scot David Hume is described as Celtic (see Joyce’s notes for *Exiles* [*PE*, 353]). Furthermore, Joyce writes in the present tense of the “five Celtic nations” (*OCPW*, 124) despite there being no modern nation that could be considered purely Celtic in terms of everyday language, let alone through “Celtic blood” (*OCPW*, 115).<sup>15</sup> As Joyce writes in “Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages,” “What race or language . . . can nowadays claim to be pure?” (*OCPW*, 118). However, this does not stop Joyce from using the term, even when discussing modern cultural matters. Furthermore, Ireland and Scotland are both considered “Celtic” by Joyce despite their mixed linguistic and racial compositions. Likewise, Anglo-Saxon is used as a code word for English, despite the corresponding complications. Instead of addressing issues pertaining to the entire “Celtic world” (*OCPW*, 124) here, I will focus specifically on Scotland and Ireland, as Joyce is particularly interested in the historical and cultural links between these two nations and because Joyce’s work creates important connections between Irish and Scottish cultures.

The unconscious is, of course, an area of great significance in psychoanalysis and in literary theory. This area has been approached in diverse ways by thinkers such as Freud, Jung, Lacan, Deleuze, Jameson, Agamben, and many others. Joyce’s aversion to Freud is well known: “In biographical terms, at least, Joyce’s manifest hostility to Freud and all things ‘freudful’ (*FW*, 411.35–36) can hardly be disputed” (Thurston, “Scotographia,” 407).<sup>16</sup> However, I would argue that the works of Freud and Joyce do at least share a vision of the unconscious as intrinsic, as opposed to thinkers such as Lacan for whom it is extrinsic.<sup>17</sup> As we shall see, Joyce also shares with Freud an interest in doubles and split psyches. Regard-

ing Jung, the “Swiss Tweedledum who is not to be confused with the Viennese Tweedledee, Dr Freud” (*LI*, 166), Luke Thurston has noted that “our interest in Jung as a reader of Joyce is always supplemented and complicated by our knowledge of his role in Joyce’s life: primarily, as a psychiatrist who briefly (and unsuccessfully) undertook the clinical treatment of Joyce’s daughter Lucia” (“Scotographia,” 407). According to Jean Kimball, “both Jung and Joyce, contemporaries in an age that discovered and validated the role of unconscious motivations in human behavior, . . . were engaged in a lifelong investigation of what goes into the making of a personality” (139).<sup>18</sup>

Freud’s great reinterpreter Jacques Lacan argued that the unconscious is structured like a language and is extrinsic to the individual: “I say somewhere that *the unconscious is the discourse of the Other*. Now, the discourse of the Other that is to be realized, that of the unconscious, is not beyond the closure, it is *outside*” (*Fundamental Concepts*, 131). For Lacan, truth is not found in the ego; it is elsewhere. This “locus of the Other,” part of the “Symbolic Order,” resides—structured—in intersubjective, sociolinguistic relations (such as the relationship between the analyst and the “analysand”): “What is being unfolded there is articulated like a discourse, whose syntax Freud sought to define for those bits that come to us in privileged moments, in dreams, in slips of the tongue or pen, in flashes of wit” (*Ecrits*, 193). According to Benvenuto and Kennedy, “in Lacan’s view, the unconscious is the language or form through which . . . knowledge (*savoir*) about truth is always and exclusively represented” (167).<sup>19</sup> It has been suggested that Joyce anticipates Lacan in his treatment of myth:

Writing . . . became for Joyce a sort of linguistic psychoanalysis of the repressed poetics of mythology. In the *Wake* he proposes to “psoakoonaloose” (*FW* 522.34) the multi-voiced unconscious of myth, to trace the original sin of the World back to its fall from univocal meaning into a medley of different languages. . . . By composing a language that discloses [an] unconscious “law of the jungerl” (*FW* 268.n3), Joyce dismantles the conventional notion of meaning as transparent representation of some mental intention. Against this representational model, the Joycean text shows, some fifty years

before Lacan and the poststructuralists, how myth is: 1) structured like the unconscious and 2) operates according to a complex logic that allows for at least “two thinks at a time” (*FW* 583.07). (Kearney, 183)

Commenting on the *Wake*, Giorgio Agamben brings a fairly Lacanian reading of the unconscious to bear: “Lucidity consists precisely in having understood that the flux of consciousness has no other reality than that of the ‘monologue’—to be exact, that of language. Thus in *Finnegans Wake*, the interior monologue can give way to a mythical absolutism of language beyond any ‘lived experience’ or any prior psychic reality” (*Infancy and History*, 54–55). For Agamben, the “territory of the unconscious, in its mechanisms as in its structures, wholly coincides with that of the symbolic and the improper. The emblematic project, which dissociates every form from its signified, now becomes the hidden writing of the unconscious” (*Stanzas*, 145).

For Deleuze—like Joyce, a reader of Hume<sup>20</sup>—the unconscious is involved in his criticism of the Cartesian cogito as a way of eliminating doubt: “Perhaps Cogito is the name which has no sense and no object other than the power of reiteration in indefinite regress (I think that I think that I think . . .). Every proposition of consciousness implies an unconscious of pure thought which constitutes the sphere of sense in which there is infinite regress” (*Difference and Repetition*, 203). As Adrian Parr writes, “Deleuze holds that no thought is free of sensation. The cogito cannot be self-evident, because sensation always extends to a multiplicity of further conditions and causes” (52). So, the unconscious is, for Deleuze, a place of endless repetitions and reiterations generated by the “propositions” of consciousness and linked to sensory experience.

To shift from psychoanalysis and epistemology to Marxist theory, Fredric Jameson claims that texts are the only access we have to certain master-narratives, an “unconscious” which is ever-present in our cultural environment: “The Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualisation, its narrativisation in the political unconscious” (Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 20). In connection with this, narratives are “socially symbolic acts” that resolve certain contradictions in society. Applying Jameson’s thesis to the *Wake* is difficult since it is not a straightforward “narrative.” However, perhaps we can see this text as a resolution to the

nightmare of (Irish) history, symbolically containing the history of the world: “If Ireland could not be herself, then, by way of compensation, the world would become Ireland” (S. Deane, “Joyce the Irishman,” 50). Furthermore, Joyce’s work suggests—in a rather Jamesonian fashion—that cultures are determined by historical circumstances. For example, as I shall discuss later, he implies that the imperial and capitalist past of England has led to its culture being “almost entirely a materialist civilization” (*OCPW*, 125). On the other hand, the Celtic nations are seen as being possessed of a more idealist culture (this is despite the varying degrees of involvement of the Celtic countries in the British Empire). Declan Kiberd has described Ireland as “England’s Unconscious”: “Victorian imperialists attributed to the Irish all those emotions and impulses which a harsh mercantile code had led them to suppress in themselves” (*Inventing Ireland*, 29–30).

Rather than being employed here in any of these “classic” senses (although informed by Deane’s usage), “unconscious” is used here in a perhaps more straightforwardly Joycean application of the term, relating to the “dead to the world” “dreamer” of *Finnegans Wake*. My claim is that Joyce’s use of sleep as a “setting” for the *Wake* functions as an illustration of his general conception that we as individuals are limited to the internal functions of the mind, caught in a Humean—and therefore, for Joyce, a Celtic—void of interiority and doubt. Thus the Celtic mind contains all of the world and its history as a form of compensation or revenge.<sup>21</sup> The unconscious dreamer presents a view of *consciousness itself*, one based on a Humean foundation. As Joyce said of his own work, “the thought is always simple” (*JJII*, 476).

Upon completing *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce announced that “the war between England and me is over, and I am the conqueror” (*JJII*, 693). In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce seeks a liberation from what he earlier saw as the “materialism” of the “Anglo-Saxon civilization”: “I confess that I do not see what good it does to fulminate against English tyranny while the tyranny of Rome still holds the dwelling place of the soul. Neither do I see the use in bitter invectives against England, the despoiler, or in contempt for the vast Anglo-Saxon civilization, even if it is almost entirely a materialist civilization” (*OCPW*, 125). In the original Italian of his Trieste lecture this passage reads, “Non vedo che cosa giovano gli invettivi acerbic contro l’Inghilterra spogliatrice, il disprezzo della vasta civiltà

anglo-sassone, sebbene questa sia quasi del tutto una civiltà materiale” (*OCPW*, 259). Perhaps a more accurate translation of the phrase “civiltà materiale” than the one given in the *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writings* translation would be “materialistic civilization.” In any case, it is clear that Joyce sees the materialist/materialistic “Anglo-Saxon civilization” as being fundamentally opposed to the “Celtic spirit” (*OCPW*, 124), which, as I will argue in the following chapters, is always related in Joyce to incertitude and interiority. Joyce’s comments on the supposed materialism of the Anglo-Saxon world are made at an early stage in his career, in his piece from 1907 entitled “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages.” John McCourt describes Joyce’s nationalism as peaking in 1907 (see McCourt, “Multiple,” 130). However, there is a striking resemblance between these early ideas and the nature of his later project *Finnegans Wake*.

According to Len Platt, the *Wake* “insists on constructing England in materialist and ‘Anglo-Saxon’ terms, usually from a mock critical perspective” (*Joyce, Race*, 44). Can we be so sure Joyce is writing from this ironic stance, given his earlier comments?<sup>22</sup> I would suggest that, although Joyce does not “fulminate” against the “Anglo-Saxon civilization,” his work does respond to it in a number of subtle and fascinating ways. This can partly be attributed to Joyce’s thirst for what Andrew Gibson has termed “Celtic Revenge” against the civilization which had oppressed Ireland for centuries, partly to Joyce’s aim of developing a literature that could reflect his view of human existence as permanently suspended in doubt, and partly to his desire to place his work into what he regarded as a tradition of Celtic literature and philosophy (while simultaneously renewing and transforming that culture).

Joyce’s response to the certainties of modern rational discourse also needs to be seen in the wider context of variegated modernist-era reactions against scientific materialism: “Already in the nineteenth century, the rise of scientific and technical education had been opposed by the institution of Catholic universities in many European countries. . . . Opposition to materialism and modern science also found expression in the mushroom growth of movements such as spiritualism, occultism, theosophy, religious transcendentalism and vitalism around the turn of the century” (Parrinder, 17).<sup>23</sup> Forms of both nationalism and modernism can

also be read as responses to the dominance of scientific, technical, commercial, and materialist culture. As Terry Eagleton has remarked, “The modernist sensibility . . . is not of course synonymous with *modernity*. On the contrary, it is in one sense its sworn enemy, hostile to that stately march of secular reason which was precisely, for many a nineteenth-century Irish nationalist, where a soulless Britain had washed up. . . . Modernism is among other things a last-ditch resistance to mass commodity culture” (*Heathcliff*, 280).

The identification of modern English culture with materialism is not limited to Irish writers. Virginia Woolf shared Joyce’s view of a materialist and realist tendency in English letters:

In “Modern Novels”—an essay first published a few months after the armistice, demanding new priorities for fiction—it is significant that Virginia Woolf chooses the term “spiritual” to describe one of the emerging writers whose work she recommends, James Joyce. . . . Psychology, mentioned on the next page of her essay, might have offered a term more obviously appropriate in defining the quality she most admires in Joyce’s work. . . . Labeling Joyce . . . highlights preferences for Joyce “in contrast to those whom we have called materialists”—principally an older generation of novelists, including Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy and H. G. Wells. . . . In her view, the work of [the] older generation was covertly complicit with advancing materialism on the level of style, through its meticulously descriptive concentration on an external, everyday, material world. (Stevenson, *Great War*, 218)

Ironically, Woolf lifts Joyce’s techniques in *Ulysses* for her own novels—some of the central texts of English modernism—without realizing that those techniques developed partly as a response against English culture.<sup>24</sup>

To understand Joyce’s conception of the contemplative Celt standing in opposition to the practical, rational, “dour” Anglo-Saxon, let us consider the following passages from his lecture “Realism and Idealism in English Literature,” in which he discusses the “prosaic realism” of Daniel Defoe, “the father of the English novel” (*OCPW*, 167, 164). First, here is a description of Defoe’s character Robinson Crusoe as the Anglo-Saxon and proto-Imperialist par excellence:

The account of the shipwrecked sailor who lived for four years on a lonely island reveals, perhaps as no other book in all English literature does, the cautious and heroic instinct of the rational being and the prophecy of the empire. . . . All the Anglo-Saxon soul is in Crusoe: virile independence, unthinking cruelty, persistence, slow yet effective intelligence, sexual apathy, practical and well-balanced religiosity, calculating dourness. Whoever re-reads this simple and moving book in the light of subsequent history cannot but be taken by its prophetic spell. (*OCPW*, 174)

Crusoe, despite his “calculating dourness,” is defined by “subsequent history” as the nonspiritual and practical colonist, a harbinger of empire, the conquering master of the exterior world of territory and matter (by extension, the British Empire itself must be rational, practical, and dour). The Celt is positioned as the antithesis of this. Here is Joyce—in a section foreshadowing the Celtic visions of *Finnegans Wake*—on Defoe’s *Duncan Campbell*, a story “which must have been the result of a sojourn in the Scottish Highlands or islands” (*OCPW*, 171): “Seated at the bedside of a boy visionary, gazing at his raised head, noting his fresh complexion, Defoe is the realist in the presence of the unknown; it is the experience of the man who struggles and conquers in the presence of a dream which he fears may fool him; he is, finally, the Anglo-Saxon in the presence of the Celt” (*OCPW*, 171).<sup>25</sup> The “realist” Anglo-Saxon carries out scientific analysis of the boy. In doing so he is working in line with a Baconian, materialist method. Indeed, Karl Marx himself saw the birthplace of Bacon as the “mother country” of scientific and philosophical materialism (154). The passage on *Duncan Campbell* suggests a slight Marxist tendency in Joyce since he also associates philosophical materialism—which he elsewhere denounces as “fatuous” (*OCPW*, 179)—with English culture. But the industrial, commercial, mercantile, middle-class values of the empire so detested by the Irish Revivalists are also seen by Joyce as the antithesis of the “Celtic spirit” in “Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages” and are parodied throughout *Ulysses*, particularly in the extreme materialism and scientism of the “Ithaca” chapter. Scotland is somehow excluded from Joyce’s diagnosis of imperial materialism and commercial soullessness, despite the industrial importance of cities like Glasgow.

Whether we read Joyce's use of the term "civiltà materiale" as more focused on materialist science (faith in reason, observation) materialist or realist literature, or on a materialistic culture of commodities and commerce, either way the Anglo-Saxon is associated with the exterior world, in the study and control of matter, while the Celt is concerned with—or perhaps is imprisoned in or has retreated into—the mind, the "tenebrosity of the interior" (*U*, 14.380). This feature of Joyce's work can be seen as early as *Dubliners*, in the meeting in "A Little Cloud" of Little Chandler (Irishman) and Ignatius Gallagher (Irishman now based in London) in a Dublin bar: "In national terms this meeting in Corless's seems, from the Irish viewpoint, to be the classical one of Ireland, Land of Saints and Sages, with the commercial giant Britannia; in individual terms, it suggests a meeting between the typical Celt who values art, religion, and the life of contemplation with the crass, materialistic Sassenach" (Herring, 58).

For Joyce, here is where the dividing line between the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon runs: the Anglo-Saxon seeks control and understanding of the exterior world while the Celt, as we shall see, is associated with interiority and incertitude. Recent studies such as Vincent Cheng's *Joyce, Race, and Empire* have continued to attempt to construct what Emer Nolan described in 1995 as the supposed "liberal broadmindedness" of Joyce, despite "*Ulysses's* allegorical incarnation of Englishness and Irish Protestantism in the figures of Haines and Deasy [which] must surely raise problems for any [such] account" (*Nationalism*, 52). How can we read Joyce as an enlightened, progressive modernist while at the same time recognizing the culturalist streak in his work? As Nolan rightly points out with reference to Irish identity, "Joyce's refusal of any notion of 'purity of descent' . . . does not apparently deter him from analysing and describing this 'compound'—but none the less identifiable—quality of 'Irishness'" (148). Joyce is perfectly happy to write of the "fabric" of the Irish nation while also addressing its "soul" (*OCPW*, 118, 125). In other words, for Joyce, the nonhomogenous nature of a people does not mean that they cannot possess certain unifying characteristics. The characteristics Joyce associated with Celtic civilization are emphasized in *Finnegans Wake* at the expense of those he associated with Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Furthermore, I wish to extend the debate on Joyce's analysis of a compound Irishness to include Scotland. After all, if this "compound"

depends to some extent on foreign influx into Ireland, could we not consider Irish emigration part of a complementary, external amalgam? Joyce's work stresses time and again the links between Ireland and Scotland while forming a new type of Celtic interior identity, a modernist version of "the idealist other-world" that, for writers such as Yeats, "the Celt had come to inhabit" (Chapman, 103). To utilize Joyce's own phrasing in "Realism and Idealism in English Literature," *Finnegans Wake* is a "dream" which may "fool" readers, causing them to struggle in the "presence of the unknown." Or, the obscured, purposefully difficult language of the text is "the non-Irish speaking Irish author's way of being unintelligible to the British" (Eagleton, *Heathcliff*, 268). In other words, it is Joyce's way of making his language attain the condition of his namesake Myles Joyce's defense in "Ireland at the Bar."<sup>26</sup> The linguistic possibilities and difficulties of the *Wake* also, of course, have the effect of barring readers from certainty with regard to plot and character.

While there is little or no suggestion of a belief in racial purity in Joyce, there is a real examination of racial and national identities or "souls," however elusive or constructed these may be. As Seamus Deane writes, "Joyce is as willing as Pearse to speak of Ireland's soul, to speak of the nation as a spiritual entity, and to conceive of her plight as one in which something ethereal has been overwhelmed by something base" (*Celtic*, 96). James Fairhall: "Pearse and his fellow rebels . . . felt a sense of moral superiority toward England, toward what they perceived as middle-class English materialism and hypocrisy" (*History*, 181).<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, Joyce's work comes close to a type of nationalist declaration of inner independence since "nationalism's claim for state power is generally posited on spiritual *difference* from (and superiority to) imperial or Western culture" (Nolan, "State of the Art," 78–79). As Nolan points out, nationalism frequently prizes "the private, spiritual, or inner realm—this anticolonial version of civil society" (79).

In Joyce's final text the modernist "inward turn" seems less a Woolfean atomic recording than a response to Ireland's past. Here the avant-garde and the anticolonial aspects of modernism converge: "History . . . must be countered by fiction" (S. Deane, *Celtic*, 93). I want to argue here that, despite the fragmentary and illusive nature of Celtic identity in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce still, to some extent, clung to his earlier impressions of two opposed races (or at the very least cultures), never quite totally freeing

himself from these essentialized, quasi-Arnoldian conceptions (hence the “Celtic” of the present text’s title—the complications of this term will be returned to throughout). Joyce’s early comments above even display some of the hallmarks of nineteenth-century English notions of the Celt as summarized here by Len Platt:

Firstly, the English intelligentsia used the idea of the Celt to delineate a romantic but wild and often “primitive” Irish identity. A key text here was Matthew Arnold’s *The Study of Celtic Literature*, which identified the “Celtic Irish” in traditionally racist terms as “undisciplinable, anarchical and turbulent by nature,” “ineffectual in politics” and “poor, slovenly and half barbarous,” but which also detected an eloquence and delicacy in Celtic literature indicative of an ardent aspiration “after life, light and emotion, to be expansive, adventurous and gay.” According to Arnold, this instinct for “spontaneity” and “imagination” stood in stark contrast to the materialism of Victorian England. . . . Revivalist cultural historiography exploited Arnold’s concerns about the materialism of modern England to develop a thoroughly racialised “Anglophobia.” One of the key features distinguishing the national identity, in both Protestant and Catholic versions of Irish cultural nationalism, was its Celtic “spirituality,” which was positioned against the materialist, aggressively assimilative Anglo-Saxon or Roman-Briton. Irish revivalism also appropriated Arnold’s conception of the Hellenistic antidote to modern (i.e. English) materialism. (*Joyce, Race*, 43)

According to Arnold, “the skilful and resolute appliance of means to ends which is needed to make progress in material civilization, and also to form powerful states, is just what the Celt has least turn for” (*Study of Celtic Literature*, 89). While he rejects the notion that the Celt is “anarchic” or “turbulent,” Joyce’s version of a Celtic “imagination” or “visionary” tendency in opposition to Anglo-Saxon materialism has its antecedents in this English racial discourse. However, instead of the typical Revival concepts of Irish or Celtic spirituality, racial purity, or heroism deployed by Yeats and others as a response to materialism, Joyce prefers to abandon materialism altogether through recourse to what he regards as specifically Celtic forms of modern philosophy, namely skepticism and

idealism. As Gregory Castle has made clear, “Joyce refused the mystic essentialism that underwrote Yeats’s Revivalist aesthetics”: “Yeats’s mystical view of the Irish folk tradition, developed partly in response to Matthew Arnold’s imperialist Celticism, was grounded in what Yeats called ‘our “natural magic” [which] is but the religion of the world, the ancient worship of Nature and that troubled ecstasy before her, that certainty of all beautiful places being haunted, which it brought into men’s minds” (Castle, *Modernism*, 174). Yeats takes up Arnold’s binary system only to reverse its values. Joyce also adopts this system but modifies it in order to add a philosophical component and to suspend or cloud the value system in uncertainty. Celts are often seen as “visionary” in Joyce’s fiction, but this is not necessarily a positive estimation, and *Finnegans Wake* as a title is, in one very important sense, an exhortation.

Throughout Joyce’s career his interest in philosophy is almost totally in “Celtic” (David Hume, George Berkeley) or continental European (Thomas Aquinas, Giordano Bruno, Giambattista Vico) thought—he has hardly a word to say about, for example, Francis Bacon or Thomas Hobbes. As I shall discuss later, Joyce believed that Hume and Berkeley belonged to a specifically “Celtic” school of philosophy, along with Henri Bergson and Arthur Balfour. We might see this as a fairly idiosyncratic grouping and one that is not particularly Celtic, but, as George Cinclair Gibson has pointed out, a “symptom of Joyce’s borderline ‘madness’ was his amazing proclivity to make outlandish correspondences, connections, and associations between apparently unrelated things” (G. Gibson, 20).

Through the extreme modernist aesthetic of interiority and incertitude inspired by Hume and others and applied in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce presents an imaginative realm in total opposition to the external world of materialism. In this textual oblivion two main characteristics of Joyce’s fiction converge—his audacious formal innovation and his program of literary decolonization. As Robichaud comments, “the competing claims of nationalism and modernism need not . . . be seen as mutually exclusive”: “Joyce’s centrality in the modernist canon, upheld by both aesthetic and political readings of his fiction, has obscured his role as a peripheral writer of the English-language novel and his continual exploration of the meaning of nationality. It is possible, however, to transform our understanding of Joyce as a cosmopolitan writer by recognizing that such sophistication is directed *against* the Englishness of the novel in English,

a strategy that enacts its linguistic deterritorialization” (“Narrative,” 185–86).<sup>28</sup> Of course, this strategy shares aims with a Revival movement that we have come to see as alien to the supposedly indifferent, apolitical, cosmopolitan modernist Joyce.<sup>29</sup>

As Richard Begam points out, “Joyce is not unsympathetic to the larger goal of the Revival—establishing a genuinely Irish culture—but . . . he is hostile to the specific means it employed” (194).<sup>30</sup> I would argue that in order to establish a vision of this “genuine” culture Joyce involves other “aligned” societies (that Joyce believed Scotland and Ireland to be fundamentally linked will be demonstrated in the following chapters) and radically different means from that of the Revival. As Platt rightly points out, “it was extremely unlikely, given Joyce’s representations of Celticism in the pre-*Wake* fictions, that the *Wake* would authorize any conventional support of Celticism as a romantic ideology” (Platt, *Joyce, Race*, 46). However, he does authorize an unconventional, nonromantic, and highly original version of Celticism.

It is through the Humean, de-Anglicized night of *Finnegans Wake* that the Anglo-Saxon materialism and the “Englishness” of the novel as a format finally disappear. Like the dream of the boy visionary of *Duncan Campbell*, the *Wake* is an “unknown,” a state of inner exile from a world dominated by a threatening materialist civilization. For Joyce, this is a quintessentially Celtic procedure that connects to a larger attachment to obscurity in the “Celtic world”: “This fundamental tendency to obscure and thus conceal, is quintessentially Celtic. The very word *Celt* (etymologically associated with *ceilt*, ‘an act of concealment’) is derived from an ancient expression meaning ‘the hidden people’ because of this Celtic proclivity to conceal their lore and their rituals by means of oral tradition and obscure language. . . . The *Wake*’s obscurity, perhaps its most striking quality, is also one of its most profoundly Celtic characteristics” (G. Gibson, 226). As I will demonstrate in the subsequent chapters, Joyce’s representations of Scottish and Irish history are almost always linked to dreams and the unconscious, to literature based on the workings of inner life. Indeed, Scotland is rarely mentioned in Joyce’s work before *Finnegans Wake*. This constant linkage suggests that, for Joyce, the brain and its functions is the only place in which the Celtic “spirit” can—albeit temporarily—prevail. As Margot Norris states, “In the enduring struggle between the individual’s anarchic psyche and the

laws that make civilization possible, the psyche is momentarily triumphant only in the dream" (44). Or, as Sheldon Brivic puts it, "To transform the world into art, one must withdraw from it and promote spirit at the expense of matter" (*Joyce between Freud and Jung*, 202).<sup>31</sup> However, "the success of the modernist artist in creating what virtually amounts to a parallel universe paradoxically produces anxiety about the insecurity and the baselessness of this very world . . . the ineffectualness and impotency of merely imagined solutions to political problems" (Nolan, *Nationalism*, 160).

Such a "parallel universe" functions as an equivalent in *Finnegans Wake* of the disappearing materiality of the city in *Ulysses*, which has been read as a strategy of subaltern utopian imagination:

Reading modern works, critics tend to consider the unsaid a negative entity: the secret the text pushes into its unconscious. This is appropriate for texts that bolster existing hegemonic powers. When, however, a subaltern text is in question, then the unsaid may exist as the unarticulated possibility of a utopia. By refusing to map out in the novel the full cityscape of colonial might, with its monuments on the one hand and its degrading effects, the slums it has created, on the other . . . *Ulysses* leaves these spaces as imaginatively blank cityspaces that might therefore be filled with some other hopeful version of governance, of community and of the features that would memorialize it. (Duffy, "Disappearing Dublin," 54–56)

At the same time, this imaginative conception of a national or racial psyche removed from the material world avoids a standard "crude, and crudely spatial, conception of the nation" (Howes, 61). This creation of a "parallel universe" is part of what Michael Mays has described as a type of "negation" of colonial culture:

Unlike *Ulysses*, which has been read as an excessive extreme or terminal point in the historical development of the (essentially Realist) novel, *Finnegans Wake* doesn't make any sense in those terms. Rather, its very strangeness needs to be seen as a form akin to what Homi Bhabha has called "the language of colonial nonsense," the nonsense of a cultural incommensurability which manifests itself in

negation, in a procedure whereby “the impossibility of naming the difference of colonial culture alienates, in its very form of articulation, the colonialist cultural ideals of progress, piety, rationality and order.” (21)

The representation of a sleeping mind in *Finnegans Wake*, with all the distortions, strangeness, or “non-sense” that that entails or allows, can be thought of as a deliberate form of alienation, a manifestation of difference from the “colonialist cultural ideas,” especially “rationality” and “order.” In the chapters that follow, I want to show just how much this “psyche” of alienation and strangeness in Joyce’s postcolonial ethnophilosophical text is connected to Scottish literature and philosophy and, by extension, to a broader “Celtic” culture.

This is why a focus on Joyce’s engagements with the theories of David Hume is so important, because the basis of the “parallel universe” of *Finnegans Wake* is achieved through what Joyce reads as a unified “Celtic” philosophy, a combination of skepticism and idealism. This “ontology” becomes an alternative to imperialism, since it focuses on an exploration of the inner world at the expense of the material world. As MacCabe suggests, *Finnegans Wake* is Joyce’s answer to English culture in terms of the novel’s assault on the English language, but it is also a “mental” riposte to Joyce’s conception of the struggling, conquering, martial, commercial Anglo-Saxon “spirit.” Robert Burns—though he has been appropriated by Orange Order lodges and is linked in *Finnegans Wake* to British imperialism through close association with the Ulster Scots—is also brought into Joyce’s anti-imperialist campaign. Allusions to James Macpherson—which will be discussed in relation to the theories of Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold—function as a reminder of the linked cultural heritages of Ireland and Scotland as well as a commentary on the “constructedness” of texts, dreams, and nations. The copied nature of Macpherson’s work fits Joyce’s vision of a “copied” or “constructed” consciousness at a remove from reality.

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We begin our examination of Joyce and Scotland by looking at the “Oxen of the Sun” episode of *Ulysses*, which includes a Scottish character named

J. Crotthers, and the first chapter of this book provides a new explication of the unusual name of that character. Through this process we can develop a fresh conception of how Joyce viewed Scotland in his works predating *Finnegans Wake*. The name Crotthers can be read as a hidden presentation of the maritime links between Scotland and Ireland—and of the resulting mixed nature of both nations—chosen specifically by Joyce in order to reflect this idea. The Crotthers character foreshadows Joyce’s later work on mixture and duality in relation to Scotland while appearing in a section of *Ulysses* in which the possibility of accessing a verifiable truth is questioned. From this skepticism we move, in chapter 2, into the “Incertitude” (*FW*, 178.32) of *Finnegans Wake*, studying Joyce’s references to the philosopher and historian David Hume. This chapter will trace how Joyce associates Hume’s work with endings, viewing Hume’s mixture of skepticism and idealism as the conclusion of a certain branch of philosophy. The chapter will also describe how *Finnegans Wake* functions as a space of Celtic interiority through the application of Hume’s thought. Taken together, these opening chapters form the basis for our exploration of the Scottish culture in *Finnegans Wake*.

An examination of how Joyce utilizes the works of Robert Louis Stevenson and James Hogg as a way of working with the idea of split identity or divided consciousness in *Finnegans Wake* forms the nexus of the third chapter, entitled “Celtic Antisyzygy.” Here we see the two main subjects of the opening introductory chapters converge—interiority is now linked with duality and mental division. Having looked at how Joyce creates a vision of Scottish and Irish hybridity in *Ulysses* and how this links to a kind of evasive attitude to history and having established the connections between Scotland and (a) idealism and skepticism and (b) duality in the *Wake*, we can then, in chapter 4, bring these themes together by examining a textual motif Joyce bases on early Scottish history, on the merging of the Picts and the Scots. We will also study how Joyce contrasts Irish colonialism in ancient Scotland to the Scottish hand in the divisions of modern Ireland. This section also comments on national or racial mixing and discusses these ancient tribes with reference to the rival twin figures of the *Wake*, Shem and Shaun.

We can then move on to see how these ideas are applied to two major Scottish authors. Chapters 5 and 6 are case studies on Joyce and two Scottish poets. Chapter 5 will look at how Joyce considers the after-

effects of Irish civilization in Scotland in combination with a consideration of James Macpherson's place in the *Wake*. Chapter 6 looks at the "reverse" of this—the Scottish presence in the north of Ireland—in conjunction with a study of Joyce's use of the poetry and songs of Robert Burns. The final chapter studies how Joyce uses Burns's work to explore the Scottish presence in Ulster—an inversion of the pattern of the previous chapter—while paradoxically enlisting Burns in his act of literary decolonization.

Through a discussion Joyce's use of Scots characters, his adaptations of Scottish culture—prose, poetry, and philosophy—as well as his references to the history of "Alba" (*FW*, 463.24) a comprehensive overview of Joyce's substantial and varied engagements with Scotland will take shape. Since Joyce's ideas are often obscured or disguised by language, a philological-type approach will often be needed. The central argument of this study is that in *Finnegans Wake* Joyce creates a Celtic void of interiority and idealism removed from history while marked by division and recurrence: a "Celtic unconscious."

In III.i of *Finnegans Wake*, the authoritarian figure Shaun is being interrogated by "the Four," a group of old men who represent the Irish provinces, the writers of the Gospels, and the authors of the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*. In response to a question regarding Shaun having "painted our town a wearing greenridinghued" (*FW*, 411.24), a phrase that relates to the nationalist practice of painting red postboxes green in preindependence Ireland, Shaun replies with reference to contrasting terms of darkness and light such as "lampsleeve" (*FW*, 411.26), "shy of light" (*FW*, 411.27), and "The gloom hath rays" (*FW*, 411.27–28). This interest in light and dark continues onto the next page: "But it is grandiose by my ways of thinking from the prophecies. New worlds for all! And they were scotographically arranged for gentlemen only by a scrip-chewer in whofoundland who finds he is a relative. And it was with my extravert davy. Like glue. Be through. Moyhard's daynoight, tomthumb. Phwum! (*FW*, 412.1–6).<sup>32</sup> Here "scotographically" (Grk. σκοτος/*skotos*, "darkness"; γραφή/*graphō*, "I write") refers to an alternative name for radiography, the practice of using radioactive materials rather than light in order to create images.

The term Scotography might serve as a description of focus of the present study, since we are considering Joyce's use of Scottish literature,

and because this subject has been hidden in darkness until now, a blind spot in Joyce studies and Irish studies. To add to the sense of obscurity, the vast majority of Joyce's commentary on Scotland is found in the depths of *Finnegans Wake*, while Scottish culture is employed to create that obscure universe. Scotland, for Joyce, is on the one hand a site of ancient Irish colonization and expansion and on the other the origin of settlers into Ireland, and is thus both a Celtic relative and an accomplice in modern British imperialism. Joyce saw Scotland and Ireland as existing in a symbiotic and cyclical relationship, one that produces dual identities and cultures in each nation. Joyce signals this concept through patterns based on the mergings and schisms of Hibernian/Caledonian history, through allusion to Scottish texts concerned with internal partitions, and through his constant linkage of Scottish writing to his construction of the unconscious void of *Finnegans Wake*.

Joyce associates Scotland with different types of duality: through its dual identity as a Celtic relation of Ireland and as part of the British imperial dominating society, through its amalgamated nature as a nation founded upon an absorption of Irish immigrants, and through its literature exploring themes relating to split personality and doppelgängers. Regarding Scotland as closely linked to Ireland, Joyce saw the two nations existing in an almost mutualistic relationship, with Scotland not encompassing one set of values but being divided and composed of contrasting elements, in keeping with the trends of *Finnegans Wake*. This presentation fits the "truth-dismantling" (Thurston, *Problem*, 111) atmosphere of the *Wake*, while the inversions and repetitions of their shared histories provide a sense that history is a nonteleological or nonprogressive process. This text will endeavor to show that, rather than identifying Scotland with the "Protestant, Conservative and Unionist" (Maley, "Kilt by Kelt," 216) traditions that have previously been discussed in connection with his thoughts on Scotland, Joyce uses Scotland as a symbol of the convergence of opposites in *Finnegans Wake* while drawing upon Scottish culture to form the text's "inner exile." Though he sees Ireland and Scotland as almost inverted entities, he also views them as linked through processes of seaborne exchange, through a shared mythology, and through a philosophical preoccupation with skepticism and idealism.

Reviewing the texts of Andrew Gibson, in which Gibson presents Joyce as working “towards a liberation from the colonial power and its culture” and “[taking] his revenge on them” (*Joyce’s Revenge*, 13), John McCourt writes:

For Gibson’s Joyce, the will to freedom and to justice is read exclusively in terms of Ireland’s attempts to gain political freedom and justice from British colonization. It might more usefully be suggested that, while this is certainly an important and indeed a central concern of *Ulysses*, to limit the book only to this idea or to suggest that it is the dominating intention is to provincialize Joyce’s work and to ignore its larger reach and ambition. This is not to call for a return to a non-political Joyce, to the Joyce of Ezra Pound or even Richard Ellmann—quite the contrary. It is to say that Joyce, while concerned with the English-Irish knot, did everything in his literary power not to remain caught up in it, Mangan-like, and his works offer considerable tools for its untying. (Review, 890)

In the following pages I do not wish to suggest that Joyce’s work is limited to a specific response to colonialism or imperialism; that would indeed provincialize his output. Joyce’s range of interests, subject matters, techniques, and insights is vast, perhaps unparalleled in literature. However, Joyce’s responses to Ireland’s past and his reaction to the empire are central themes of his oeuvre. Furthermore, a discussion of Joyce and Scotland—while relating to those central themes—might help us understand Joyce’s attempts to untie that “English-Irish knot” somewhat, since such a discussion will entail his consideration of Irish culture and history in different contexts. It could also offer ways of thinking about how Joyce sought “not to remain caught up in” that knot (and the extent to which he is successful). Such an enterprise will also involve some of his other concerns. In Joyce’s Scotography we can see some of his important late artistic preoccupations develop: his conceptions of art and of dream, his views on the formation and character of nations, his representations of individual and national psyches. The aim here, to borrow a phrase from the above section of the *Wake*, is to develop new “ways of thinking.”