

PART I

*Life and works*

## CHAPTER I

*Composition and publishing history  
of the major works: an overview**Stacey Herbert*

James Joyce's publishing career spans nearly forty years, from an essay on Ibsen (1900) to *Finnegans Wake* (1939). Early on, and like many writers, Joyce established a pattern for the production of his works. He tended to share his manuscripts with colleagues, soliciting advice in placing them.<sup>1</sup> Aided by writers, artists and patrons, he published portions of new work in journals and magazines and, later, in small press editions before issuing a trade edition of a complete work. In fact, all his major and some minor works first appeared, in whole or part, in contemporary periodicals.

Serial publications encouraged Joyce to produce work regularly, paid some royalties and circulated his works alongside his contemporaries' and to a wide-ranging readership, inviting reviews which usually bolstered interest in an edition. Joyce was actively interested in how readers and critics received his works: he commissioned reviews from colleagues and followed mentions of his works in the press with diligence. He used these – positive and negative – in marketing his next work (and even threaded allusions or responses to some reviews into newer work). Unfortunately, success at one juncture sometimes led to failure at another: as serial publications caught the attention of the censors, they made publication of an edition difficult or impossible.

The works' composition and publishing histories were also shaped by editors, printers, publishers and other authorities and by Joyce's reaction to the influence they exercised. Like other writers before and since, he made use of limited editions in part to circumvent censorship. Over the years, he took an increasing interest in shaping the material form of his books, choosing type, layout and binding design as integral elements of the work. Independent of his own interest and involvement in these aspects of his works, Joyce's published excerpts and books provide a window on the world of traditional and avant-garde publishing in serial, trade and special editions, on both sides of the Atlantic in the early twentieth century.

1901–1906

In 1901, Joyce began to compose a suite of verses that eventually became *Chamber Music*. Four different sequences have survived in manuscript [Tulsa, Cornell, Yale].<sup>2</sup> He was ready to share his work, elaborately inscribed in minuscule on large sheets of stationery, with his new friend, Oliver Gogarty, in spring or summer of 1903, and with George Russell (AE) and W. B. Yeats, whom he had recently met. Yeats and Russell helped to shepherd three of his poems into print the following summer in London's *Saturday Review* and *Speaker*, and Dublin's *Dana*, beginning a pattern of collegial promotion and patronage Joyce would enjoy throughout his career. In mid-summer 1904, Russell approached him about producing short stories for the *Irish Homestead*. At the time, Joyce was busy composing 'Stephen Hero', envisioned as a work of sixty-three chapters featuring 'Stephen Daedalus'.<sup>3</sup>

Taking up Russell's offer, that summer he began drafting the short stories that would become *Dubliners*.<sup>4</sup> Russell (editor of the journal, 1905–23) had asked for 'anything simple, rural?, livemaking?, pathos?, which could be inserted so as not to shock the readers' (L II 43) – instead he got something precisely crafted and markedly urban. 'The Sisters', the first in a suite of portraits of Dubliners, appeared on 13 August. Having already signed himself 'Stephen Daedalus' in letters to Gogarty and Constantine Curran, Joyce assumed the pseudonym publicly for the first time in the *Irish Homestead* or 'The pigs' paper', as Stephen derisively calls it in *Ulysses* (U 9.321), the journal of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Russell promised him a pound for each story and Joyce successfully placed two more with the magazine: 'Eveline' (10 September) and 'After the Race' (17 December). The last appeared two months after he and Nora had left Dublin for Zurich on their way to Trieste. Joyce laid aside 'Stephen Hero' in June 1905 and turned his full attention to the stories, rewriting them in Trieste as *Dubliners*. He began to contact publishers, offering William Heinemann in September 1905 'a collection of twelve short stories' which he described to Stanislaus as an arrangement of three stories each for childhood, adolescence, maturity and public life (L II 108–9, 111).

Joyce's long battle with censorious printers, publishers and various officials began in earnest over *Dubliners*. In October 1905, he sent the manuscript to London publisher Grant Richards, to whom he had already sent his *Chamber Music* manuscript in September 1904. Richards initially accepted the short stories in February 1906, but withdrew that September, returning the manuscript to Joyce on 26 October 1906.<sup>5</sup> Richards' printers – themselves

liable for prosecution under British law for setting illicit or libellous material – objected, marking unacceptable passages (some of which Joyce altered) and a variety of words, most notably ‘bloody’. Joyce challenged the printers’ objections, arguing that his language was realistic and purposeful, telling Richards that ‘I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilisation in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass’ (*L* 1 64). Though Joyce made many excisions and alterations, Richards proved ‘unduly timid’ and Joyce withdrew both this and the *Chamber Music* manuscripts, held up for two years (*L* 11 137). Two pages of proofs from that setting of ‘Two Gallants’ survive [Harvard].

## 1907–1913

As Joyce continued to emend the stories, he submitted *Dubliners* to several publishers, including Elkin Mathews of London. Mathews had specialised in books and journals of the decadent and symbolist movements, then, in the early 1900s, published numerous early modernist works, playing a decisive role in bringing Ezra Pound’s work to an English readership and to critical acclaim. Mathews refused *Dubliners* but accepted *Chamber Music*, publishing it in May 1907. He initially bound only a fraction of the 509 copies he printed and the edition did not sell well enough to pay Joyce royalties. Meanwhile, the prolonged delays in publishing *Dubliners* enabled Joyce to augment the volume, and he completed the fifteenth, capstone story, ‘The Dead’ on 20 September 1907 (*JJA* iv 504).

That autumn, Joyce returned to ‘Stephen Hero’ and radically re-conceived the work as ‘A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man’, finishing chapter 1 (of five planned chapters) in November 1907. By the following spring, it had grown to three chapters, which Joyce shared with his Triestine language student and fellow writer, Ettore Schmitz (Italo Svevo) who offered constructive criticism. Composing in fits and starts – including an attempt (luckily frustrated) to destroy the manuscript in 1911 – Joyce persisted for the next several years.

Finally, in August 1909, he succeeded in placing the *Dubliners* manuscript with Maunsel and Company, Dublin. In 1910, the year they promised to deliver *Dubliners*, Maunsel published prominent Irish revivalists, including J. M. Synge and Lady Gregory. Over the next two years, Joyce contested the printer’s many requests to alter and remove offending words, passages and whole stories. Taking a conservative position on the threat of libel action, Maunsel insisted that Joyce expunge mention of the late King

Edward VII in 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room';<sup>6</sup> Joyce hired solicitor George Lidwell to assess the actual threat of action, Lidwell tried to mollify the publisher's fears, but Maunsel, who had his own legal council, retrenched and called for even more excisions. This time, the firm focused its objections on the text's inclusion of living persons and existing establishments in Dublin. Maunsel continually delayed publication even when Joyce agreed to extensive revisions and deletions – something he would not do for later works. He returned to Dublin in July 1912 to force the issue but Maunsel's printer destroyed most of the printed sheets and the edition was doomed.<sup>7</sup>

Joyce left Dublin with a nearly complete set of proofs of the edition – a set Maunsel had used as working copy – that he then sent out to other potential publishers [private collection]. Two other, less comprehensive, sets survive [Yale and a private collection]. He reported these difficulties in an open letter to two Irish papers and took a poet's revenge by penning the broadside, *Gas from a Burner* (1912). One year later, with no resolution at hand, he enlisted Pound's help: Joyce's account of 'A Curious History' of the failed editions appeared in the second issue of *The Egoist* (15 January 1914). With it, Joyce and Pound primed potential readers for the serialisation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by publicising *Dubliners* and encouraging the public to sympathise with the author in spite of the potentially scandalous nature of his work.

## 1914–1918

Joyce finished composing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in early 1914 and the first instalment appeared in the next issue of *The Egoist*. That spring, Richards made good on his second contract, signed on 4 March 1914, and published *Dubliners* on 15 June 1914. The text of Richards' edition was set from Joyce's own set of proofs for the 1910 Maunsel edition. Joyce had kept them after *Dubliners*' publication and unsuccessfully attempted to sell them in the United States in 1927. Remarkably, these proofs – accompanied by the typescripts he supplied when Richards lost a portion of text for 'The Sisters' – were preserved in the estate of Stanislaus Joyce and were sold by Sotheby's in 2004, commanding £84,000.<sup>8</sup>

The first edition was typical of Richards' trade productions of the time: it was well printed (Richards preferred Edinburgh printers for reasons of quality and economy over London ones); unadorned but for the signature ivy-leaf device on the titlepage; and durably but simply bound and issued in

an economical dustjacket. Richards sold sheets from his first edition (as was common) to B. W. Huebsch for the first American edition (1916) and subsequent editions and printings were issued by the Modern Library in America and by Jonathan Cape in the UK. Robert Scholes, in 1967, and Hans Walter Gabler, in 1993, produced critical editions; both are now standard texts for English and American editions. Jeri Johnson's edition (Oxford, 2000) is based on the 1967 text.

*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* appeared in the pages of Harriet Shaw Weaver's *The Egoist* on the heels of the much belated *Dubliners*. *The Egoist*, founded in December 1913, had its origins in the feminist and overtly political *The New Freewoman*. With an editorial policy that followed a 'doctrine of philosophical individualism', the journal's content was shaped by Dora Marsden, Rebecca West, Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, H. D. and T. S. Eliot, in turn. *A Portrait* ran serially in *The Egoist*, alongside Wyndham Lewis' *Tarr*, in twenty-five instalments from 2 February 1914 to 1 September 1915.<sup>9</sup> With *A Portrait* well underway in print, Joyce focused his creative energy on his next work.

The first American edition of *A Portrait* was issued by B. W. Huebsch on 29 December 1916 and the first English edition, with sheets from the American, was published by the Egoist Press on 12 February 1917. Jonathan Cape took over English editions from the Egoist Press in 1924. Viking published a corrected text compiled by Chester Anderson in 1964 based on comparisons of the faircopy Joyce gave to Weaver [NLI], English and American texts published in Joyce's lifetime, and Joyce's corrections to them. In 1993, Garland issued Gabler's copy-text edition (of the same NLI manuscript). Johnson's Oxford edition (2000) is based on Anderson's 1964 text.

Though Joyce usually incorporated into current work elements of earlier writing, he composed and revised *Ulysses* in a concentrated manner from 1914 to 1922 with drafts of 'Proteus', 'Lotus Eaters' and 'Hades' reaching back to 1912–14.<sup>10</sup> By 16 June 1915, Joyce announced to Stanislaus that he had written the first episode, 'Telemachus' (*SL* 209). At this stage, *Ulysses* had three parts, but purportedly twenty-two, not eighteen, episodes. Joyce reported to Weaver in October 1916 that Part 1, the 'Telemachiad' was finished (*L* II 387). However, the earliest surviving draft material for this section is for 'Proteus', composed in Zurich in the summer of 1917 [NLI]. That October–December in Locarno, he completed a draft of 'Proteus' [Buffalo] in a form fairly close to the *Little Review* text. By April 1917, Joyce could offer Pound only his 'Hamlet Chapter' ('Scylla and Charybdis') (*SL* 224–5) but by the end of August, confident enough of his progress, he

assured Pound he could consign *Ulysses* in 6,000 word instalments for simultaneous serialization in *The Egoist* and *Little Review* beginning on 1 January 1918 (SL 226–7).

## 1918–1920

By March 1918, the first three episodes of *Ulysses* were typed and ‘Telemachus’ appeared as ‘Ulysses 1’ in the *Little Review*. Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, editors of this eclectic, avant-garde magazine, exercised a surprisingly inclusive editorial policy: alongside portions of *Ulysses*, they published works of feminism, imagism, symbolism and dadaism, often within the covers of a single issue.<sup>11</sup> Between 1918 and 1920, the *Little Review* serialized twenty-three instalments of *Ulysses* before action brought by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice resulted in the trial and fining of its editors for publishing Joyce’s purportedly obscene work.<sup>12</sup>

Weaver aimed to serialise episodes of *Ulysses* in *The Egoist* simultaneously, for which her printer used issues of the *Little Review* as setting text [Tulsa].<sup>13</sup> Weaver’s difficulties in securing printers for Joyce’s work were magnified by the *Little Review*’s censorship (a controversy whose lingering effects influenced the first English edition produced by the Bodley Head, 1936). Exemplary of the power of English printers to act as editors, *The Egoist* ultimately succeeded in publishing ‘Nestor’, the end of ‘Proteus’, ‘Hades’ and the beginning of ‘Wandering Rocks’ over five issues during 1919.<sup>14</sup>

Compelled by the magazines’ monthly deadlines, Joyce pushed forward production of his work. Closing the faircopy version of ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ [Rosenbach] with ‘New Year’s Eve, 1918 | End of First Part of Ulysses’ he marked a turning point in the conception and elaboration of his novel. Until the beginning of 1919, *Ulysses* seems to have only consisted of seventeen episodes. The manuscript record suggests that Joyce only added ‘Wandering Rocks’ (at least as we know it) in January 1919 [NLI], sending it to Pound that February (L II 436).

As he continued to circulate his manuscripts and typescripts, especially to Weaver and Pound for serial publication, they did not always meet with approval. ‘Sirens’ had taken Joyce five months to draft in two copybooks [NLI and Buffalo] but Weaver considered it ‘weak’ and Pound shared her opinion (SL 240–1). As Joyce was composing ‘Cyclops’ also in two copybooks [Buffalo and NLI] in June and July 1919, he begged Weaver to reconsider, and tried to explain his slow compositional process, saying, ‘The elements needed will fuse only after prolonged existence together’

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(*SL* 240–1) – Joyce later used remarkably similar language to describe his composition of ‘Work in Progress’.

As ‘Cyclops’ was appearing in the *Little Review*, he wrote the earliest surviving draft of ‘Nausikaa’; it was typed in February 1920 and published in three issues of the *Little Review* from April to August 1920 (*SL* 245–6). The episode occasioned the obscenity trial against its editors. On 8 July 1920, Joyce and family moved to Paris; he claimed that he had written drafts of the last three episodes of the ‘Nostos’, Part III of *Ulysses*, prior to his arrival (*SL* 265–6). He worked on ‘Circe’ for an entire year, announcing its completion (though he continued to revise it) on 20 December 1920 (*L* III 34). That month he prepared the first version of his *Ulysses* ‘schema’ in Italian for his friend Carlo Linati [Buffalo]. Meanwhile, the *Little Review* published their final instalment of *Ulysses*, the first part of ‘Oxen of the Sun’ in the September–December 1920 issue before being ordered to suspend publication of the novel. The widely publicised censorship and seizure of the *Little Review* text and the ban on *Ulysses* in the USA effectively made a typical American and English trade edition too risky. As early as 25 August 1920, the last of the many English printers Weaver had approached declined to print an Egoist Press edition of *Ulysses*.

1921–1922

In January to mid-February 1921 Joyce recopied and emended an earlier draft of ‘Eumaeus’ (that Sotheby’s sold to a private collector in 2001) (*SL* 275–7; *L* III 38). Meanwhile, John Quinn was negotiating on Joyce’s behalf with Boni and Liveright and B. W. Huebsch, about an American edition of *Ulysses*: Boni and Liveright declined; Huebsch saw the publication as a lucrative opportunity if Joyce were willing to make certain editorial changes to the text but when Joyce refused, even Huebsch withdrew. By 6 April 1921, Joyce had received word that the potential American publishers had declined and he and Sylvia Beach began discussing arrangements to have the edition printed in Paris, under a Shakespeare and Company imprint. Though Beach had no publishing experience, she admired Joyce’s works and clearly saw potential in linking Shakespeare and Company’s future to his growing fame and reputation; Joyce was motivated by the lack of options and by promised royalties. He wrote to Weaver about this change of fortunes on 10 April and together they undertook plans almost immediately for an Egoist Press English edition to be produced from the plates of the Paris edition when it was exhausted (*L* I 161–3). Joyce was to receive 66 per cent of the net profit of the



Shakespeare and Company edition and an even higher 90 per cent royalty for Weaver's Egoist Press edition.

By mid-April, when Beach secured the printer, Maurice Darantieri of Dijon, Joyce had yet to finish the last two episodes of the book, 'Ithaca' and 'Penelope', though he said they had been sketched since 1916 (*L* III 31). Darantieri's printing house enjoyed a long reputation as a printer of high quality, limited editions as well as ordinary volumes for the trade. Darantieri's contract called for printing an edition in quarto crown (in the format of Adrienne Monnier's *Cahiers*) consisting of 1,000 copies divided into three stocks, as was typical. Beach and Joyce planned an October 1921 publication date, deciding to offer the edition by subscription – a common strategy (employed by the Bodley Head and William Heinemann, among others) when publishing controversial texts – and they hoped to acquire enough advance funds to cover the printing, to maximise royalties and to circumvent possible censorship.

In setting *Ulysses*, Darantieri's printers struggled with a number of difficulties from the very first typescript pages, set the first week of June 1921, through to the last corrected proofs, sent on 30 January 1922. Maurice Hirschwald, head printer for the project, regularly attempted to 'correct' Joyce's language, most noticeably by adding hyphens to portmanteau words. Joyce's great quantity of late-stage corrections and additions caused even more problems, delays and expense. Exemplary is the printer's typescript for 'Lestrygonians', which Joyce heavily revised in summer 1921 [Buffalo]. When Joyce completed the final episode on 24 September 1921, he had yet to finish the penultimate one (*L* III 49). On 29 October 1921, he finally announced that 'Ithaca' and the composition of *Ulysses* was complete (*L* III 51). Nonetheless, he continued to correct, revise and expand the text, returning the last proofs only on 30 January 1922 [Texas]. Darantieri's contract stipulated five sets of proofs. Joyce only managed to complete five episodes on five sets of proofs: the other ten episodes required six to eleven sets. In all, *Ulysses* grew approximately *one third longer* from additions Joyce made on the typescripts and proofs.

*Ulysses* was officially published on 2 February 1922 when Darantieri delivered two copies (Nos. 901 and 902) of the book to Beach, who in turn brought them to Joyce on this, his fortieth birthday. Shakespeare and Company issued seven printings of the first edition and four printings of the second between February 1922 and May 1930. Darantieri produced the second and third printings for Weaver's Egoist Press. The first edition was riddled with textual errors and correcting these (and subsequent ones introduced in later editions) has driven the publishing of *Ulysses* hand in hand with profitability and reader-demand ever since. The text of *Ulysses*

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was corrected and altered – sometimes slightly, sometimes significantly – almost as often as its material form.<sup>15</sup> Over the course of its eighty-five years as a book in print, publishers have marketed, and readers have read *Ulysses* as a banned book, a rare collectible, a classic, a pocket-book, an artist's book and as pulp fiction. What follows are only highlights from that long history.

In 1929, five years before an authorised American edition appeared, the New York publisher, Samuel Roth, issued an edition of *Ulysses* based on a copy of the 1927 Shakespeare and Company edition. Roth's pirated edition mimicked the original in format: it was (and is still) often mistaken for it. In 1932, the Odyssey Press, a specially created imprint of the Albatross Press, Hamburg, published an edition (in English) for the European market selling at 5.60 Marks, one quarter of the price of the Shakespeare and Company edition.<sup>16</sup> The ban on *Ulysses* in America was finally overturned as the result of a highly publicised case initiated by Bennett Cerf of Random House and defence attorney Morris Ernst – the landmark edition was published on 24 January 1934.<sup>17</sup> The Limited Editions Club, New York, owned by department store magnate, George Macy, produced a collector's edition illustrated by Henri Matisse in 1935. Encouraged by the success of the Random House edition, finally, on 3 October 1936 the first English edition printed in England – where *Ulysses* was never banned, but had been deemed unprintable and seized – was published by the Bodley Head. They first issued a limited edition of 1,000 copies (so as not to provoke the Public Prosecutor) and then produced the first of many trade editions. In 1984, Hans Walter Gabler, working from an editorial reconstruction of the work's compositional evolution from the Rosenbach manuscript, produced a new, critical edition. Following its publication, Joycean textual studies became embroiled in a period of heated debate about the text of *Ulysses* initiated by John Kidd's criticism of Gabler's editorial methodology and decisions. The practical result was a flurry of new printings of various texts of *Ulysses*. The Bodley Head, Vintage and Penguin published Gabler's reading text in 1986. Some publishers (including those also issuing the Gabler edition) re-issued earlier texts, most based on the Bodley Head 1960 or the Random House 1961 editions. Others, including Oxford (1993), capitalised on readers' growing confusion over textual variations, and issued re-printings of the 'uncorrected' first Shakespeare and Company edition.

1923–1926

Of course, Joyce himself immediately set about correcting the text of *Ulysses* and the seeds of his next work are rooted in a notebook (Buffalo VI.B.10) he