

***BILDUNGSROMAN, PRINT CULTURE, AND THE MULTIPLE VERSIONS
OF A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN:
“IN THE SMITHY OF MY SOUL”***

by

Conor Small

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of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in English with Distinction

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Conor Small

Approved: _____
Bernard McKenna, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: _____
Kevin Kerrane, Ph.D.
Committee member from the Department of English

Approved: _____
Miranda Wilson, Ph.D.
Committee member from the Board of Senior Thesis Readers

Approved: _____
Michelle Provost-Craig, Ph.D.
Chair of the University Committee on Student and Faculty Honors

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ABSTRACT

I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to
forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race.

-*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (185)

The above passage, the penultimate one in James Joyce's now-canonized modernist novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, is indicative of the process of creation and dissemination that the "literate" underwent to write his first great work. I propose to read and analyze that process in order to mine various alternate readings. *A Portrait* is the impressionistic coming-of-age story of Joyce's literary alter ego Stephen Dedalus growing up and becoming an exile in turn-of-the-century colonial Dublin. Joyce was able to pull material from his own life and experiences to write the novel and become a leading modern writer in his own time; but that transformation took 10 years and was built on a lifetime's worth of development. What began as a realistic, traditional *bildungsroman* called *Stephen Hero* in 1904 was rewritten and revised over 10 years while Joyce resided in several countries. The resulting text, *A Portrait*, was first serialized in a little modernist magazine called *The Egoist* and then published by its successor The Egoist Press, Ltd. That process of shaping the text now gives Joyce's *A Portrait* texts all new meanings, both as physical products in multiple states and as social products within literature. Thus I will examine those texts from 1904 to 1914 that became *A Portrait*, derived from *Stephen Hero* through the *Egoist* serial stories.

These mutable texts comprise a variety of things: the multiple constructions in which *Stephen Hero*, published after Joyce's death, is now presented, the meanings that *A Portrait* accumulated by appearing within *The Egoist* alongside the philosophy of its editor Dora Marsden, the censorship *A Portrait* was subjected to by printers of

The Egoist, and the readings that come forward when examining the texts with these things in mind—all topics addressed respectively in the following chapters. The resulting revelations are not about *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as a complete, demarcated work, but about the process of creation and how Joyce's work was presented. Issues of language become emphasized, the ability to develop is questioned, and literary merits are discovered or re-emphasized. Contemporary debates of what the novel is and what it can do were stirred by these early texts and attempts to aestheticize reality. Again, these discussions do not aim at reaching another understanding of the canonical *A Portrait* but at reading that text's development, an analysis of Joyce forging a work "in the smithy of my soul," for its own meaning so that readers may come to conceptualize that alongside their reading of the *magnum opus*.

Chapter 1

I

Stephen was subjected to the fires of six or seven hostile speakers . . . The climax of aggressiveness was reached when Hughes stood up. He declared in ringing Northern accents that the moral welfare of the Irish people was menaced by such theories. They wanted no foreign filth . . . the Irish people had their own glorious literature where they could always find fresh ideals to spur them on to new patriotic endeavors. Mr Daedalus was himself a renegade from the Nationalist ranks: he professed cosmopolitanism . . . you must first have a nation before you have art.

-*Stephen Hero* (102-03)

The canonical *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* looms large over its unfinished predecessor *Stephen Hero*, and that relationship has controlled both the dissemination of *Stephen Hero* as a text to study and as a marketable product. *A Portrait* carries connotations of a modernist touchstone, heavily studied and read across literature programs, having an established “centrality . . . in the modernist canon of life narratives” (Riquelme 465); but because of this, and despite *A Portrait*’s merits, *Stephen Hero* has been denied a certain critical appreciation. *Stephen Hero*, James Joyce’s first attempt at a fictional recreation of his maturation, predates *A Portrait*’s by at least four years and employs innovations on established coming-of-age genre conventions as well as Joyce’s personal experiences to redefine what a novel of formation might be. In a letter to his brother Stanislaus, James Joyce sets forth his goals in *Stephen Hero*: “I am trying . . . to give people some kind of intellectual pleasure or spiritual enjoyment by converting the bread of everyday life

into something that has a permanent artistic life of its own . . .” (Ellmann 169). To accomplish this, Joyce would use his memories of family, upbringing, and friends, first managing to place this “bread of everyday life” into a long essay entitled “A Portrait of the Artist,” written on January 7 1904. Part autobiography, part intellectual enquiry, the essay was promptly rejected by publishers. Thus spurned, Joyce undertook to rewrite the essay as his first novel, a detailed account of his roots covering schooling, religious period, artistic awakening. Basing the characters of the novel on renamed figures from his own life, the author recreated himself as Stephen Dedalus, “a renegade Catholic artist as hero” (Ellmann 153), and detailed his difficulties of development and individuality in his modern colonial society.

In order to consider the novel as both literary work and physical product, our scope of study must shift from just the import of its words to its actual physicality as object: cover, front and back flaps, title page, and the like. That material features carry semantic impact is outlined by George Bornstein in his book *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page*. Bornstein draws on the work of textual critics Sir Walter Wilson Greg, Jerome J. McGann, Fredson Bowers, and Hans Walter Gabler, outlining how reading beyond the words (“linguistic code”) and analyzing material features (“bibliographic code”) will “affect the reception and interpretation of the work” (6), an idea that enables me to discern that *Stephen Hero* is both presented through and overshadowed by the work it became. To be specific, individually published versions of *Stephen Hero*, called “constructions” by Bornstein, are all marked in relation to *A Portrait*. To Bornstein, “any particular version that we study of a text is always already a construction” (5). Every text is built a certain way to

serve some purpose, and upon inspection it becomes clear what end *Stephen Hero* has been relegated to serve.

Legend says that after *Stephen Hero* was rejected by its twentieth publisher, Joyce threw it into a fire in frustration, whereupon his wife saved what she could (Spencer 7). All that remains are fragments, which have been published over a decade: Theodore Spencer's 383 pages published in 1944 and John J. Slocum & Herbert Cahoon's 25 pages published in 1955. The Spencer fragment comprises Stephen's days spent in University College Dublin, an enlarged and more detailed version of *A Portrait's* Chapter V, while Slocum & Cahoon's is an account of Stephen's trip to provincial Mullingar to visit his godfather.

The first edition of *Stephen Hero*, a 1944 New Directions edition edited by Theodore Spencer (Fig. 1), is a hardback book with a simple but effective cover: on a black background is set a green cutout of Ireland, along with handwriting (presumably Joyce's) scribbled lengthwise across the cover. The handwriting is green as well, tying the literate's handwriting to his country of birth, melding their identities. The only print shown is the title "STEPHEN HERO" and "JAMES JOYCE" beneath that, both in bold white letters easily distinguished from the black and green. No other text appears on the cover, no mention of *A Portrait*, not even a publisher's label. From the cover alone, it seems that the text can be admired for its own sake.

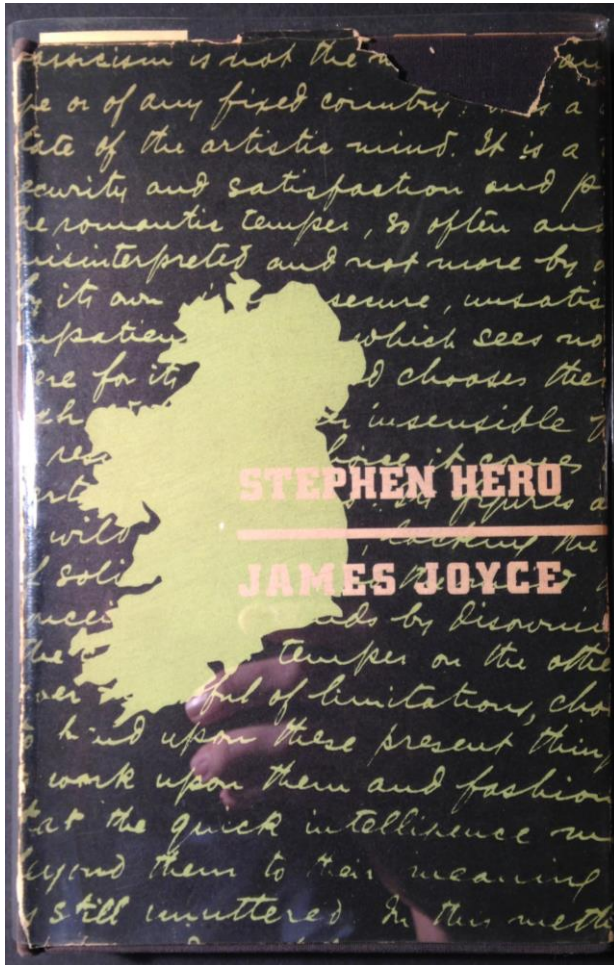


Fig. 1.
1944 New Directions first edition;
Theodore Spencer, ed., *Stephen
Hero* (New York: New Directions,
1944). Print.

The content furthers this theme, the title page simply repeating the book's title followed by a printed sketch of Joyce with a notable caption: "From the *portrait* drawing of James Joyce by Augustus John in the Collection of Mrs. Murray Crane" (my emphasis). This minimalism gives the book a feeling of something sacred, unpolished.

The opposing page finally furnishes a direct connection: "A PART OF THE FIRST DRAFT OF A *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*," perhaps as an inducement to see the early stage of a masterpiece and glimpse a portrait of a developing genius. That text gives it the weight of an archaeological discovery, a foundation of (literary) history. Theodore Spencer's Introduction reinforces and verbalizes that feeling by tracing the *Stephen Hero* remnant as it passed from Joyce to Sylvia Beach to the Harvard College Library: "Miss Beach . . . says that [the manuscript] dates from 1903, and adds the following sentence: 'When the manuscript came back to its author, after the twentieth publisher had rejected it, he threw it in the fire, from which Mrs. Joyce,

at the risk of burning her hands, rescued these pages . . . No surviving page of the manuscript shows any signs of burning” (Spencer 7-8). Readers have now been brought into an intimate circle: this text represents a very young Joyce, one that survived destruction. We weren’t necessarily supposed to read this, to know this permutation of Joyce. It is a treatment of *Stephen Hero* that suggests we can enjoy it as a literary work—though not independent from *A Portrait*. The front cover-flap summary cannot do without comparisons to the famous later version as well: “The love interest, only briefly sketched in the *Portrait*, is developed at some length in *Stephen Hero*, and there is also much detailed material about Joyce’s family background.” Yes, the suggestion is that we can enjoy *Stephen Hero* but we will do so because of *A Portrait*.

Commodification of *Stephen Hero* through *A Portrait* grows over time, as seen in the 1963 fourth edition by New Directions (Fig. 2), now edited by John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon in addition to Spencer. Taste and design have given way to convenience; this lighter paperback cover is drained of impact, the emerald isle green missing from the Ireland cutout and handwriting. Both background and cutout are now grayscale, the handwriting white and sunken into the background. Other text now intrudes onto the cover: “A New Directions Paperback,” small but clear in the corner. This is a mass market product. The 1944 edition’s back cover, a list of other New Directions publications, has been replaced by a book summary, in which *Stephen Hero* is connected to *Portrait* on the opening line. Spencer’s tender historical account of *Stephen Hero*’s “burning” is reduced to a small quip here. Details are omitted as a consequence of fitting the description on this back cover, a much simpler surface than

a hardback book flap. Even the price intrudes on the back cover, printed clearly in the corner.

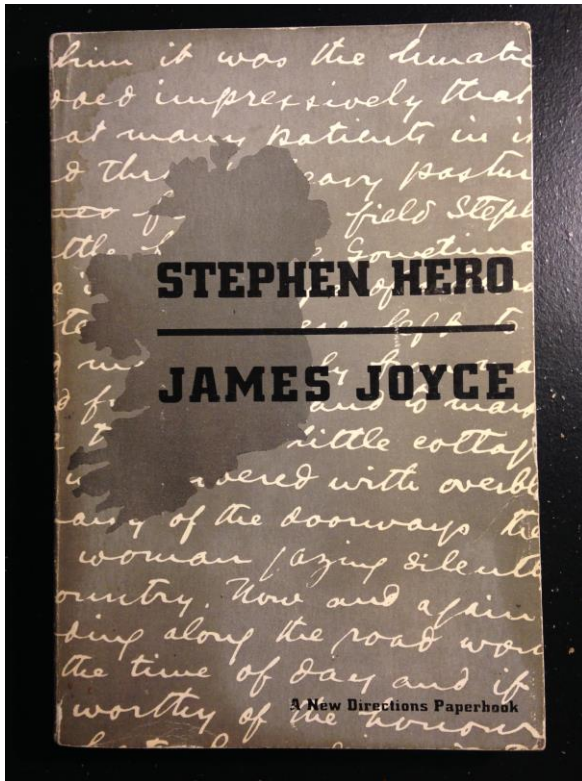


Fig. 2.
1963 New Directions fourth edition;
Theodore Spencer et al, eds., *Stephen
Hero* (New York: New Directions,
1963). Print.

Inside, the hand-sketched portrait of Joyce is gone. Immediately, readers turn to a new Foreword, this one by Slocum and Cahoon, which briefly outlines the discovery of 25 additional pages of *Stephen Hero*

manuscript absent from the original Spencer fragment. The Foreword discusses the new content in relation to *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. Spencer's original introduction comes next, and then the manuscript. Through its constant references to the later work, we are again given an historical artifact of *A Portrait* rather than a literary work in itself. This commodifying of *Stephen Hero* becomes something less to be admired in itself than a supplement to the "greater" *A Portrait*.

By the seventh edition (Fig. 3), a 1969 Jonathan Cape one, *Stephen Hero* has all but dissolved into an advertisement for *A Portrait*. Its hardback cover reestablishes some sense of history and rigidity, but only strictly in relation to *A Portrait*. The

front-cover image features an illustration of Stephen's first encounter with a prostitute, which occurs at the end of *A Portrait*'s Chapter II. Now while this episode may have been written into the *Stephen Hero* manuscript originally, it no longer appears there; the published textual fragment does not contain the prostitute scene. Readers will understand this illustration only if they have read or studied *A Portrait*. The publishers no longer verbalize that connection—it is implicit in the book's very bibliographic code. On the back cover, under the heading "JAMES JOYCE," are descriptions of two of his canonical texts: the ever-present *A Portrait* and *Dubliners*. Further, on one of the opening pages is a list of books "By the same author." *A Portrait* is, of course, listed first. We are given Slocum and Cahoon's Foreword then Spencer's Introduction and then the manuscript text, but no additional photographs or sketches—no new material or fresh perspective on the text. Not as clearly commodified as the 1963 New Directions version, this new edition remains an artifact, its *raison d'être* clearly inscribed on every available surface: *A Portrait*.

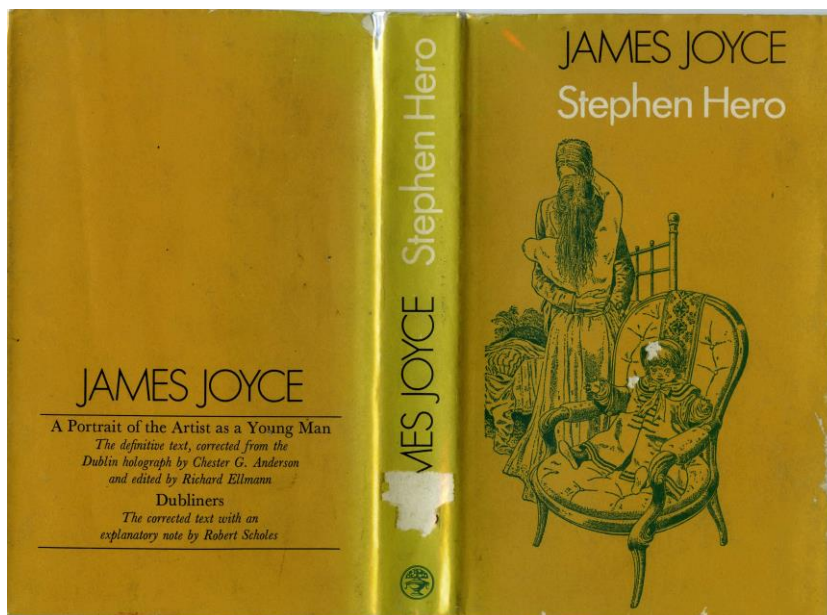


Fig. 3.
1969 Jonathan Cape
seventh edition;
Theodore Spencer
et al, eds., *Stephen
Hero* (London:
Jonathan Cape,
1969). Print.

Description and analysis thus reveal how *Stephen Hero* has become a material object of study, related to Joyce's later masterpieces, as opposed to being an independent text, itself worthy of study. Given the canonicity of *A Portrait*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*, this isn't altogether surprising. Edward Bishop says in "Re: Covering *Ulysses*:" "Both author and publisher want the work to be bought as well as read" (22). His investigation of *Ulysses*'s marketing campaigns found that "'Brand-name' recognition is crucial" (25). After all, a publisher has an economic and social function to fulfill: selling books. Tying a lesser-known, incomplete manuscript to an established literary classic certainly gives the former a feature that readers and customers can relate to. In this sense, *Stephen Hero*'s marketing has been successful, adapting the text's natural advantage within the literary economic environment. Nevertheless, as Bishop notes, "This commodification has great implications for the reading experience, for the concretization of the text" (25), that is, the influence of bibliographic on linguistic code, on tying *Stephen Hero* to *A Portrait*, may obscure those innovations and revelations Joyce developed in writing *Stephen Hero* in the first place.

What literary merits are at stake here? What does Joyce achieve in *Stephen Hero*? His coming-of-age story in a colonial culture detailing Dublin's ennui makes use of a classic narrative structure for an underrepresented part of society: applying the *bildungsroman* to a colonized people. The novel captures the struggles of those not in ideal social situations to rise and become prosperous. It is an attempt at what Joyce would later succeed in through *A Portrait*'s publication in *The Egoist*: employing innovations for a new aesthetic that would change the cultural landscape to one more in line with the reality of the turn of the century, "the reality of experience" as Stephen

Dedalus put it. *Bildungsroman* (often referred to as the “coming-of-age” genre, but what I’ll call the novel of formation) was first noted by German scholar Karl Morgenstern in the 19th century in his paper and lecture “On the Nature of the *Bildungsroman*.” To him, the novel of formation was the highest form of the novel, a genre that, “represents the development of the hero in its beginning and progress to a certain stage of completion . . .” (Boes 654). Morgenstern takes this idea of development a step further to include the genre’s author: “the most lifelike, powerful, and instructive elements of the novel, and indeed of poetry in general, remain those that the poet has himself lived and experienced . . .” (658). The concept of recycling life experience to form narrative, as we have seen, is one Joyce subscribed to. After all, he meant to use “the bread of everyday life” to illustrate his own progression.

Joyce was taking ownership of some specific features by adopting the novel of formation. As seen in the article “The Novel of Formation as Genre,” Marianne Hirsch writes that first and foremost the *bildungsroman* details one central character’s “*growth and development* within the context of a defined social order,” growth that happens to a protagonist, rather than their instigation of it, as they are not actively in control of circumstances (296-97). *Stephen Hero* fits this description by focusing on Stephen at University College Dublin, a classic situation of “defined social order.” At the very beginning of the textual fragment, Stephen takes note of the College’s hierarchy: “The president of the college was a sequestered person who took the chair at reunions and inaugural meetings of societies. His visible lieutenants were a dean and a bursar” (Joyce 23). He studies its rules and functioning: “[the bursar] insisted on punctuality . . . what made him severe was a few minutes lost every day: it disturbed the proper working of the classes” (24). And Stephen exercises his ability to

circumvent those rules: “the [bursar] eyed him solemnly. [Stephen] turned his head quietly towards the bursar and said ‘Fine morning, sir . . .’ The beauty of the morning and the appositeness of the remark both struck [the bursar] at the same time and he answered cheerily: ‘Beautiful! Fine bracing morning now!’” (24).

Second, Hirsch outlines what the protagonist is up against: “Society is the novel’s *antagonist* and is viewed as a school of life, a locus for experience” (297). The struggle is in a social sphere, and throughout *Stephen Hero* Stephen tries to discover, then outright rejects, to see where he fits among his peers and within UCD: “The monster in Stephen had lately taken to misbehaving himself and on the least provocation was ready for bloodshed. Almost every incident of the day was a goad for him and the intellect had great trouble keeping him within bounds . . . He hardly spoke to his colleagues and performed the business of the class without remark or interest” (Joyce 29). This rejection of worldly interests is priest-like in its intensity, making Stephen a target for his classmates to test: “‘Daedalus,’ said the Auditor crisply, ‘you are a good fellow but you have yet to learn the dignity of altruism and the responsibility of the human individual’” (52). Hirsch stresses that this search for social identity and place “is a version of the quest story,” and thus the progression of episodes in *Stephen Hero* illustrates development within a traditional novel of formation’s “*linear chronological plot*” (297).

Hirsch’s third key point is that “the narrative point of view and voice . . . is characterized by *irony* toward the inexperienced protagonist rather than nostalgia for youth” (298). Joyce, of course, excels here, bringing irony to the book’s very title, as Stanislaus Joyce attested to in his diary: “Finally a title of mine was accepted: ‘Stephen Hero’ from Jim’s own name in the book ‘Stephen Dedalus.’ The title, like

the book, is satirical” (Ellmann 153). The story’s irony was in introducing a promising young man into colonial Irish society and exaggerate its faults through him. Stephen is only a hero to himself, a martyr to his philosophy of art, rather than any national symbol to society. His key movement towards integration occurs at the delivery of his paper “Art and Life” to the UCD Literary and Debating Society meeting, one in which he explains his aesthetic theory in terms of Thomas Aquinas and applies the theory to the plays of Henrik Ibsen, whom Stephen sees as “the first among the dramatists of the world” (Joyce 40). Stephen’s peers, on the other hand, “had not the least idea who Ibsen was but from what they could gather here and there they surmised that he must be one of the atheistic writers whom the papal secretary puts on the *Index*” (41). Stephen is aware of their ignorance for Ibsen and aware that the majority of his classmates are both strictly Nationalist and Catholic, but nonetheless he “refused therefore to set out for any task if he had first to prejudice his success by oaths to his patria and this refusal resulted in a theory of art which was at once severe and liberal” (77). There’s a bit of irony as well in the fact that Stephen’s fellow students are also fully detailed characters: they have recognizable personalities and describable traits. They are real figures, not just mindless adherents to those Nationalist and Catholic ideals, their ability to integrate successfully into UCD society serves to further isolate him. They have places in colonial Ireland where, because of his refusal and severity, Stephen does not.

Because of this, Stephen’s paper is objected to and hounded by several of his peers at the Literary Society meeting. Says one student: “Had not the drama owed its very birth to religion? That was indeed a poor theory which tried to bolster up the dull dramas of sinful intrigues and to decry the immortal masterpieces” (102). From

several others: “The essay was pronounced a jingle of meaningless words, a clever presentation of vicious principles in the guise of artistic theories, a reproduction of the decadent literary opinions of exhausted European capitals. The essayist was supposed to intend parts of his essay as efforts at practical joking . . .” (102). The final, and most important, objection: “It [*sic*] they were to have art let it be moral art, art that elevated, above all, national art . . .” (103). Stephen merely solidifies his position as an exile of colonial Irish society, upholder only of his egoistic theory. He is no figure rising to the top of his society in glory, and he is no hero to anyone else.

In this pseudo-rise of the hero, *Stephen Hero* builds on traditional novels of formation for a different kind of development. Gregory Castle explains in his essay “Coming of Age in the Age of Empire,” about the *bildungsroman* genre that modernists inherited: “Nineteenth-century *bildungsromane* . . . generally focused on the hero’s more prosaic social relations, primarily those involved in pursuing a vocation and a spouse” (670). *Stephen Hero* certainly contains this, although Stephen fails to find either a proper vocation or to sway his beloved Emma Cleary’s heart in the text. But the novel goes beyond that too: “Modernist versions [of *bildungsroman*] raised issues in formally innovative ways about what constitutes youth, freedom, identity, and success, and about what it means to be human within modernity” (Riquelme 463). Joyce innovated the *bildungsroman* by reshaping the traditional narrative of the white bourgeois male (Castle 667) as established by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1796), Stendhal’s *Le Rouge et le Noir* (1830), and Gustave Flaubert’s *L’Éducation sentimentale* (1869) into a narrative of the colonized poor Catholic boy. He rebels, for example, against traditional outcomes to a *bildungsroman*: Rejected by his peers, Stephen refuses Catholicism,

embraces art over nation, and has a detrimental relationship with father and family: “Stephen’s home-life had by this time grown sufficiently unpleasant: the direction of his development was against the stream of tendency of his family . . . Stephen was harassed very much by enquiries as to his progress at the College and Mr Daedalus, meditating upon the evasive answers, had begun to express a fear that his son was falling into bad company” (Joyce 48). The traditional hero succeeded here where Stephen fails (Castle 670), since Stephen’s “direction of development” therefore does not at all conform to his society, and so according to that traditional *bildungsroman* narrative he fails to mature.

In Joyce’s narrative, the bourgeois Catholic men of Dublin actually negate their development: “Having little use for the idea of literature as a transformative medium, much of the Irish bourgeoisie saw education as, at best, a means to an administrative position” (Deppman 54). Stephen runs counter to this notion, and true growth for him is a process of disillusionment: “the protagonist’s initial values . . . are compromised in any accommodation to a profoundly corrupt society. Reality can never measure up to the imaginative richness” (Hirsch 300-02). In “James Joyce: From Hero to Author of the *Bildungsroman*,” Jed Deppman writes: “[Joyce’s characters] lead uncomfortable, unfulfilling lives without quite knowing why” (546), and although Deppman specifically mentions Little Chandler, Ignatius Gallaher, and Gabriel Conroy from the *Dubliners* stories, this assessment also aptly fits Stephen and Simon Daedalus in *Stephen Hero* and *Portrait* as well as Richard Rowan in *Exiles*, Molly Bloom in *Ulysses*, and Shaun in *Finnegans Wake*. Reality disappoints them all; their success at integration within society is minimal at best. Formative disillusionment is a running subtext throughout Joyce’s canon.

On the other hand, Castle writes, “Joyce . . . was able to translate disempowerment into narratives of survival, even if survival meant dissent and, ultimately, exile” (670). What’s notable in *Stephen Hero* is that, as Hirsch observed, Stephen does not compromise his values, for better or for worse. Within this truth lies the inherent value of *Stephen Hero*, both as an individual text and a modernist *bildungsroman* narrative. Spencer detailed this in his Introduction by outlining five aspects of the novel that Joyce detailed in particular: family, friends, life in Dublin, religion, and art (13). These features reveal how not just other characters reject him but in how he isolates himself too. Thus we can organize the book’s narrative and find that within each aspect, Stephen emerges as a renegade. It’s apparent in his home and (more importantly) in his education, the dominant focus of and setting for the text. We can consider his education as a blend of Riquelme’s concepts youth and identity, for Stephen studies the literature he identifies with and grows from. As pointed out in Jill Muller’s article “John Henry Newman and the Education of Stephen Dedalus,” one of the most prominent authors for Stephen is Newman, the Catholic theologian:

Stephen’s debates with his teachers are a struggle over interpretation of Newman’s legacy in which Stephen frequently quotes or paraphrases Newman against the Jesuits in order to expose how far their pedagogic practices have lapsed from the Cardinal’s original intention . . . Stephen claims the Cardinal as a fellow rebel against the entanglement of religion and nationalism, emphasizing Newman’s rejection of the insular tradition of the Church of England in favor of a Catholicism that transcends national boundaries. (594)

True to form, Stephen uses Newman in a debate with the College President Dr. Dillon in order to support his aesthetic theories in his essay “Art and Life,” applying Catholic concepts to secular art, a tactic that baffles the President but one he acquiesces to (Joyce 90). In a similar vein, we see how Stephen identifies with other

artists, particularly Henrik Ibsen: “the minds of the old Norse poet and of the perturbed young Celt met in a moment of radiant simultaneity” (40). Ibsen’s work is the approval Stephen needs for his own aesthetic philosophy, because it is art for art’s sake rather than moral art: “Let the world solve itself in whatsoever fashion it pleased, let its putative Maker justify himself by whatsoever processes seemed good to Him, one could scarcely advance the dignity of the human attitude a step beyond this answer” (41). Stephen makes his views of religion and art quite clear: “the ‘unalterable laws’ of which great art is an expression are aesthetic rather than moral. [Stephen] rejects the Jesuit’s view that art must teach a moral lesson” (Muller 597). It is here that he distinguishes between his schooling at UCD and his self-education (Newman, Ibsen).

Certain details in *Stephen Hero* reveal the motivations for Stephen’s individuality and isolation. His belief in genuinely accepting religious and political doctrines are what Muller calls real assents, as opposed to notional assents (599). In real assents, “individuals consider the evidence and come to their own conclusions” (599), whereas the notional, “are collective, unconscious, and often unaccompanied by any serious attempt to implement the religion’s moral teachings” (599). Stephen creates an aesthetic philosophy in the first place by rejecting either a real or notional assent to Catholicism. Uninterested in being a part of the collective, his inability to compromise isolates him from his peers, who all turn on his aesthetics in acceptance of Catholicism and Nationalism. *Stephen Hero* also shows Stephen craving acceptance—he presents his paper to the College population, debates with students and teachers, even tries to sway his family’s opinions towards Ibsen (Joyce 86). But there is no integration. He will not compromise and they will not change to

accommodate him. The value of *Stephen Hero* is in these details. Joyce created an in-depth view of Stephen in the novel that depicts isolation and individuality in all aspects of his characters life, and in doing so addresses Riquelme's notion of what it means to be human within modernity.

Although *Stephen Hero* was never published in its own time and has since been constructed only as a supplement to *A Portrait*, it is a notable text for the path it begins to carve. Its conflicts, "what constitutes youth, freedom, identity, and success, and about what it means to be human within modernity," (Riquelme 463), were issues that continued to be explored as Modernist literature carried on, both in the works of other major writers (Pound, Yeats, Lewis, et al.) and in Joyce's own publications. This discussion will continue in the next chapter, but suffice to say *Stephen Hero* was both the first major step that Joyce had to take in finding his vision for the revelatory *A Portrait* and an innovation on traditional literary form in itself.

My twofold analysis of *Stephen Hero*, bibliographically and linguistically, has been in service of this end: that, as we've seen, the physicality of *Stephen Hero* foregrounds its importance almost entirely as being related to *Portrait*, thereby making it a cultural and historical artifact, obscuring its literary value as a modernist colonial *bildungsroman*. My own research reveals the lack of notice *Stephen Hero* has received: most articles regarding it and Joyce do not analyze the novel without readings of or relations to *A Portrait*, and upon searching for material on both the physical features and *bildungsroman* qualities of the novel I found no results whatsoever. Literary details and innovations within Joyce's novel show his young mind already searching for rebellious and poignant ways of expression.

Chapter 2

II

Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow
coming down along the road . . .

-*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1)

By publishing Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in her little modernist magazine *The Egoist*, editor Dora Marsden identified the impressionistic *bildungsroman* as the aesthetic representation of her individualistic philosophy. Previously, in June 1913, as her politics evolved away from organized feminism towards radical individualism, the subtitle "An Individualist Review" was added under the masthead of *The New Freewoman*, predecessor to *The Egoist* (Brooker & Thacker 264). It was still there when the first part of Chapter I from *A Portrait* appeared in Volume 1 Issue 3 of the newly named *Egoist*, published February 2, 1914. Marsden had already declared the need for "clearing current language of padding as a preliminary of egoistic investigation" (Brooker & Thacker 278), and, in featuring Joyce's experimental novel, she aligned its narrative with that goal and the social stance of the magazine.

Marsden could not have happened upon a more fitting text for her personal and political philosophy. In 1911 she moved to London and began, with the financial and intellectual support of Harriet Shaw Weaver, her first review *The Freewoman*, a forum for suffragists, feminists, anarchists, and socialists (Brooker & Thacker 270). This review was the first manifestation of what is considered, by Susan Solomon of the online *Modernist Journals Project*, a single entity called the "Marsden Magazines." The following two manifestations, *The New Freewoman* in 1913 and *The Egoist* in 1914, were still edited by Marsden and marked the development of her individualistic

philosophy, powerfully influenced by Max Stirner's book *The Ego and His Own*, which declared that individuals should follow no master besides themselves. Marsden soon rejected the narrowness of all social movements, including the suffragism and feminism that she had once supported, for a new philosophy: complete autonomy of the individual alongside a strong aesthetic for "direct and immediate expression of true emotions and the rejection of abstract concepts" (Brooker & Thacker 281). She called for the aforementioned revision of language, as its power could be used by external authority to categorize individuals into titles and causes (277), and for the empowerment of individuals to follow their own impulses (Soloman). *The New Freewoman* and *The Egoist* after it grew more literary than their political predecessor *The Freewoman*. Marsden, according to Soloman, could then claim: "Egoism . . . is best found in the expressions of artistic genius. In this way we can also see how *Künstlerromans* like James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* . . . found in the magazine a hospitable space for their serialization."

Joyce, coincidentally, could not have hoped for a better publisher. After the signal failure of garnering any interest in *Stephen Hero*, his own views on this first attempt at a novel changed. Peter Costello explains: "*Stephen Hero* had been a traditional *bildungsroman* . . . The massive social data and extended treatment no longer appealed to Joyce after the concise achievement of 'The Dead.'" (275). And so the transformation into *A Portrait*, as Joyce explained to his brother, focused instead on the direct treatment of the artist's mental gestation: "we are what we were; our maturity is an extension of our childhood, and the courageous boy is father of the arrogant young man" (Ellmann 306). This experimental new work finally saw the light of day when Ezra Pound, an American friend of W.B. Yeats with publishing

connections in England and America, discovered Joyce and sent the first chapter of *A Portrait* to Marsden (Ellmann 362).

The *A Portrait* fragment, I will argue, is the centerpiece for all the other published work in *The Egoist* 1.3, both in terms of analytical bibliography and literary sociology (in the physical features of the publication and its place in society, respectively). Outlined by G. Thomas Tanselle in “Textual Criticism and Literary Sociology,” this approach treats literature as a collaborative art between author, editor, and the publishing team, making their product a joint one (155). Accordingly, says Tanselle, “Language is seen to betray those who attempt to express themselves through it, and meaning is found to emerge from historical contexts and from the encounter of readers with texts” (156). Thus the co-habitation of *A Portrait* and *The Egoist*’s other material is not merely incidental, and my analysis will show how they illuminate one another within this context.

The very physicality of *The Egoist* 1.3 implies *A Portrait*’s importance to the magazine and Marsden’s philosophy. The typography of the magazine and formatting of the text are both simple and “direct,” to use Marsden’s word, reflecting a style like the newspapers of the early 20th century with columns of small print, implying that Marsden and her publishing team were focused more on language’s meaning than appearance. Their published material was a forum for debate, largely essays by contributors and staff, and so in order to attract readers the contents of the review are right under the masthead. This “Contents” area is placed where one’s eyes first casually scan to see if anything looks interesting, and thus the placement speaks to how the publishing team sold their product: through the names and texts listed, scholars and writers like Marsden, *Egoist* Assistant Editor Richard Aldington,

Imagiste poet H.D., and, of course, Joyce. It identifies who true Egoists are and what they write about.

The placement of contents in *The Egoist* 1.3 is intentional too. *A Portrait* is not on the front page, nor on the second. It actually appears in the heart of the magazine, after 3 philosophical essays and Aldington's criticism column "Books and Papers." In this ordering readers would encounter the philosophy and beliefs within *The Egoist* first, which outline the individualism Marsden wanted to promote. Then came *A Portrait*, an application of these ideas to aesthetics which pushes art to the foreground and philosophy to the subtext. It positions Joyce's text in a social and political sphere as a way of representing to readers how creativity should be approached. This ordering also allows *A Portrait* a place of honor on the cover of *The Egoist*: front and center in the "Contents," a spot that potential readers were likely to first glance at. Then, on page 50 of the installment, the text of *A Portrait* begins on the right side column, its title at the top right next to *The Egoist* masthead (to align the two in readers' minds) and the date of publication: February 2nd, 1914 (Joyce's 32nd birthday). Marsden and her team must've placed a good bit of faith in Joyce's writing.

If we read Marsden's magazine as a "social product" (Tanselle 171) now, what readings are brought forward in *A Portrait*? What is emphasized in Joyce's text that would not have been if it were standing alone? First, the published material of *The Egoist* installment 1.3 is as follows: two essays by Marsden ("Men, Machines and Progress" and "Views and Comments") which stress the need for skepticism of authority and the influence of language, one essay by Allen Upward ("The Plain Person") analyzing the ambiguity of political and religious titles, and a short piece by Huntly Carter ("Art-Passion, Patronage & Pay") regarding the passion for and

commercialization of art. There is also a brief collection of thoughts and reflections by Aldington (“Books and Papers”) reviewing other contemporary work, a series of H.D.’s Imagist poems (Ezra Pound’s poetic inclination at the time), a report on a committee presentation that included Aldington and W.B. Yeats, and a few miscellaneous pieces to fill the remaining pages.

The first *A Portrait* episode, which was the first eight pages of Chapter I, is dominated by the mental state of young Stephen’s Dedalus’s mind: his infantile memories of his parents (Joyce 1-2), his first days at Clongowes Wood College, memories and associated thoughts of his parents (in the associative logic that structures the narrative stream of the novel), attempts to define words, like “kiss” (2), and fit in at school as well as confront conflicts, like the bully Wells (7) and “politics” (8). The story begins with now-canonical words: “O N C E upon a time and a very good time it was, there was a moo-cow coming down along the road, and this moo-cow that was down along the road met a niceus little boy named baby tuckoo. . . .” (1). This comes right after Aldington’s “Books and Papers,” a survey and review of the newest publications, and so shifts the narrative tone from one of criticism to that of a storyteller. Joyce fittingly started his story with the most well-known four words of fantasy and children’s stories, again an adoption of a traditional literary feature for his own use, while signaling the significance that stories would play here. Readers are given infant Stephen’s impression of his father telling him a story, i.e., an account of an account. The intellectual language and philosophical questions are replaced by the impressions of a child.

Joyce applied Impressionism, that is, “the truth of appearances to the senses, of the visible world to the eyes that see it” (Symons 98-99), for *A Portrait* to achieve a

subtler, more succinct text than *Stephen Hero*. This technique that would place him, when *A Portrait* appeared in *The Egoist*, as a “leading modern writer” (Costello 311). The famous first page and a half of the novel is emblematic of this impressionistic style: a panorama of infant then childhood Stephen’s first experiences that encompasses all five senses, “When you wet the bed, first it is warm then it gets cold. His mother put on the oilsheet. That had the queer smell” (Joyce 1). Readers interpreted and understood this kind of hypersensitive cataloguing through the lens of *The Egoist*, through such things as Marsden’s call for “direct and immediate expression of true emotions.” For example, examine the second essay in this issue by Marsden, “Views and Comments: The Chastity of Women,” which analyzes both the practice of chastity in society and how the subject is represented in writing: “Chastity is the generalisation and means nothing” (Marsden 45), i.e. it is an empty term and is the abstraction she wants to avoid. “The flesh,” she writes, “is strong and intact, but the spirit is confused and stricken: considering which circumstances it would have been less perplexing had the author in offering the sexual habits of women for the emulation of men spoken of her panacea as ‘Virginity’” (45). Criticism aside, Marsden makes a valuable point here: that physicality has definable qualities to write about which “spirit” does not. In this light, it makes more sense for an author to write of the physical aspects rather than abstract intellectual ones. Joyce’s text reaches a level that others lack: meaning through showing, not telling. This practice achieved multiple goals: a new aesthetic with which Joyce would create his “reality,” a standout artistic voice for previously unsung writers and communities and at least the possibility of breaking literature free from the censorship it faced throughout the 19th century.

Considering Joyce's future difficulties in publishing the novels *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, the clearing of censorship laws took some time to catch up with Marsden's wishes, but her publication certainly paved a way by exemplifying the individualist attitude she wrote about. Other *A Portrait* passages reflect this alongside her essays: the first article in this *Egoist* issue, "Men, Machines and Progress," was also penned by Marsden, exemplary of her long explanations on egoism and language. Its pastiche of topics include the act and power of naming (41), a comparison of the Individualist manifesto to Marxist ones (41), the evolution of cognitive theories through the 19th century (41-42), innovations regarded by many to be "progress" (43) and a discussion about the tension between innovation and language (44). "Men, Machines and Progress" opens by drawing attention to specific words: "The hypnotism of sound lulls sense into accepting a 'thought,' . . . Hence the device of making 'sacred' names—the sacred names of 'Duty,' 'Right,' 'Obedience,' 'Liberty' and the entire 'moral' outfit, whereby it becomes sinful to question names" (41). The *A Portrait* fragment contains several appearances of both "right" and "thought," words that are then loaded with importance and new meaning: "What was the right answer to the question? [Stephen] had given two and still Wells laughed. But Wells must know the right answer for he was in third of grammar . . . He still tried to think what was the right answer. Was it right to kiss his mother or wrong to kiss his mother? What did that mean, to kiss?" (Joyce 7). Also: "He tried to think what a big thought that must be; but he could only think of God" (Joyce 8).

Joyce's examination of words here is paired with Marsden's in her article. He illustrates what Marsden explains: "The hypnotism of sound lulls sense into accepting a 'thought,' i.e. an error born of ineffectual thinking, into its categories of existent

things, and giving to it a 'local habitation and a name.' The name is all important since over and above the name there is nothing of reality connected with it" (Marsden 41). Readers are witnessing this mental event when Stephen tries to define *kiss*. This makes Stephen's confusion all the more important: not only is he being bullied for not understanding the world, his confusion comes to affect his behavior: his shyness at school, his difficulty in making friends and, as seen at the end of Chapter I with the rector Father Conmee, his fear to stand up and speak for himself. On the surface level, it's easy to see that Stephen is shy and lonely at Clongowes amongst his much older peers, but with "Men, Machines and Progress" readers can understand both why and how that comes to affect his development.

Another key thread in Marsden's essay here is her political discussions. *The Freewoman* was a political springboard, a forum for individuals to speak their minds, but *The Egoist* takes another step by combining the politics with literature. Those features inevitably blend. "Men, Machines and Progress" does this by comparing Marxist, Capitalist and Individualist manifestos, and the conflict of which being: "that the genius of the few will never rest until it has discovered a power upon which can be thrown the performance of the labouring work of the world. All tools he maintains are efforts in this direction" (41). We then look at how Stephen's world operates and how individuals negotiate these conflicts as well: "He wondered which was right . . . [because Dante] told him that [Nationalist Parliament member] Parnell was a bad man. He wondered if they were arguing at home about that. That was called politics. There were two sides in it: Dante was on one side and his father and Mr. Casey were on the other . . . Every day there was something in the paper about it" (Joyce 8). Stephen does not even realize it, but his guardian Dante and his father Simon are both trying to

pull him to their side of the political discussion. One day, he too will have to decide on (or at least have an opinion on) conflicts like “the genius of the few” and “labouring work.”

Allen Upward embarks on a different political discussion when, in his essay “The Plain Person,” he wrote: “most of our ideologists . . . assume as their fundamental postulate that God has not made men so, and that it is not human nature, too, to growl and fight” (47). Upward then refutes this belief and uses politics as evidence. For example, individuals try to differentiate themselves from others and so choose titles with which to do so, sparking conflicts on those titles alone: “One powerful party among them has adopted as its badge the word ‘Catholic,’ while another boasts of the description ‘Liberal’ . . . A longhead is always able to see the mental perversity and intolerance of the longhead who is opposed to him, but . . . he labours under the extraordinary delusion that he himself must be a broadhead” (47). This conflict then appears in the matter of Parnell, mentioned above, which splits the Dedalus household. “The Plain Person” also furnishes readers with a cynical attitude to take to Catholics in *A Portrait* as well, another loading of language.

Yet “The Plain Person,” and all the previous articles for that matter, represent development in how *The Egoist* presented its philosophy and discussions: although this magazine had started as a political review, it was turning into a literary one. That evolution then “was to serve, alongside the Egoist Press, as a main vehicle for precisely those figures (Lewis, Joyce, Pound, and Eliot) who were to emerge as the familiar male modernist literary canon” (Brooker & Thacker 264). This is exemplified in the political articles of *The Egoist* 1.3, which emphasize the importance of language, for the need to define clearly in order to understand the world. This, of

course, maps right onto Marsden's philosophy, as does the literary achievement of *A Portrait's* Chapter I, but it also proves that the conversation on language and how it affects our lives was a backdrop for the entire review. Politics remains a key topic, but it seems that increasingly *The Egoist* says that even politics depends on the application of language, an event that Joyce likewise implies in his impressionistic *bildungsroman*.

Politics and language: although Stephen is only a child in this first excerpt of *A Portrait*, these issues are pressed onto him; the seeds of their future conflicts are planted. Reading with this understanding allows the audience to begin mapping that progress and see the difficulty in making one's way through colonial Irish society. Even if the impressionistic style makes the text dense, the language can be unpacked and examined through the rest of *The Egoist*. This *bildungsroman* is a mental journey where education is how one survives, particularly in a turn-of-the-century colonial society, and the novel's serialization allows readers to parse that journey.

Chapter 3

III

After early nightfall the yellow lamps would light up, here and there, the squalid quarter of the brothels. He would follow a devious course up and down the streets, circling always nearer and nearer in a tremor of fear and joy, until his feet led him suddenly round a dark corner. The whores would be just coming out of their houses making ready for the night, yawning lazily after their sleep and settling the hairpins in their clusters of hair. He would pass by them calmly waiting for a sudden movement of his own will or a sudden call to his sin-loving soul from their soft perfumed flesh . . .

-A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (72)

During the serial publication of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in *The Egoist*, a small amount of text deemed lewd was expurgated, altering both the reading of *A Portrait* within the context of *The Egoist* and the expression of editor Dora Marsden's personal and political philosophy. As discussed in the previous chapter, her philosophy declared the need for individual autonomy, for rejection of any social 'Cause' or movement, and an alignment with clear aestheticism, i.e., the direct and immediate expression of emotion (Brooker & Thacker 281). For Marsden, this entailed a revision of language to clear the 'fluff' of abstract speech, which she said inhibited the development of the individual (277). According to Susan Soloman on the *Modernist Journals Project*, this discussion often focused on sexuality: "Sexual freedom was among the central concerns of [Marsden's] magazines since *The Freewoman* . . . relations [did] exist between the male modernists who published in both *The Egoist* and *The New Freewoman* and the politics of sex and gender carried over from the original title." The debate of direct speech appears in *The Egoist* Volume 2 Issue 1 in an essay entitled "I Am" penned by Marsden: "Our war is with words and in their every aspect: grammar, accident, syntax: body, blood, and bone"

(Weaver 1). Here, she both lays out her philosophy and characterizes it physically. The latter aspect is a prevalent feature throughout *A Portrait*, and, as I will show, the censorship of that text in *The Egoist* contradicts Marsden's stated philosophy and skews the potential reading of the intact text.

It is not that she wanted *A Portrait* to be censored, however. In his essay "Towards a Critical Text of James Joyce's: 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,'" Hans Walter Gabler examines tearsheet manuscripts of *The Egoist* in order to show who exactly was responsible for the cuts. His process worked as such: first, tearsheets (pages of a magazine with a perforated side) were cut, by Joyce, from *Egoist* installments that featured *A Portrait* in order to compile a text for its novel publication. These tearsheets were preserved in collections and libraries, which Gabler then accessed. These materials provided him enough evidence to conclude that the cuts to the text of *A Portrait* were not made in the process of transferring print to typescript, but instead were made at the last moment by the printinghouse editors (Gabler 2-3).

This conclusion is further supported by a series of events preceding publication. *The Egoist* 1.13, published July 1st 1914, marked a changing of the guard: Dora Marsden stepped down as lead editor, retaining a role as contributing editor, while her place was filled by Harriet Shaw Weaver, who brought with her a new printer for the magazine. Marsden's Southport printer had objected to words and phrases in *A Portrait* over several previous issues, but had always given in and produced the text faithfully (Lidderdale 92). Weaver's new printer, Partridge & Cooper Ltd., were not so easily swayed. Evidence of this can be found in a footnote within Gabler's essay: "with respect to the sentences omitted near the end of Chapter

IV, Harriet Weaver herself wrote in the margin of Joyce's letter to her of July 24, 1915: '... the managers of the firm objected to certain expressions. . . That was why the *Egoist* changed printers" (3). Seeing as Marsden and her *Egoist* team intended to publish the complete text of *A Portrait*, such evidence clarifies Marsden's stance on both the text and how she wanted it to be presented alongside her philosophical work.

The censored text that Harriet Weaver refers to above was from the same installment in which "I Am" appears, *The Egoist* 2.1. The featured fragment of *A Portrait* is Chapter IV's final portion, in which Stephen walks along a beach and spots, first, a few of his schoolmates jumping and shouting in the water and then, in a sequence that has become timeless, a transcendental "birdgirl," culminating in an epiphany scene where he decides to devote his life to being an artist. Only two lines were cut from publication in *The Egoist*. The first: "It was a pain to see them and a sword-like pain to see the signs of adolescence that made repellent their pitiable nakedness," which can be found on page 121 in the 1994 Dover Thrift Edition of *A Portrait*. The second: "Her thighs, fuller and soft-hued as ivory, were bared almost to the hips where the white fringes of her drawers were like feathering of soft white down," which is on page 123 of the same edition.

Given the previous quote from Marsden's "I Am," which connects language to physical details in her goal for revision, this censorship contradicts her professed desire of using words that are direct, clear, and uncompromising, even if they dip into lewdness. In fact, according to her, acts of censorship are the very issue at hand: "The 'coming-to-oneself': the recognising of the 'Why' in men's motives, which is the meaning of the progress of 'consciousness' to 'self-consciousness,' has been made impossible. Men have been enabled to know only as much of themselves as the

maintenance of the sanctity of the Sacred Words rendered permissible: not much that is” (Weaver 2). Suggestive language is a part of the unbridled Word that Marsden seeks, language that stands, in this case, for “body, blood, and bone.”

As mentioned before, this topic was a running one in the Marsden magazines, which she would develop into the ‘self-consciousness’ discussion. In 1912, when Marsden edited *The Freewoman*, she and Rebecca West wrote a series of lead articles entitled “Interpretations of Sex” across four issues (No. 24-27). These were front-page discussions of how the public spoke (or failed to speak) about sex, noting that writers and publishers had methods to only write around the topic. Marsden and West wrote, “Is it, then, that there is nothing to say, or is it that we have not formed the concept and shaped the phrases to clothe it?” (Marsden 461). We lack the language because of the clash between morality and physical desire, two opposites within which “most men and women are midway” (462). Passion is the victim of ambiguous terms (481), a loss, she claims 3 years later in *The Egoist* 2.1, of man’s chance to discover “personality” and creative ability (Marsden 2).

Marsden would go on to further this loss to that of ‘self-consciousness’ in the future *Egoist*. The essay “I Am” was published on the front page of the first *Egoist* issue of 1915, and Marsden provided a mission statement for the magazine: “To blast the Word, to reduce it to its function of instrument is the enfranchisement of the human kind: the imminent new assertion of its next reach in power” (Weaver 2). Language, she says, is a weapon used to deceive and enslave, to retard the growth of man’s individual ability (1-2). We only embark on discussions of existence and purpose when language has been cleared of abstracts and proper communication is

established (2-3). And it is here that *A Portrait* steps in, a novel devoted to examining development and self-realization.

The distortion caused by *A Portrait*'s censorship extends to all levels of reading *The Egoist*: its philosophy, its impact, and its presence as a physical and social product. Obviously, suppression because of lewd material contradicts the philosophy that Marsden had extolled for three years since "Interpretations of Sex." The mentions of "their pitiable nakedness" and "Her thighs . . . were bared almost to the hips where the white fringes of her drawers . . ." is the suggestive language that Marsden described in her discussions of sex as a shared experience. What's more, the censorship was done in the very issue which declared the need for such language, emphasizing the contradiction. On their first readings, audiences probably did not realize two lines had been cut, but, in retrospect, the loss of those lines is a loss to their perception of Marsden's philosophy and appreciation of Stephen's development. If they did discover the censorship (perhaps when the complete novel was published), it would only further warp their reaction to the magazine: Why couldn't Marsden practice what she preached? As she said: "Men have been enabled to know only as much of themselves as the maintenance of the sanctity of the Sacred Words rendered permissible . . ." (2).

The resulting bibliographical and literary sociological readings of this *Egoist* are the product of that altered text. Keep in mind Tanselle's theorizing on these points: readings arise from a fluid text as a product of its history, published forms, motivations for publication, and non-verbal (physical) features (160). In this case, it becomes clear that Marsden, Weaver, and the other editors are not as dominant in the dissemination of their views as they present themselves to be. Their document is a

product of social instruments, like a printinghouse, with conflicting ideas about what can be published. It's ironic, then, how "Printed by PARTRIDGE & COOPER, LTD." is listed in miniscule letters at the bottom of the last page, considering its effect on the content. It also highlights the fact that Marsden is now listed as a "*Contributing Editor*," the implication being that she lost some say in the running of the magazine. Her individuality may have led to a step down from leadership, undermining her mission for the magazine to "blast the Word." Another subtle alteration to the reading can be found on the last page of *The Egoist*, an advertisement for the magazine *The Drama*. Near the bottom of the page it reads: "Each number contains a complete play . . ." (Weaver 16). Yet considering the cuts made to *The Egoist*, doubt is cast on how censorship affects other magazines by association.

As a social product, *The Egoist* 2.1 comes to reinforce the oppression and submission that Stephen faces in his development in *A Portrait*. If that censorship of text was known, it would be impossible to overlook by readers of the magazine. If readers did not know of the censorship, the reading they received was a watered-down version of Marsden's aesthetic philosophy. It's also likely that they did come to realize the expurgation through several factors: if they purchased the complete text and noticed the missing lines, or if word spread amongst the limited readership about the censorship, or if (as Harriet Weaver noted in her marginalia) they noticed the presence of suggestive language in other *Egoist* issues, implying that the magazine had switched printers to avoid cuts. The end product for each situation is an emphasis on loss rather than intellectual gain of *The Egoist* and *A Portrait*.

Consider the "Correspondence" section in *The Egoist* 2.1, a forum for readers to submit their own views (and an exemplar of Tanselle's literary sociology). The first

featured letter is entitled “Stillborn Progress,” now an unintentional nod toward the impediment to Marsden’s philosophy. Huntly Carter, the correspondent, writes, “The key to progress is pure individualism. Perhaps pure individualism is as unattainable as pure socialism nowadays” (Weaver 15). Given knowledge of the censorship, it appears that progress is unattainable after all since *The Egoist* was not able to publish without interference. The next letter is entitled “Why are we Honest?” now an uncomfortable phrase to place near censored text. The “Views and Comments” section, written by Marsden as well, provides further explanation of egoistic philosophy, naming heroes to the cause and stating, “Men are to be known by the courses they follow . . .” (5). Again, considering the censorship, this is a self-deprecating statement to make. *The Egoist* wanted to empower individuals by giving them uninhibited, direct speech. Does the censorship of that speech mean that they failed to empower readers?

Had the censored lines been left in *The Egoist* 2.1, no trouble with printers or transmission of Marsden’s philosophy would have arisen. The resulting reading would have focused on the intellectual gain in “I Am,” the now-canonical prose of *A Portrait*’s Chapter IV, and the rest of the printed material. With the presence of the two lines, Stephen’s sexuality would have been intact for readers to scrutinize as outlined in “I Am:” “The flow of images in the ‘I’ is as full and rapid as it may be, *i.e.*, as ‘I’ can produce. That is, the more I am, the more sensual I am . . . Spiritual and Sensual [could] forthwith be translated as Vital and Verbal respectively” (4). Full “flow of images” creates a complete “I” to analyze, which allows for a philosophical conversation of “Spiritual and Sensual” clear of abstractions to the “Vital and Verbal.”

While censorship over language was certainly a controversy, it wasn't the one that Marsden wanted for her "revision of language."

This conflict of censorship exists in other issues of *The Egoist* as well: of particular note is *The Egoist* 1.15, in which appeared the first portion of *A Portrait's* Chapter III. In this fragment, Stephen meditates on his fall into sin, particularly his new habit of frequenting prostitutes in the poorer section of Dublin. Once again, Marsden & co. intended to publish the complete text (as noted by Gabler) but the printinghouse Partridge & Cooper, Ltd. cut a five paragraph section, at the moment before publication, of Stephen's reminisces of visiting prostitutes. The excerpt describes, "The whores . . . making ready for the night, yawning lazily after their sleep and settling the hairpins in their clusters of hair," also noting, "[Stephen] would pass by them calmly waiting for a sudden movement of his own will or a sudden call to his sin-loving soul from their soft perfumed flesh" (Joyce 72). Modest by contemporary terms, we can recognize this as the kind of direct expression Marsden sought, suggestive enough to characterize as sexual discussion. Consider that three years previously, in the article "Interpretations of Sex" which appeared in *The Freewoman* No. 26, she and Rebecca West had written: "All human love, even in the basest forms of prostitution, is higher than sub-human love . . . All human love has in it the genesis of immaterial ideal passion, and from this point of view it is safe to regard it" (Marsden 502). She clearly would have wanted a passage describing prostitutes in *The Egoist*, as it was the artistic form of her long-developing philosophy, her "politics of sex." Again, did censorship prevent the individual empowerment of *Egoist* readers?

Suppression of text left a lasting legacy on *The Egoist* and on all Marsden's magazines. If nothing else, that legacy was resurrected and examined by these discussions. The toll here is that analysis focuses on distorted readings rather than how well egoistic philosophy and *A Portrait* work together. Although cuts may not have prevented empowerment outright, they certainly drew attention away from Marsden's stated goal at the beginning of "I Am," and altered the initial reception of *A Portrait*. But in such analysis we can find both the intended reading and the actual one, an accidental pair that shed more light on *A Portrait* as a social product together rather than isolated.

CONCLUSION

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man was finally published on December 29, 1916, ending Joyce's quest for his first novel. And yet our own journey, to examine and interpret, is still well underway as we define and redefine this text and its maker. Questions remain about *A Portrait's* literary history: if we consider the texts of *A Portrait* as connected, what brings them together? Is it Joyce, because he wrote them, or the *bildungsroman* narrative, because of their structures and themes? Also, if we define what connects them, what other work falls within that scope and can then be added to the pool of texts? We have yet to fully demarcate and define what constitutes *A Portrait* in its entirety.

In this way we come to reconsider all texts through their own time and space, as individual constructions within a group. Take, for example, the documents and manuscripts from 1904 to 1922 that come to make up Joyce's *Ulysses*, or the entire series of "Marsden Magazines." As works in themselves, these are dense pieces of literature, but we can forge new meanings by examining their processes of creation. What is sure about all such pools of texts is that they are fluid, that we can continue to add to them and so forge new meanings, and that the process of defining and redefining keeps the progress of understanding moving onward.

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APPENDIX

The following editions of Stephen Hero are discussed in this article:

New York: New Directions, 1944.

New York: New Directions, 1963.

London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.