The Celtic Unconscious: Joyce and Scottish Culture

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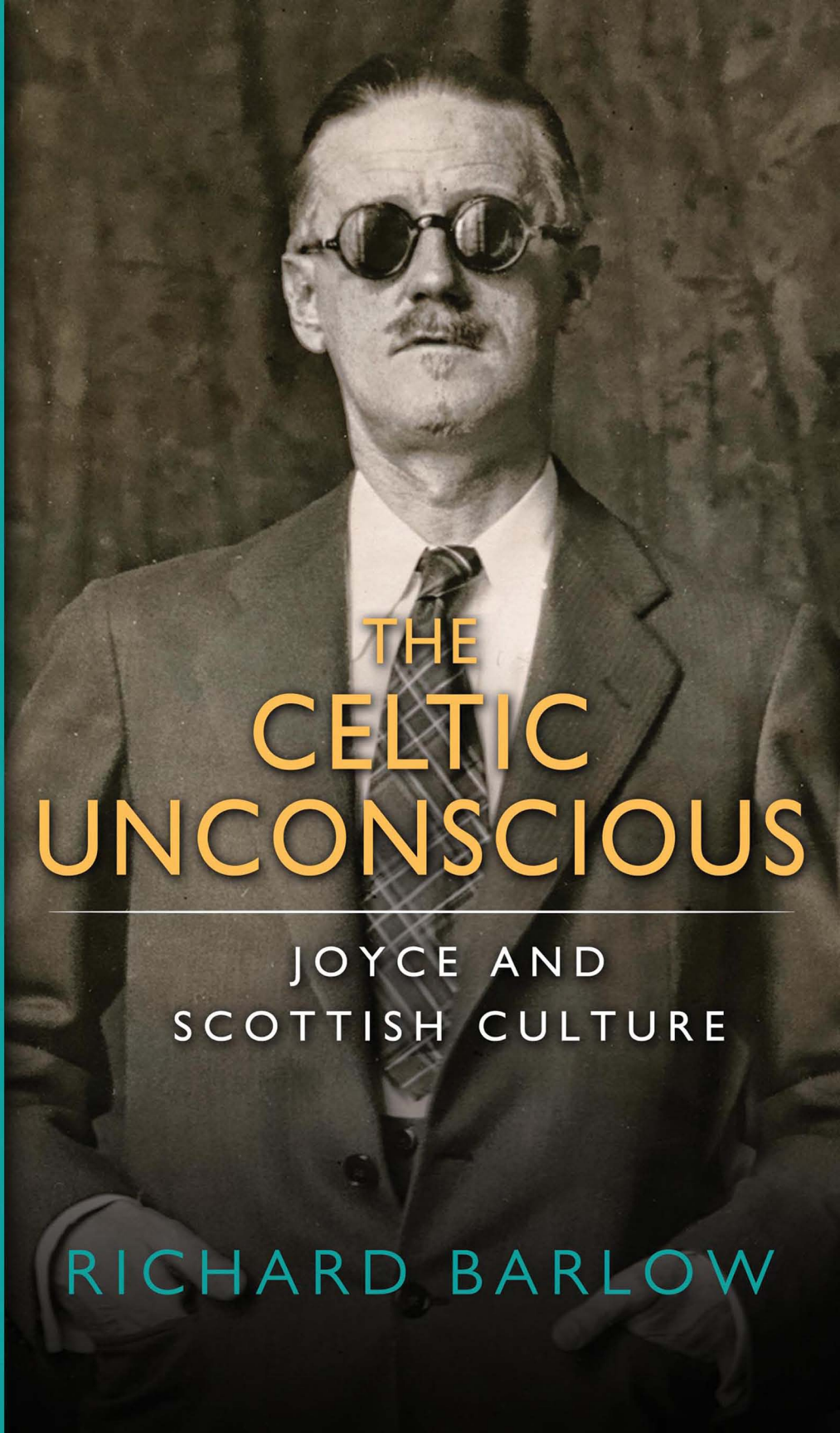

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JOYCE AND SCOTTISH CULTURE

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Dialogue. 1980. Lilac Doorway U.S.A. Time: Spring.

She: (laying aside a copy of *How to Get Rid of Parasites*) I have been thinking. What *was* the name of that family that was always in trouble over there in Europia?

He: (seizes jug) You're asking me.

She: The man had a wall eye, I think. Was it Wallenstein?

He: (replaces jug) Jucious!

She: Jucious! That was the name. I knew it had something to do with Scotland.

—James Joyce,
from a letter to Eugene Jolas, 1940; *LI*, 417

CONTENTS

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This is dedicated to Niamh and Clodagh.

A lion beag ìs bheagan, mar a dh'ith an cat an t-iasg.

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).[1]

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).[2] 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). [3]

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.[4] 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 "caledosian 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).[5] 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).[6]

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 abîme* 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)[7]

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).[8]

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).[9] 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.[10] Joyce must have developed a sense of kinship towards the Murray clan in general (a feeling not shared by his father).[11] 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" [*JJII*, 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.od 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)[12]

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).[13] 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).[14]

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 "hiberniating" (*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).[15] 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).[16] 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.[17] 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).[18]

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).[19] 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[20]—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.[21] 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 coutro 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?[22] 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).[23] 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.[24]

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, persistance, 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).[25] 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."[26] 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).[27] 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).[28] 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.[29]

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).[30] 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 authorise 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).[31] 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.

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 though 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 scripchewer 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).[32] Here "scotographically" (Grk. *σκότος/skotos*, "darkness"; *γράφω/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."

ONE

Crotthers

A "Scots fellow" in *Ulysses*

Scottish culture is utilized in Joyce's work to create the inhumed and divided Celtic consciousness of *Finnegans Wake*'s "dreamer." However, Joyce's later portrayal of a Celtic unconscious removed from the external world of materiality—and of constant cyclical maritime exchange between Ireland and Scotland—is preceded by some preliminary moments in his earlier texts. Most of Joyce's pre–*Finnegans Wake* (1939) engagements with Scottish matters appear in the latter half of *Ulysses* (1922). In the fourteenth chapter of *Ulysses*, "Oxen of the Sun," Joyce creates a character that is emblematic of maritime crossings and ties between Ireland and Scotland. An understanding of Joyce's early vision of the two countries as historically interlinked will aid our examination of his later work. Here the focus is on the crossings and genetic mixings of the two countries. Before we consider Irish and Scottish subjects in tandem, we must look at the ways in which Joyce links the two nations in order to understand the mixtures and connections permanently linking the two countries. This is first achieved in a sustained way in *Ulysses*, particularly in the "Oxen of the Sun" episode. However, on a number of important occasions Scotland and Scottish culture are evoked in the short stories of Joyce's first work, *Dubliners* (1914). These instances form the embryo of Joyce's Scottish theme at the onset of its development.

The novelist and poet Walter Scott is rather unromantically involved in the unsettling story "An Encounter," when a lecherous old man asks a group of boys if they have read any of Scott's works. According to James P. Degnan, the man's liking for Scott is in keeping with the corrupted nature of his character: "From the narrator's point of view, the pervert is 'well spoken' and 'well read,' though the pervert's taste in literature, in keeping with his character, is apparently for a kind of decadent romanticism" (Degnan, 92). Then in "Araby," a copy of Scott's novel *The Abbot* is left behind—by a priest—in a pile of "old useless papers" (*D*, 21).[1] In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* the "captain" announces that Scott "writes something lovely" (*P*, 247), although this is perhaps not an opinion that Stephen Dedalus or James Joyce shares (although Joyce memorized sections of "The Lady of the Lake" in his later years). This early use of the texts of Walter Scott as thematic devices is, like those useless papers, largely disposed of as Joyce's career develops. During the story "Grace," we are told that one of Mrs Kernan's sons works "in a draper's shop in Glasgow" (*D*, 155), reflecting the economic pull of the west of Scotland for Irish workers in early years of the twentieth century. Mrs Kernan is likely putting a positive spin on her son's employment, however, draping over a more mundane job in the burgeoning Scottish textiles sector: "Irish immigration from 1851, assessable from the census returns, shows movement to Glasgow from virtually all counties of Ireland . . . in association with the textile industries" (Fraser and Maver, 150).[2] While Mrs Kernan's account of an Irish émigré's life in Scotland seems slightly unreliable, the final story of *Dubliners* sets alarm bells ringing.

In "The Dead," after the coquettish Celtic Revival enthusiast Miss Ivors teasingly whispers the insult "West Briton" (*D*, 188, 190) into Gabriel Conroy's ear and rebukes him for not visiting the west of Ireland or practicing the Irish language, a flustered Gabriel makes a swift exit from the scene of his embarrassment:

> When the lancers were over Gabriel went away to a remote corner of the room where Freddy Malins' mother was sitting. She was a stout feeble old woman with white hair. Her voice had a catch in it like her son's and she stuttered slightly. She had been told that Freddy had come and that he was nearly all right. Gabriel asked her

> whether she had had a good crossing. She lived with her married daughter in Glasgow and came to Dublin on a visit once a year. She answered placidly that she had had a beautiful crossing and that the captain had been most attentive to her. She spoke also of the beautiful house her daughter kept in Glasgow, and of all the nice friends they had there. (*D*, 190–91)

The vivacious Miss Ivors, connected with the supposedly more "authentic" west of Ireland, is deliberately contrasted with the "feeble" white-haired Mrs Malins—who is herself associated with Scotland.[3] Mrs Malins continues, unbidden, to ramble on about Scotland later in "The Dead": "While she was threading her way back across the room Mrs Malins, without adverting to the interruption, went on to tell Gabriel what beautiful places there were in Scotland and beautiful scenery. Her son-in-law brought them every year to the lakes and they used to go fishing. Her son-in-law was a splendid fisher. One day he caught a fish, a beautiful big big fish, and the man in the hotel boiled it for their dinner" (*D*, 192).[4] Mrs Malins's descriptions of her new life are simply too positive and idyllic to be a realistic account of an Irish immigrant's experience of life in early twentieth-century Glasgow. There is an unspoken, avoided gnomon at work here. As R. F. Foster has noted, "The Irish found prejudice to contend with [in Scotland]; anti-Irishness and anti-Catholicism took a special colouration where Presbyterian values saw the very existence of destitute Irish Catholics as an outrage. . . . Catholics remained a disadvantaged minority there until the 1920s" (*Modern Ireland*, 368). Such prejudice is perhaps best exemplified in the Church of Scotland's notorious 1923 report *The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality*.[5]

The emphasis on catching in the two sections—Mrs Malins's voice has a "catch" in it, and we are told that her son-in-law once "caught a fish, a beautiful big big fish"—is noteworthy. Economic forces are reeling in migrants from Ireland to Scotland. But there is an undeclared negative "catch" to their emigration. Mrs Malins's near manic repetition of the word "beautiful"—"beautiful house," "beautiful crossing," "beautiful scenery," "beautiful places," "beautiful big big fish"—suggests that she is trying desperately to impress Gabriel, and the catch in her voice hints at a certain restrained emotion caused by her reflection on this situation.

Is she trying to convince herself or Gabriel of the happiness of her new life? And what are we to make of the strange reference to Scotland's "lakes"? Anyone with even a passing knowledge of Scottish geography and language would know that a "lake" is referred to in Scotland by the Gaelic word *loch*.[6] A visit "every year" to the countryside would certainly have provided Mrs Malins with the relevant information here. Has Mrs Malins really seen anything of Scotland outside of the deprived areas of Glasgow?

Mrs Malins is inventing or embellishing the details of her life in Scotland to impress Gabriel and to avoid confronting a harsher or more mundane situation. This is a typically Joycean diagnosis of something contributing to the paralysis of Dublin—a failure to confront or communicate reality. One of the themes of "The Dead" is the unsuccessful or botched message; think of Gabriel's anxieties concerning his Christmas toast, for example: "His whole speech was a mistake from first to last, an utter failure" (*D*, 179). In Mrs Malins's case however, speech communicates perfectly. But what is communicated is the exact *reverse* of what Mrs Malins had intended. Her strained and agitated attempt to construct a heavenly alternative reality—an imaginary escape comparable to the mirage of Buenos Aires in "Eveline"—only serves to raise doubts and to communicate uncertainties (it is often useful to maintain a suspicious, distrustful attitude to the speech of Joyce's characters). Even the ominous "mal" of her name suggests something corrupt or incorrect, ill or *malign* (although the Malinses were a real family known to the Joyces). At this early stage in Joyce's career Scotland is associated with escape, although the reports created of it are essentially imagined and veiled in doubts (puzzles and enigmas recur *Dubliners*—remember the doubts surrounding Father Flynn in "The Sisters," for example). Throughout *Finnegans Wake* Scotland is again associated with migrations, and with incertitude.

Uncomfortable with what Connacht and the west of Ireland represents, Gabriel is reluctant to join Miss Ivors in an excursion that will take her in the opposite direction from Mrs Malins. When asked if his wife is from Connacht, Gabriel attempts to reduce her connection by saying only that "her people" (*D*, 189) are from there. Gabriel's regular cycling trips to Belgium, Germany, and France represent only temporary escape from a country he professes to be sick of. Meanwhile, the elderly and feeble Mrs Malins portrays another potential escape-route for Dublin-

ers such as Gabriel, a more traditional passage east to the industries of Scotland, but this portrayal is highly unconvincing and evokes containment and decay. In contrast to the slight taint of death emanating from Mrs Malins and her inane babble, Miss Ivors and her planned trip west to the Aran Islands is associated with youth, vigor, and passion. There is even a suggestion of sexual tension or chemistry between Gabriel and the confusing "girl or woman" (*D*, 191) Miss Ivors, with her flirtatious whisperings and the suggestive "warm grasp" of her hand (*D*, 189). During a dance Gabriel is "surprised to feel his hand firmly pressed" (*D*, 190). Of course, the presentation of Miss Ivors as an embodiment of youthful ardor—erotic attraction even—and western Irish "authenticity" foreshadows Gretta Conroy's story of her doomed young Galway love Michael Furey. Joyce acknowledges the romantic power of nationalistic aspiration and the west of Ireland alongside the stale, mundane alternative of eastern economic emigration. Dublin, the city of paralysis and endless circular wanderings (illustrated by the humorous story of Johnny the Horse), exists as a crossroads between these two spheres and the different options they offer.

So, in Joyce's fictional works preceding *Ulysses*, Scotland is presented as a source of "decadent" romantic fiction and as a potential economic escape-route. It offers an idealized leisure resort for characters such as Mrs Malins, although we clearly do not receive honest appraisals of the situation of the Irish who, like Mrs Malins, have migrated to Scotland. Instead these appraisals offer—in keeping with Scott's decadent romanticism—an idealized and corrupted vision of these emigrants' new home across the Irish Sea. In *Dubliners* it is the Irish who are relocating in Scotland, a common historical occurrence after the catastrophic potato famine of the mid-nineteenth century.[7] In "Oxen of the Sun"—the fourteenth chapter of *Ulysses*—Joyce presents a Scottish character named J. Crotthers who has made the opposite journey.[8]

Crotthers is one of a group of rowdy young students who are spending the evening carousing at the Holles Street maternity hospital in Dublin.[9] Mr Leopold Bloom also arrives at the hospital in order to check on the health and progress of one Mrs Purefoy, who has been in labor for three long days. Crotthers makes a further brief appearance in the subsequent hallucinatory chapter, "Circe," where he is one of a number of doctors who perform an examination of Bloom. Problematically,

in "Oxen of the Sun" the characters and their actions are overshadowed by the shifting styles in which the text is written. The chapter was designed by Joyce to demonstrate (and satirize) the development of English language prose, and Joyce links this progression to the gestation of the embryo in the womb. We are not presented with as "clear" a view of the character as we are of, for example, the Englishman Haines, who first appears in the "Telemachus" chapter, long before Joyce's stylistic experiments take hold of *Ulysses*. Furthermore, there is not much in the way of action in this chapter, and so Crotthers does very little other than drink and make speeches. However, as we shall see, the fact that a Scotsman appears as "reality" begins to disappear is telling in itself.

Significantly, Crotthers is not presented as an outsider in the chapter; he has obviously been fully integrated into the company of the young men. Near the beginning of the chapter there is a partly ironic description of the place of medicine in Celtic society: "It is not why therefore we shall wonder if, as the best historians relate, among the Celts, who nothing that was not in its nature admirable admired, the art of medicine shall have been highly honoured" (*U*, 14.33–35). According to Marilyn French, "The second part of the prelude, describing the reverence for motherhood and the excellent medical facilities of the Celts, has . . . grim humor in light of the poverty and starvation seen by Joyce" (174).

Crotthers, representing another Celtic country, is clearly at home with the clique of medical students, part of a "fellowship" (*U*, 14.187) rather than an outsider like the "Sassenach" Haines (*U*, 1.232). Crotthers takes particular pleasure in sexual repartee, telling bawdy stories to accompany the drinking. In other words, he behaves pretty much like many other young male students on a night out. His manner, his quasi-insider status, and his popularity can be contrasted to situations of some other non-Dubliners of the book. He is harmless enough compared to the patronizing English cultural tourist and amateur ethnographer Haines, who reappears in the chapter. As Vincent Cheng has pointed out, "Stephen . . . see[s] in Deasy (as he had seen in Haines) 'The seas ruler'" (Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, 165). The Ulsterman Deasy and the Englishman Haines are associated by Stephen with the dominant power, with imperialism. In contrast to the English soldiers of "Circe," Crotthers is not an authority figure or representative of imperial power and violence. Furthermore, Crotthers does not assault anyone (unlike Private

Carr) or discharge a firearm (unlike Haines). As Emer Nolan has noted, the "allegorical incarnation of Englishness" in the figure of Haines provides a problem for those who would read Joyce as the epitome of "liberal broadmindedness" (Nolan, *Nationalism*, 52). Is Crotthers an allegorical incarnation of Scottishness? If so, how does this allegory function?

Paradoxically, one of the most noticeable things about Crotthers is the extent to which he blends in; he does not stand out like Carr, Compton, or Haines. For example, if we compare the following two sections of "Oxen," we see that while Crotthers is presented fairly neutrally (despite the style of Richard Brinsley Sheridan coloring the section), Haines is cast as a horrific and disturbing pantomime villain, associated with ethnography and an evasive attitude towards history:

> I must acquaint you, said Mr Crotthers, clapping on the table so as to evoke a resonant comment of emphasis, old Glory Allelujurum was round again today, an elderly man with dundrearies, preferring through his nose a request to have word of Wilhelmina, my life, as he calls her. I bade him hold himself in readiness for that the event would burst anon. 'Slife, I'll be round with you. I cannot but extol the virile potency of the old bucko that could still knock another child out of her. (*U*, 14.886–93)

> The secret panel beside the chimney slid back and in the recess appeared—Haines! Which of us did not feel his flesh creep! He had a portfolio of Celtic literature in one hand, in the other a phial marked *Poison*. Surprise, horror, loathing were depicted on all the faces while he eyed them with a ghostly grin. I anticipated some such reception, he began with an eldritch laugh, for which, it seems, history is to blame. (*U*, 14.1011–16)

The passage above featuring Crotthers fits in with the general themes of the chapter, with its focus on "virile potency" and his insensitive acclaim for the production of "another child," but substituting the name of Crotthers for another of the medical students would cause minimal disruption to the text. In other words, almost any of the characters of "Oxen of the Sun" could have been given these lines; there is nothing particularly Crotthers-esque about them. Crotthers is handed no phial marked *Poison*, he has no ghastly grin or eldritch laugh (although these

features relate to some extent to the Gothic style of the particular section of "Oxen" in which Haines appears. (See Kenner, *Ulysses*, 122). His script has nothing as memorable as Haines's infamous "It seems history is to blame" (*U*, 1.649).[10] So, what *is* of interest about Crotthers? A consideration of the name itself in connection with a small number of clues may be the only way of gaining any useful knowledge of this character, since his "personality" is so inconspicuous.

Both Willy Maley and Claire Culleton have offered some possible explanations for Joyce's use of the name "Crotthers." As Culleton has highlighted, onomastics—the study of proper names and their origins—is of critical importance to the study of Joyce and his texts: "Joyce's fiction resounds with onomastic consequence, not only teeming with what many readers see as his nominal play but fertile with indications of the importance of names and naming. Engaged and fascinated with names, Joyce inscribed in his works his onomastic curiosity, and an examination of the names, their functions, their origins, their pluralities, and their exploitable suggestiveness remains essential to our understanding of Joyce and his writings" (7). Coupled with this interest in names is the fact that in Joyce's work "rebuses abound" (33). As Stephen announces in "Eumaeus," "Sounds are impostures . . . like names" (*U*, 16.362–63). The name Crotthers is an imposture in the sense that there are hidden messages within it while its surface is deceptive. Before we turn to some new "functions" and "pluralities" of Crotthers's name, let us consider how Maley and Culleton have considered the "exploitable suggestiveness" of this "nomen." For Maley, the name has decidedly negative connotations:

> The name is an odd one, suggesting "rotters" (Caledonian rotters perhaps). It may be that Joyce is playing with the name of one of George Russell's intellectual adversaries, the "wild professional Scot," and apocalyptic visionary, S. Liddell MacGregor Mathers (Gifford, ed., *Ulysses Annotated*, 173). The word "crott," according to the *OED*, means "dung" or "dirt," while "crottle" is Scots Gaelic for "a species of lichen used in dyeing," which would chime with "Mat." The fact that Crotthers is described as "a little fume of a fellow" suggests that Joyce may have had this etymology in mind. . . . The description of Crotthers "at the foot of the table in his striking

> Highland garb, his face glowing from the briny airs of the Mull of Galloway," is hardly complimentary. ("Kilt by Kelt," 214)

As will be elaborated later, this description of Crotthers as "a little fume of a fellow" most probably relates to Crotthers's heavy drinking, and since almost every character in the chapter is drunk, though not complimentary, it is hardly a damning indictment.[11] Maley is certainly correct to point to the oddness of Crotthers's name, however. In her work *Names and Naming in Joyce*, Culleton provides some alternative associations for this strange name and notes some other information provided about Crotthers:

> Crotthers—undeniably a Scottish student, as he is called a number of times in the chapter—is identified as "one from Alba Longa, one Crotthers." While the Alba reference at once connects Crotthers with Scotland (*Alba* being the Gaelic name for Scotland), the Alba Longa reference connects him as well with the ancient Roman city of Latium, and not unequivocally with the Scottish. Moreover, since Latium is the birthplace of famed twins Romulus and Remus, the Alba Longa reference suggests a duality on the part of Crotthers; and given Joyce's interest in twins, and the evidence of his extensive knowledge of the mythology of twins in *Finnegans Wake*, Crotthers' birthplace is important to our understanding of his lineage, if, indeed, the reader is meant to recall Rome's antagonistic twins. . . . Notwithstanding these complications, the name *Crotthers* is not a Roman name, either; it is a variant of the Scottish name *Carruthers*, "from the lands of Carruthers in the parish of Midlebie Dumfriesshire, in local speech pronounced Cridders." . . . Crotthers, as the name appears in *Ulysses* with its uncharacteristic double t's, seems like an Irishman's bungled phonetic attempt to reproduce the common, local *Cridders* pronunciation. The name *Crotthers* alone, then, has an implied heritage, an affected heritage, and an unspoken, hidden, and true heritage. By proclaiming to be Scottish, indeed, by dressing like one in Highland garb. . . . Crotthers can fool all but the genealogists. . . . Yet names are rarely to be trusted in *Ulysses*, as they are often "impostures," functioning like sounds to trigger false

> associations, false allegiances, and false correspondences (Crotthers sounds more dignified than *Cridders*, for instance). (58–60)

Culleton's comments on the name are based on Crotthers's connection to "Alba Longa" and the actual history of the name. However, these lines of inquiry do not take into account any other information about the character himself. Her comment on the possible duality of Crotthers is important though, since it ties with frequent, near constant connections between duality and Scotland in Joyce's later work. Also of interest is her focus on twins. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, Joyce's allusions to the Picts and the Scots play with the idea of Scotland and Ireland as uncanny, inverted, "twin" nations.

Based on the other details Joyce gives us about this character and taking into account that names in Joyce often function as "supplemental allusions" or "shorthand" for "the full context" (Culleton, 12), an alternative and suggestive reading of the name Crotthers presents itself. Three main subjects or themes Crotthers is associated with in "Oxen of the Sun" and "Circe" are Scotland (of course), the sea or maritime imagery, and drunkenness. As Culleton points out, Crotthers is twice described as being from "Alba Longa" (*U*, 14.191, 233); he is also named as "a Scots fellow" (*U*, 14.506), as well as "the Scotch student" (*U*, 14.738), "the Scotchman" (*U*, 14.1207–8) and "the Caledonian envoy" (*U*, 14.988–89). A considerable amount of Scots language also appears in "Oxen of the Sun." Either Crotthers's intoxicated condition leads him to exaggerate his Scottishness for comic effect or his friends are attempting to sound Scottish and use Scots vocabulary in order to "make a feck of him" (or a mixture of the two). In any case, Scots appears in the episode due to the presence of Crotthers in such sentences as "Dinna forget the cowslips for hersel" (*U*, 14.1522–23), "Hoots, mon, a wee drap to pree" (*U*, 14.1532), "Aweel, ye maun e'en gang yer gates" (*U*, 14.1538), and "D'ye ken bare socks?" (*U*, 14.1548). The phrase "wee drap to pree" alludes to Robert Burns's song "Willie Brew'd a Peck o' Maut," and the chorus of this song is echoed at the end of the "Oxen of the Sun" episode: "We are nae fou. We're nae tha fou. Au reservoir, mossoo. Tanks you" (*U*, 14.1505–6); "We're nae tha fou. The Leith police dismisseth us" (*U*, 14.1565). The work of Robert Burns is also alluded to in another section of "Oxen of the Sun" that uses Scots language: "Collar the leather,

youngun. Roun wi the nappy. Here, Jock braw Hielentman's your barley-bree. Lang may your lum reek and your kailpot boil!" (*U*, 14.1489–91). The allusion is to a section of "Love and Liberty: A Cantata" as well as to the popular Scottish expression "Lang may your lum reek and your kailpot boil."[12]

Crotthers's face is described, as Maley points out above, as "glowing from the briny airs of the Mull of Galloway" (*U*, 14.1205–6), one of a number of occasions where the Scotsman is linked to the sea. This "glow" probably has more to do with Crotthers's heavy alcohol intake than any "briny airs." Nevertheless, a maritime connection is established by Joyce with the use of this word. The word "briny" relates to the saltiness of the sea ("brine" is, of course, water saturated with salt) and, according to the *OED*, can be used as a colloquial or jocular term for the sea itself. There is also a slight suggestion of the word "salinity" or "saline" in the use of the word "salient" (*U*, 14.740) in connection with Crotthers. Crotthers is also described as being "blond as tow" (*U*, 14.739), tow being flax fiber used to make rope.[13] However, tow can also mean "a rope used for towing, a tow-line" and can function as a verb, "the action of towing or fact of being towed" (*OED*), tying Crotthers to shipping terminology. His designation as "Caledonian envoy" stresses the sense of him as a traveler, one sent on a voyage of some kind. Also, since he is reportedly from "Alba Longa," he perhaps shares the fate of the population of that town in being exiled (at least temporarily) (Davies, 151).

In "Oxen of the Sun" Crotthers is, like his medical student companions, steaming drunk. This is hardly surprising, since when he is focused on in the text he is either being poured a drink or requesting more drink. Ian MacArthur has gone as far as suggesting that Crotthers's qualification "(Disc. Bacc.)" (*U*, 14.1257) stands for "disciple of Bacchus" (530), which would further highlight his connection with intoxication.[14] The phrase "Roun wi the nappy" (*U*, 14.1489) is a traditional Scottish request for a drink refill but is amusingly fitting in the environs of a maternity hospital. A further description of Crotthers also highlights his drunken state:

> Here the listener who was none other than the Scotch student, a little fume of a fellow, blond as tow, congratulated in the liveliest fashion with the young gentlemen and, interrupting the narrative at

> a salient point, having desired his visavis with a polite beck to have the obligingness to pass him a flagon of cordial waters at the same time by a questioning poise of the head (a whole century of polite breeding had not achieved so nice a gesture) to which was united an equivalent but contrary balance of the bottle asked the narrator as plainly as was ever done in words if he might treat him with a cup of it. (*U*, 14.738–46)

This euphemistic description converts an inebriated Scottish student unable to keep his head up into a "polite" gentleman who desires to drink "cordial waters" and whose slumped, drunken posture is a "questioning poise of the head." The focus on "poise" and "balance" is rather comical given the circumstances. Furthermore, Crotthers is positioned "at the foot of the table" (*U*, 14.1204). This phrase is slightly ambiguous, since "foot" can mean "the lowest part or bottom of an eminence, or any object in an erect or sloping position, as a wall, ladder, staircase, etc.," or "the lower (usually projecting) part of an object, which serves to support it; the base" (*OED*). Rather than being at the table's end, Crotthers, due to the drunken difficulties he was having with his balance earlier, may have slumped to the floor. If this is the case, the scene could hardly be less "gallant" (*U*, 14.1203). This would also make the phrase "the land he stood for" (*U*, 14.989–90) heavily ironic, since one thing Crotthers cannot do is stand. Again, the "reality" of the situation is divorced from its textual representation.

How then does the convergence of the themes of maritime- or travel-related imagery, Scottishness, and drunkenness explain Crotthers's name? In order to understand this, we must turn our attention to the very last paragraph containing Scots speech in the chapter. As Crotthers departs, perhaps to find some female company for the evening, he manages to emit the following Wakean mixture of song, poetry, tongue twisters, and involuntary diaphragm contractions: "Your attention! We're nae tha fou. The Leith police dismisseth us. The least tholice. Ware hawks for the chap puking. Unwell in his abominable regions. Yooka. Night. Mona, my thrue love. Yook. Mona, my own love. Ook" (*U*, 14.1565–68). That this is Crotthers speaking is made clear by the Scots terms "fou" for drunk and "nae" for not. Again, drunkenness is apparent as Crotthers hiccups repeatedly: "Yooka," "Yook," "Ook." He also attempts a tradi-

tional tongue twister connected with drunkenness: "The Leith Police dismisseth us" (Leith being the port of Edinburgh, a further maritime and Scottish connection).[15] Crotthers is having great difficulty articulating anything clearly, and despite his protestations, he is totally "fou." Hence he lisps "least tholice" instead of "Leith Police," slurs "thrue" for "true" when attempting to sing the line "Mona, My Own Love" and garbles "abdominal" as "abominable."[16]

It is this drunken verbal confusion or distortion and lack of clear articulation that can help explain Joyce's selection of the name Crotthers for this Scottish character. As Culleton has noted, "Joyce often used sounds and words that smacked of something else, incorporating into his works items that by design were redolent and allusive" (22). The three main features of Crotthers's character are the fact that he is from Scotland, that he is associated with the sea, and that he is drunk and therefore begins slurring and lisping his speech. These factors can explain the choice of the name Crotthers, a proto-Wakean word distortion from Joyce in which a sibilant is replaced by a fricative and which is an example of his "nominal play" (7).[17] The word "crossers" is drunkenly articulated—by the text itself—as "Crotthers."

A similar switch between an *s* sound and a *th* sound can be seen with the change from Leith to "least" in the text. Crotthers himself also replaces the *p* of "police" with *th* to form "tholice," and a similar process results in "thrue" for "true" (*U*, 14.1567). Crotthers's speech problems are also apparent in the "Circe" chapter, where, ostensibly, Bloom is examined by a succession of medical students including Mulligan, Dixon, and Costello. The medical examination is of Crotthers himself as well as Bloom, or, to use Freudian terminology, Crotthers is "projecting" his own problems onto Bloom. Crotthers comments of a "patient" that "Salivation is insufficient" (*U*, 15.1793–94). Of course, technical difficulties in saliva production have been known to be caused by heavy drinking and have often led to lisping and slurring. The late hour and the large amounts of alcohol taken have begun to affect the language of the text itself. In other words, Joyce adapts and distorts particular words in order to reflect the scene or situation or for certain thematic purposes. This activity, where names are created to suit the mood or activity of the chapter and to develop themes, is possible only in the more outré chapters of *Ulysses*, such as "Oxen of the Sun" and "Circe," but is commonplace

throughout *Finnegans Wake*, where the names of the various figures are constantly transforming.

"Crotthers," a drunken, thick-tongued version of "crossers," ties in with the maritime-related imagery of the words "briny," "tow," and "Mull of Galloway" in relating to sea travel (the place name Galloway contains the Celtic root "gal," indicating that it is a place of the Gaels [see Davies, 87–88], linking Crotthers to the wider Gaelic world). The choice of the Mull of Galloway as the place associated with Crotthers can also be explained by its position as one of the closest locations in Scotland from which to cross to Ireland, along with the Mull of Kintyre. It is the southernmost point in Scotland, and Ireland is visible across the North Channel from this location (depending on the weather). Clearly Joyce is working with the concept of the sea linking Scotland and Ireland here, deliberately choosing to associate the washed-up Crotthers with an area in Scotland so close to Ireland, an ideal place from which to *cross*. Joyce was certainly aware by the time of the composition of the *Wake* that the formation of the Scottish nation began with the crossing and arrival of an Irish group known to the Romans as the "Scoti" and their cross-fertilization with the indigenous Picts; his notes from Stephen Gwynn's *History of Ireland* on this topic can be found in *Finnegans Wake* notebook VI.B.6.[18] Joyce also took notes from J. M. Flood's *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars* (1917) and Benedict Fitzpatrick's *Ireland and the Making of Great Britain* (1922), both of which feature material on the Irish influence on ancient Scotland.

Since the Middle Irish for harp is *crott*, Crotthers's name also contains the emblematic musical instrument of Ireland (see also "Two Gallants"), thus sounding the hidden Irishness of Crotthers and "the land he stood for" (*U*, 14.989–90).[19] As Willy Maley observes in "'Kilt by Kelt Shell Kithagain with Kinagain': Joyce and Scotland," Joyce also plays with the theme of crossers or crossings between Scotland and Ireland in "The Dead." Maley is correct to draw attention to the importance of the imagery of crossing here—as well as in the crossings of the dancers at Mrs Morkan's Christmas party—but this concerns the historical crossings and recrossings of peoples between Ireland and Scotland, as well as a disguised "double-cross" as he has suggested ("Kilt by Kelt," 211). We can see the brief, sketchy beginning of Joyce's treatment of Irish-Scottish crossings in "The Dead" with the figure of Mrs Malins, a further devel-

opment in the character of Crotthers in "Oxen of the Sun," and—the fullest elaboration—in the shadowy world of *Finnegans Wake*, the principal subject of the present study.

One further gloss we can apply to the word "crossers" in relation to Crotthers is that of a mixed breed, since to cross can mean to mix or breed two different animals or plants together to produce something new. Crotthers is linked in the text to "breeding" (*U*, 14.743), and his banter is almost exclusively limited to discussions on procreation. Meanwhile the chapter itself is set in a maternity hospital, a space obviously suggestive of fertilization and reproduction, and the linguistic and stylistic experimentalism of "Oxen" foreshadows the hybridized language and verbal metamorphoses of *Finnegans Wake*. Scots and Scottish culture appear in "Oxen" and the *Wake* partly because Joyce thought of Scotland as an example of Irish transformation through cross-fertilization or "hybridity." The concept of hybridity, "a kind of fluid, catch-all counter-hegemonic means of reaffirming identity over and against essentializing discourses of ethnicity or nationalism" (Syrotinski, 27), was first developed by Homi Bhabha:

> In *The Location of Culture* (1994) . . . Bhabha creates a series of concepts that seek to undermine the simple polarization of the world into self and other. Bhabha's writing emphasizes the *hybridity* of cultures, which on one level simply refers to the mixed-ness, or even "impurity" of cultures—so long as we don't imagine that any culture is really *pure*. This term refers to an original mixed-ness within every form of identity. In the case of cultural identity, hybridity refers to the fact that cultures are not discrete phenomena; instead, they are always in contact with one another, and this contact leads to cultural mixed-ness. (Huddard, 6–7)

Bhabha's observation that "the margin of hybridity . . . resists the binary opposition of racial and cultural groups . . . as homogenous polarized political consciousnesses" (Bhabha, 296) is pertinent here. Joyce's work on Scotland is a key component of his efforts to resist concepts of homogeneity, or polarized opposition through a vision of "mixedness." Strangely, paradoxically even, these attempts rely to some extent on the binary system of the twins Shaun and Shem in *Finnegans Wake*. This

binary system of the brother figures—which represents, among other things, the racial or historical links between Scotland and Ireland—works in an almost deconstructive fashion to show how identities or cultures are never quite pure, self-contained, or static, that there is always a destabilizing element of the "Other" operating within the "self." Joyce uses this system to envisage a structural relationship whereby Ireland exists *within* Scotland and vice versa just as Shem and Shaun can never be fully separated or isolated. Furthermore, this vision of hybridity works alongside—and in spite of—an overall representation of the nature and character of Celtic culture. As was mentioned in the introduction, that Joyce denies the notion of racial or national purity does not mean that he does not have an interest in racial or national "identity" (see Nolan, *Nationalism*, 148).

The commentary on Alba Longa by the Scottish anthropologist James Frazer (i.e., from the other Alba)—likely one of Joyce's sources for information on this area of pre-Roman history—concludes that the kings of the settlement "acted as public rain-makers, wringing showers from the dark sky by their enchantments whenever the parched earth cried out for the refreshing moisture" (Frazer, 119). They did so through fertility rituals, by "pretending to make thunder and lightning" (Frazer, 118–19).[20] Fittingly, "Oxen of the Sun" is based on pregnancy/childbirth and takes place during a thunderstorm (presented in a seventeenth-century diarist style): ". . . this evening after sundown, the wind sitting in the west, biggish swollen clouds to be seen as the night increased and the weatherwise poring up at them and some sheet lightnings at first and after, past ten of the clock, one great stroke with a long thunder" (*U*, 14.483–87). So, the appearance of a talismanic envoy from Alba Longa acts as another link to ancient fertility customs. Indeed, the quasi-Bacchic festivities of "Oxen" resemble some kind of sympathetic magic ritual in which quenching thirsts will somehow bring about rain and fertility. The episode begins with a Celtic *deisil* or "Deshil" (*U*, 14.1) and as John Gordon has commented, "'Oxen of the Sun' persistently encourages us to reflect on the extent to which the heart has affinities with ancestral codes" ("Obeying the Boss," 245).

Interestingly, considering the maternity hospital setting of "Oxen" and the birth of a baby boy, much of Frazer's discussion of Alba Longa is concerned with female succession rules:

> Now it is very remarkable that though the first king of Rome, Romulus, is said to have been descended from the royal house of Alba, in which the kingship is represented as hereditary in the male line, not one of the Roman kings was immediately succeeded by his son on the throne. Yet several left sons or grandsons behind them. On the other hand, one of them was descended from a former king through his mother, not through his father, and three of the kings, namely Tatius, the elder Tarquin, and Servius Tullius, were succeeded by their sons-in-law, who were all either foreigners or of foreign descent. This suggests that the right to the kingship was transmitted in the female line, and was actually exercised by foreigners who married the royal princesses. (122) [21]

Frazer's discussion provides another context for the questions of maternity and paternity in *Ulysses*: "Mrs. Purefoy's annual producing of a child develops *The Golden Bough*'s implications concerning the parodic nature of the recurrent and the cyclical" (Vickery, *Literary Impact*, 389). According to Stuart Gilbert's *Ulysses* "schema," the symbol for this episode of the text is "mothers" (Gilbert, *Ulysses*, 288). Furthermore, Gilbert has the "colour" of "Oxen'" as white, which in Latin is *albus*, a near match for *alba* (288). In "Circe," "DR CROTTHERS" points out that a patient's urine is "albuminoid" (*U*, 15.1792–93). Since "albumen" is the white of an egg, the patient (Bloom) is linked to female fertility, part of his presentation as the new "womanly man" (*U*, 15.1799).[22] However, albuminoid urine is slightly surprising given Crotthers's heavy drinking, since low albumin levels are generally associated with liver disease (See Longmore et al., 700).

In *Joyce's Revenge*, Andrew Gibson discusses the function of the fertility theme of "Oxen" in relation to Irish cultural traditions: "The poetic affirmation of fertility had been traditional in Irish culture. For Yeats and others, the theme had its origins in fertility rituals. But it is its political inflection that is most important: as Murray Pittock has demonstrated, from at least the seventeenth century onwards, the fertility theme was never simply literal. It also had an allegorical significance relative to the fortunes of the nation, national prosperity, and national renewal" (156). The young men at the National Maternity Hospital on Dublin's Holles Street are nationalists but not of a type interested in "a

singular, unitary, national identity" (178). Instead, *Ulysses*—through the techniques, themes, and characters of "Oxen"—promotes "antagonisms, contradictions, social differences, cultural hybridity" (178–79). The antisectarian move of including the (probable) Protestant Crotthers at a Catholic hospital functions—alongside the "adulterated" (178) nature of the "Oxen" episode—as an exemplary vision of a more fertile, hybrid, nonsectarian Ireland.

The fertile crossings of the Irish and the Scots have spawned "hybreds" (*FW*, 152.16) or mixed populations in both countries, something Joyce would have become aware of at an early age. As was mentioned in the introduction, very little is known about Joyce's ferry trip to Glasgow made with his father in 1894, the occasion of his first departure from Ireland. However, it is highly likely that it would have brought him into contact with the results of waves of emigration, the mass movement of Irish labor-seekers into western Scotland in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Indeed, given the very high numbers of Irish immigrating to Glasgow and environs in this period, it would have been difficult to avoid coming into contact with Irish workers. This "upsurge in immigration from Ireland after the Great Famine" was due to "the employment opportunities in Scottish industry" and contributed to a marked increase in Scottish population during the Industrial Revolution (Devine, *Nation*, 252). As R. F. Foster has noted, "By 1851, 6.7 per cent of the entire Scottish population was Irish-born, a percentage that rose to over 18 per cent in Dundee and Glasgow" (*Modern Ireland*, 368). Indeed, Glasgow's rise to commercial prominence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries owed to its links with Ireland and the wider Atlantic economy (see Devine, *Nation*, xx).

Subsequent chapters of this text will look at how Joyce develops the idea of amalgamated or "crossed" Scottish/Irish populations in *Finnegans Wake* with reference to the historical foundation of Scotland, which was itself the result of the mixing of "Irish" and "Scottish" peoples. However, in *Finnegans Wake* Joyce uses this mixing to create a divided mental state based upon pretexts from Scottish literature. The character Crotthers can be seen as a forerunner to the presence of Scottish/Irish mixing in *Finnegans Wake* and to the exploration of divided identity. Crotthers's name appears in this reading as representative of Joyce's view of the crossbreedings of Scottish and Irish histories, a disguised and

small-scale hint towards a subject he would expand on in his later work. This vision of a fluid "contact zone" (Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, 217) between Ireland and Scotland undermines the standard, simplified British/Irish conceptual framework as represented by the "two different constituencies" (Gibson and Platt, 23) of recent work in Joyce studies such as *Joyce, Ireland, Britain*. Moreover, Joyce's attention to the essentially mixed ethnic nature of Scotland is part of his attack on the idea of racial or national "static essences" (see Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, 53). This replacement of "static essences" with marine fluidity and mixing is present both in the figure of Crotthers and in Joyce's construction of his Pictish/Scottish "nodal" system.

What kinds of international relations were brought about by these connections? Did Joyce regard the North Channel as creating, if not entirely friendly, then at least productive contacts between Scotland and Ireland? If so, the "cordial waters" (*U*, 14.742) in "Oxen" can be read not only as referring to alcoholic drink and to the convivial spirits it instills but also as Joyce's comment on how the sea links between the two countries have the capacity to create useful relationships across the water. Certainly the relationships Crotthers has formed in Dublin are "cordial." The phrase could also be an ironic, sarcastic, or bitter statement on the historical traumas Ireland has suffered at the hands of seaborne raiders or colonists from Scotland, including the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315 and the later arrival of Protestant settlers during the seventeenth century. The word "cordial" also contains "cord," as in a length of rope, which "ties" in with the imagery of linkage, also present in the use of the word "tow" in association with Crotthers. Joyce conveys the idea that the waters between Ireland and Scotland, rather than dividing the two countries and "the Celts" generally (*U*, 14.34), act as a length of rope or cord tethering them together. The phrase "cordial waters" also links to the overarching theme of the chapter—embryological development—relating to the umbilical cord and to the amniotic fluid of the womb. Fittingly enough, a character associated with the sea is found in a chapter also concerned with both alcoholic and amniotic fluids.

"Oxen of the Sun" is concerned not only with "the Celts" (*U*, 14.34) but with the course of European civilization. John Gordon has included Crotthers in a discussion of the ending of the episode, with reference to the histories of Europe and Christianity:

> Civilization, sick of its past, turns in a "romantic" gesture to local dialects and literatures, willfully forgetting the great root and branch of its inheritance. . . . Here the last few apocalyptic pages are characterized by an influx of Irish, Scottish ("Carlyle," Crotthers), American (Dowie), and other dialects from the extreme borders of Western civilization, along with various references to "injuns," "coons," "sheenies," "Rooshians," "Jappies," and so forth. It becomes, in the strictest meaning of the word, provincial. Civilization has "evolved" from Rome to the provinces, from Latin into a multitude of dialects, from communal memory and veneration into a collection of private memories, from Roman classicism into provincial romanticism, from Catholicism into Protestantism. ("Multiple Journeys," 165–66)[23]

So, Crotthers is part of this move towards the "extreme borders'" of civilization in "the very last islands of Europe" (*OCPW*, 124–25) and a move towards Protestantism. He is a representative of the western limits of Europe and of one of the most Protestant countries on the continent (though adherence to organized religion has been on the wane in Scotland for decades). In these two senses, Scotland—and also because the Roman Empire never fully extended its control beyond the Antonine Wall—is perhaps the most obviously "removed" location in Europe from Rome.

For Gordon, the last pages of "Oxen" are "apocalyptic," and, tellingly, Scotland is associated with "doom" elsewhere in Joyce's writings.[24] In the "Lestrygonians" and "Circe" episodes of *Ulysses*, the end of the world takes the form of a bizarre two-headed octopus with a "Scotch accent." For Anne Marie D'Arcy the octopus represents the creeping influence of Freemasonry in Ireland.[25] However, since the octopus is "twoheaded," it is perhaps "in two minds" itself as to what it represents. The enigmatic mollusk image fits in with other Scottish and maritime linkages elsewhere in Joyce's writing—as well as with the end of the world in a geographical sense—while the phrase "end of the world" itself echoes Stephen Dedalus's thoughts as he walks along Sandymount Stand (another liminal maritime area) in the earlier "Proteus" episode: "world without end" (see *U*, 2.203–4; 3.27–28). Stephen associates the final line of the Gloria Patri with his conclusion that the external world does not

depend on his perception of it. Stephen's musings—which here conflate spatial, temporal, and theological aspects—invert the earlier proclamation of his boss Deasy that "All human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God" (*U*, 2.380–81). Stephen's reversal here suggests a skepticism that there is an ultimate "end" or "goal" for humanity. As David Sidorsky notes with reference to *Finnegans Wake*, "Joyce negates any suggestion of teleology or ends in history" (305).[26] However, Stephen's thoughts also contrast with the idealist notion that nothing exists outside of our minds, or that only mental representations exist, that our inner world is the only genuine reality. An alternative sense of the phrase "end of the world" in *Ulysses* is the idealist position that, in a sense, the world "ends" when we are not perceiving it. The image of the octopus is perhaps a trap, leading us to interpret it as symbolizing some insidious threat but actually meaning something quite different, namely the "Scotch" state of "being in two minds" (a link to hesitation, skepticism) and at the "end of the world'" (a link to idealism). Joyce's interest in Scottish skepticism and idealism will be explored in subsequent chapters.

A more literal doom is associated with Scotland in Joyce's lectures. In a discussion on Irish affairs as part of his lecture "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages," which was presented at the Università Popolare in Trieste in 1907, Joyce speculates on the fate of Ireland and of the greater "Celtic world":

> Is this country destined some day to resume its ancient position as the Hellas of the north? Is the Celtic spirit, like the Slavic one (which it resembles in many respects), destined in the future to enrich the consciousness of civilization with new discoveries and institutions? Or is the Celtic world, the five Celtic nations, pressed by a stronger race to the edge of the continent—to the very last islands of Europe—doomed, after centuries of struggle, finally to fall headlong into the ocean? (*OCPW*, 124–25)[27]

A further reason Crotthers appears in the "Oxen of the Sun" chapter is—as Gordon gestures towards—as a representative of the "extreme borders of Western civilization," part of a trend towards the "provincial" within the chapter. But, strangely enough, since Crotthers hails from "Alba

Longa" he represents both the beginnings of Western civilization in Latium, the precursor to Rome, and also some of its furthest geographical or cultural reaches through the Gaelic word for Scotland. Thus Crotthers functions as the sort of paradoxical coincidence of historical opposites which, for David Sidorsky, signals a denial of historical progress (see Sidorsky, 303–4), and the character can be read as emblematic of what Terry Eagleton reads as a modernist tension between the contemporary and the archaic (See *Heathcliff*, 278–79). Furthermore, Crotthers also fits in with the shift from Catholicism to Protestantism that Gordon mentions:

> The presence of the Scotsman Crotthers among the students may well be significant. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the Rotunda maternity hospital had always specified Protestant staff and management. So, too, the founders of the National Maternity Hospital declared that "the management of the hospital be exclusively Catholic." The masters, doctors, resident pupils, nurses, and all intern servants and assistants were Catholic, the only exception being students. In a piece of historical realism that is also a gesture of resistance to sectarianism, Joyce emphasizes the mixed character of the group. (Gibson, *Revenge*, 166)

As well as a shift from east to west and from Catholicism to Protestantism (a further connection to the disguised "cross" in Crotthers's name), Crotthers's appearance in *Ulysses* also intentionally coincides with an increasing skepticism in the text.

Richard Ellmann sees Crotthers's fellow Scot David Hume as being the main influence behind this progression, and, according to Jeri Johnson, Hume's writing style serves as one of the sources for Joyce's portrayal of literary "gestation."[28] According to Ellmann, "The dominant mood from the *Wandering Rocks* through *Circe* is scepticism, Bloom's day but also, for the nine hours from three to midnight, Hume's day" (*Liffey*, 96). So, the appearance of the Scotsman Crotthers aligns with the increasingly Humean, skeptical influence in *Ulysses* that culminates in the hallucinatory drama of "Circe," a chapter that involves "the colonization of the Dublin unconscious" (Gibson, *Revenge*, 183) and that is itself "the unconscious of the text" (McGee, *Paperspace*, 116). In these chapters, the

external world of matter and phenomena becomes more uncertain and removed, prefiguring the overwhelming incertitude of *Finnegans Wake*, where Joyce develops his literary skepticism and idealism to its logical conclusion.[29] Furthermore, the various styles and final linguistic tangle of the embryonic "Oxen of the Sun" episode serve to suggest that reality itself cannot be replicated by writing: "If coition leading to conception and birth is seen ambivalently, literary expression is shown to be inadequate to confer certitude, incapable of rendering ultimate reality. In the end, reality itself is undercut. . . . The terrible fact that truth is not Truth, or that many bits of truth add up not to a final great knowledge but to a final great confusion and incertitude, need not be underlined" (French, 176, 179). Elsewhere, French claims that "incertitude" and "relativity" are the "central problem[s] of the novel" and that "the latter half of the book clamorously reminds us how difficult it is to be sure what is real" (112, 118). In a similar vein, Colin MacCabe has written that in "the finale of "The Oxen of the Sun" . . . there is no longer any extra-discursive criterion of truth" (*Revolution*, 127). Literature becomes "a covering and an artificial obstruction of the real, a contraception" (McGee, *Paperspace*, 112). The first appearance of the Scotsman Crotthers coincides with a "Scottish school" (*OCPW*, 157) form of skepticism towards our chances of reaching "certitude": "The narrator flips through his deck of styles tauntingly: he knows we want, not truth, but certitude. He, or the author behind him, also knows that such is not a gift he can honestly confer on us" (French, 184). Joyce once offered help with *Ulysses* to his friend Frank Budgen in the following terms: "If I can throw any obscurity on the subject let me know" (*LIII*, 261).

Crotthers is not seen as a representation of imperial or colonial power in the way in which the Englishman Haines and the Ulsterman Deasy are. Neither is he seen as a victim of oppression, though we could describe him as being presented as a member of a minority culture, since his speech marks him as being non-English and therefore from outside of the center of the dominant culture. Crotthers first appears in a chapter in which the blurring of styles and languages acts as a precursor to the more radical linguistic strategies of the *Wake*. As Jacob Korg notes of the *Wake*, "Hybrids . . . imply resistance to linguistic authority" (64). Since the linguistic hybridity of the *Wake* can be read as an assault on English literary and cultural standards or as a "struggle against imperialism"

(MacCabe, "*Finnegans*," 4), the hybridity or fertility—including the figure Crotthers and the attendant Scots language—of "Oxen" can be read as an earlier phase of this development. Furthermore, the shifting styles of "Oxen," which deny our attempts to reach a stable truth, form an antechamber to the abyss of incertitude that is *Finnegans Wake*.

Crotthers also exists as a "semicolonial" hybrid combination of the dominated and the dominating. As a Scot, Crotthers hails from a country that was one of the first to experience English domination. He is also a representative of a nation that had become absorbed into the British state and is therefore part of the dominant society controlling Ireland in the early twentieth century. We can read Crotthers not only as symbolizing the mixed ethnicities of Ireland and Scotland—a representation that undermines the essentialized racial, cultural, and national discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—but also as a figure alluding to the nature of Scotland as a colonial intersection, a cross between "Celtic counterpart and British adjutant" (Maley, "Kilt by Kelt," 201). The recurring associations between Scotland and duality in Joyce's works can be read as a commentary on Scotland's dual links to Ireland as Gaelic or Celtic "sister" (*PE*, 109) and imperial subordinate.

It is relatively unusual for Joyce to "typecast, to speak of someone as representative of a nation" (Maley, "Kilt by Kelt," 213). However, rather than appearing as a crude and reductive "stage Scotchman" embodying a vision of a singular, static, and homogenous nation, Crotthers embodies relations, connections, and processes, and he appears in an episode in which little is fixed or stable or certain. This presentation of a character that represents a type of "intercourse" or umbilical link between two countries is an apt feature of "Oxen of the Sun," since part of the focus of the chapter is on fertility, gestation, and birth. Furthermore, as Culleton has highlighted, Crotthers is associated with duality, through the reference to "Alba Longa." This duality is at base an Irish/Scottish connection—as suggested by the reference to the Mull of Galloway—as well as an overt connection to ancient Latium. In the following chapters we shall see how Joyce adapts this vision of Celtic connections to create the divided mind-set of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce performs this through the adaptation of Scottish literary techniques and through the application of what he saw as a specifically Celtic strain of philosophy. Willy Maley uses his discussion of Crotthers to justify his feeling that Joyce

had a negative view towards Scotland and Scottish people. However, if we read the name Crotthers as emblematic of historical connections between Ireland and Scotland and as a connection to the Humean sections of *Ulysses* and to the total incertitude of *Finnegans Wake* rather than as a character associated with "dirt" (Maley, "Kilt by Kelt," 214), then we can begin to reappraise Joyce's attitudes to Scotland and begin to understand how Scotland functions in his texts.