

The Postcolonial Tourism of Dublin: Reading *Ulysses* as the Dublin Guide*

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I

Joyce's *Ulysses*, which narrates a Dublin Odyssey, resonates with the ambience of Trieste where the Irish author began the novel before World War I. Trieste resembled Dublin: the predominantly Italian city under Austrian rule harbored Italian nationalism or *irredentism*, just as Dublin under British rule was embedded in Irish nationalism. However, Trieste differed from Dublin in a commercial sense: the Mediterranean's "second" busiest port was prosperous, while Dublin was devoid of a marked industry. Joyce was thus concerned with Dublin's economy when creating *Ulysses*: the "tale of [the] two cities" of Trieste and Dublin and the "epic of two races (Israel-Ireland)" with the protagonist Jew-Irish Bloom representative of the Triestine Jew (McCourt 217; Joyce, *SL* 271). In this respect, it is arguable that in planning a novel that depicted Bloom's perambulatory odyssey through Dublin,

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Joyce explored a means of increasing Dublin's commerce and the city's potential to make money. As such, the issue of money is introduced in the very first chapter of the book: "The problem is to get money" (*U* 1.497). All conflicts, including political ones, are "very largely a question of the money question" (16.1114). Joyce thus supported Arthur Griffith's economic nationalism; he remarked, "If the [Griffith's] Sinn Féin policy were followed out it would save the country" (qtd. in McCourt 115).

In addition to being conscious of Dublin's economic predicament in Trieste, Joyce realized Europe's "ignorance" about "the plight of Ireland" (Hartshorn 48). In other words, Joyce believed that Ireland or Dublin, as it was, "must be presented to the world," which led him to assume the role of "Ireland's greatest publicist" in writing *Ulysses* (12). Dublin is featured as the modern capital of Ireland or the "Hibernian Metropolis," which is at the same time Britain's colony in *Ulysses* (*U* 7.1). Modern Dublin, visualized by Bloom's perambulation through it, is flooded with commercial advertisements and equipped with an electric tramline that runs through the city center and connects to the suburb. Concurrently, however, the modern city is a colony that is in mourning for its lost sovereignty, as symbolized by the two main characters Bloom and Stephen wandering the city "in black." Arguably, then, Joyce, interested in promoting modern colonial Dublin as well as improving its commerce, intended to sell it through *Ulysses*. Having personally proved his ability as a salesman in selling Irish tweeds in Trieste and opening the Volta Cinema in Dublin, Joyce had the potential to effectively market the city. Put differently, whereas the Irish were "a bad merchant" who "[bought] dear and [sold] cheap," as Stephen mocks, or who sold the "body" cheap and had "not power to buy the soul," Joyce cleverly traded Britain's instead of Ireland's colonial "body" in return for Ireland's sovereign "soul" (16.737-38). Joyce's *Ulysses*, thus, presents Dublin to the world as the Irish metropolis, while promoting the city's tourism as linked to the British colony, and implementing the colonial exhibition as a counterpart to London's imperial one, which would serve to enhance the city's political and commercial growth.

It is plausible that Joyce perceived tourism as a means of achieving Irish economic and political power when creating *Ulysses* in Trieste. Austrian tourism, which was developed in the Istria peninsula south of Trieste, peaked in the early twentieth century when Joyce was residing in the city. Having spent his childhood in Bray, a fashionable seaside town on the coast south of Dublin, he was a “diligent tourist” during his adulthood and was familiar with Istrian resorts such as Opatija and the Brijuni islands off the coast of Pola (Maddox 214). He did not only enjoy the Austrian resort but also had the opportunity to observe its development on the Adriatic coast. In fact, by the end of the first decade of the century, the Istrian tourist resort was so prominent that the Austrian government became involved in its promotion, thereby reflecting the Mediterranean countries’ interest in the tourist industry, which was advocated as “a harbinger of modernity and an essential national interest” (Zuelow 2). Spain, in particular, viewed the “tourism industry” as a “regenerative force for economically and socially stagnant regions” of the country and consequently established the “National Commission to Promote” tourism in 1905 (Pack 1-2). The national promotion of tourism, which was to occur in Ireland after the Free State, was already in progress in the Southern European countries when Joyce was working on *Ulysses* in Trieste.

In the meantime, the British seaside resorts were well established by the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, “the seaside resort” was “an English invention” that evolved from the European-originated experience of the spa (Walton 117); the term “tourism” was first defined in the *OED* in 1811 as, among others, “travelling for pleasure” and “the business of attracting tourists and providing for their accommodation and entertainment” (Berghoff and Korte 18). For example, Blackpool, a large English resort, first displayed state-regulated resort advertising in the late 1870s, which was at least a quarter century earlier than the continent. British seaside tourism thereby became “a sizable industry” and “a model for resort development all over Europe” by 1911 (2). In this context, the English song, “*Those Lovely Seaside Girls*,” as one of Joyce’s recurring themes, is frequently mentioned in *Ulysses*. Specifically, the “Nausicaa” scene on Sandymount Strand partly

dramatizes the song lyrics that depict girls at the leading seaside resort “Margate” in southeast England. Acting as if she is at a resort like Margate, Gerty, whose narrative marks in detail “the impact of advertising on consciousness,” resembles “the seaside girl” of English resort advertisements (Richards 210). Yet Gerty can only *perform* as “the seaside girl” since above all, there were “no seaside resorts on the scale of Hastings or Brighton” or Margate in Ireland (239). In other words, “Nausicaa” vivifies both the desire and the impossibility of the Irish girl to become “the seaside girl,” as she distinctly wears “a gnawing sorrow” and not the seaside girls’ “smiles” (*U* 13.188).

Interestingly, English seaside advertising, which arouses the Irish girl’s desire to be the seaside girl, motivates Bloom, the advertisement collector, to arrange a seaside concert tour on behalf of the tourism and entertainment businesses in *Ulysses*. The seaside song brings forth the idea of a concert tour in “English watering places,” such as “Brighton, Margate” (8.1064-65), where many seaside orchestras boomed at the end of the nineteenth century. Later again, Bloom envisions “a concert tour” around “the most prominent pleasure resorts” including “Eastbourne, Scarborough, Margate and so on” (16.518-20). Revealing his familiarity with English seaside publicity, he associates “Margate,” referenced in the August issue of *Daily Mail* in 1896 for a case of “mixed bathing” (Travis 24-25), with “mixed bathing and first-rate hydros and spas” (*U* 16.519-20). He further imagines “English watering resorts packed with hydros and seaside theaters” (16.1654-55). Importantly, here, Bloom assumes that sea travel along the south coast of England will “benefit health on account of the bracing ozone” (16.510): “ozone” and “bracing” were the “two key terms” utilized by publicists to link “health” and “seaside air” at the end of the nineteenth century (Beckerson and Walton 56-57). In this context, Bloom is convinced that if “puffs in the local papers can be managed” so as to “combine business with pleasure,” the concert tour can “prove [a] highly remunerative” business (*U* 16.528-30, 522).

Meanwhile, one of the most successful examples of British seaside publicity in the late nineteenth century was set by the Isle of Man, which was located at the

very center of the British Isles and thus familiar to Joyce's Dublin. The significance of the Isle of Man's tourism or "mass tourism," which was "well established" by 1905 (Harrison 400), lay in that it served as a means of sustaining the "self-sufficient" status of the Island as a "Crown dependency constitutionally outside the United Kingdom" (Belchem 2), which became "a model for Irish Home Rule" (McIntyre 91). Given the Isle of Man's self-sufficiency as rooted in the tourist industry, it is highly plausible that Bloom's advertisement deploys the lower chamber of "the Manx parliament" "House of Keys" to make a connection between the wine merchant Keyes and the "innuendo of home rule" in order to "catch the eye[s]" of not only Dubliners but also of "tourists from the isle of Man" (*U* 7.149-51). Notably, here, the success of Manx tourism was in part attributed to the popular author Hall Caine, who was twice referred to in Joyce's writing as one of the writers of the time (Joyce, *CW* 22, 89). Known as "the Manx novelist," Hall Caine established the Isle of Man as "Hall Caine's Island" to his readers as they came to see the Island (Corkill 327). Additionally, he literally participated in the promotion of the Island by writing a "guide book" entitled *The Little Manx Island* for the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company in 1894. He also gave a series of lectures about the Isle of Man in London that were published under the title *The Little Manx Nation* in 1891, which was comparable to what Joyce did in Trieste. Providing that Joyce intended to promote Dublin as a tourist place, then, Hall Cain, as the author-publicist for the Isle of Man, may have served as a good model for Joyce.

II

The emergence of tourism as a modern industry had an influence on Irish tourism in the late nineteenth century as well. The English travel agent Thomas Cook, who is often credited as "the founder of popular tourism and conducted tours" (Schaff 108), was one of the first to operate an Irish tourist business in the

1850s. Yet a real contribution to Irish tourism was made by Frederick W. Crossley, who came to Ireland to oversee Cook's Dublin office in the 1880s. Crossley, who co-founded "the first Irish Tourist Association (ITA)" in 1895, collaborated with both British officials and Irish leaders, such as "John Redmond," to enact "the 1909 Health Resorts and Watering Places (Ireland) Act" (Zuelow xxi). Given the involvement of John Redmond in the ITA, it can be assumed that tourism, as "a means to raise money to support [the Irish] and a way to show outsiders the wonders of Ireland," played an important role in Irish nationalist politics at the turn of the century (5). John Redmond led the Parnellite minority of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the 1890s and reunited the Party in 1900, which he led until 1918; he introduced "the third Home Rule Bill" during that time (Foster 434). However, Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin and associated with the Gaelic League, criticized the Redmond party's alliance with British Liberalism, which accounts for the arrangement of "Arthur Griffith against John Redmond" in the street fighting scene in *Ulysses* (*U* 15.4685). Expectedly, then, Irish politicians' views regarding tourism differed: while the liberal Anglo-Irish elites supported the ITA, the conservative "Gaelic League," representing an "Irish Ireland," feared that "tourists would 'degrade the noble soul of the Irish peasant'" (Zuelow xxi).

It is striking that Irish tourism centered not only on "the rugged beauty" of the western seaboard—instead of the Anglicized and urbanized eastern counterpart—but also on the "extreme poverty" of the country, reported "as if it were a disaster zone" in British newspapers (xviii-xix). The Irish Irelanders' criticism of tourism development represented their fears of a disgraced, tourist (industrialized) Ireland in which impoverished peasants would be reduced to paupers tipped by tourists; at the same time, their criticism spoke to "their dreams of an agrarian, deindustrialized Ireland," which disregarded their reality of a "materially acculturated world" (Richards 240). On the other hand, the Anglo-Irish liberals who supported the ITA cherished the "romantic" image of an agrarian Ireland as much as the Irish-Irish conservatives—only the liberals were willing to use it as an economic, tourist resource, even at the cost of the negative, disastrous image of a starving Ireland.

Thus, the tourist image of a pure, rural Ireland persisted before and after the Irish Free State, with tourism advocated as “a patriotic crusade”; even in the 1950s when Irish tourist authorities first declared that “Tourism Is Everybody’s Business,” “Irish poverty” still symbolized “Irish purity” (Zuelow 2, 195, 117). From this perspective, it is significant that in *Ulysses*, presumably Joyce’s publicity work for Dublin, Irish poverty is not romanticized but rather vivified as the reality of the country under British rule. In other words, Joyce’s tourism for Dublin exploits the British colony, which is destitute yet irrevocably modern.

Uniquely, in contrast to Irish tourism’s promotion of a romantic, rural Ireland that was in “unreal harmony” with its poverty, Joyce’s *Ulysses* presents a modern, urban Ireland that is in “radical discord” with its pre-modernity (Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge* 106). Like his political views that were defined as “semicolonial”—“not reducible to a simple anticolonialism but very far from expressing approval” of the colonial rule (Howes and Attridge 3)—Joyce’s idea of tourism was distinct from Irish tourism, which adopted the British model of seaside tourism and evaded the colonial reality of Ireland. As discussed earlier, Joyce’s tourism for Dublin, although conceived from his personal experience and knowledge of the Mediterranean and British seaside resorts, was characteristic of Ireland, just as all his literary works centered around Ireland. Arguably, then, while Joyce appropriated the British notion of tourism—selling a remote, unknown place or an exotic image for pleasure travel—as a means of reviving the national economy, the Dublin tourism he promoted through *Ulysses* differed from the booming seaside tourism in terms of the object of tourism. Instead of tourist goods produced by nature, such as “sea bathing,” “seaside air” or aesthetic scenery, Joyce’s Dublin, making the best of what it was endowed with, displayed tourist goods created by history: the capital of the British colony itself as an unknown, exotic place became a tourist object. Joyce’s *Ulysses* thus presents the slum-like city for a colonial tour, while simultaneously advertising the city as the modern metropolis of Ireland.

In other words, Joyce’s Dublin tourism becomes a colonial exhibition as the counterpart to British “imperial exhibitions” that were established, by the success

of London's 1851 Great Exhibition, as "an integral part of the urban environment," thereby making the "London [metropolis] itself" "the actual exhibit" for foreign or "colonial" visitors in the late nineteenth century (Geppert 236). As its "official objectives"—the "advancement of the British economy," the "cohesion of the colonies and the unity of empire," and the "world tour" "without travelling"—are made clear, the imperial exhibition served as an important part of the tourism industry, contributing to the links of the empire as well as to the increase of trade with the colonies (233-34). In a similar or rather contrasting manner, the colonial exhibition that Joyce promotes through *Ulysses* makes "Dublin" the exhibit of colonial life, as it encompasses the city's culture, economy and politics. The colonial situation reflected in the imperial exhibition held in the center of the empire, then, is (re)presented in the colonial exhibition set in the periphery of the empire: publicizing the colonial environment from the perspective of the periphery, *Ulysses* could help "to redefine the relationship between the centre and the periphery" just as the nineteenth-century imperial travel journalism did (Steward 50).

In addition, the colonial exhibition advertised by *Ulysses* and exposing the "brutish" reality of liberal colonialism may have contributed to the development of the Irish tourism industry, which struggled to take roots—though in cooperation with the British—while the book of Dublin exhibition (tourism) was being made in Trieste. In fact, when Dublin tourism finally boomed in the last decade of the twentieth century, Dublin's "self-conscious identity" "as a tourist entity" was derived "in large part from Joyce," as Malouf notes (qtd. in Johnson 98). Interestingly, the promotion of Dublin tourism, which accompanied the expansion of the Irish economy known as the "Celtic Tiger" phenomenon, was officially marked by "the introduction of James Joyce's image on the Irish ten-pound note in 1993"; Joyce became "central to the contemporary [tourism] marketing" of Dublin (Johnson 96). The Dublin tourist promotion, which deployed the "modern" image of the city in Joyce's work, particularly *Ulysses*, and made the author the symbol of modern Irishness, led Dublin to be elected as the world's "fourth"

literary tourism site as “a center of new ideas” that produced “James Joyce’s *Dubliners* or *Ulysses*” in 2008 (“Top Ten”). While the Joyce tourism of Dublin constitutes more literary than colonial tourism, the context of the colonial situation that pervades his work can never be disregarded: the tour of “Joyce’s Dublin” inevitably makes a colonial exhibition. In this way, Joyce’s *Ulysses*, as an advertisement for the tour of the British colony, acts as his indictment of colonial history. By appropriating and selling out the colony for tourism, Joyce negotiated the Irish history of “nightmare.”

Paradoxically, Dublin tourism has been promoted by the British as well through tourism events such as “Best of Britain and Ireland,” which is regularly held in the annual “British Tourism Week”; specifically, in March 2009, the promotion was focused on literary trips in Britain and Ireland (Koumelis). England has always been “Ireland’s largest single source of tourism revenue” (Zuelow 218), contributing to the recent growth of Dublin (literary) tourism centered on Joyce. Here, a postcolonial paradox is created whereby the former master advocates for the former servant’s art, which serves as a “nicely polished looking-glass” and not a “cracked lookingglass” for the colony (*SL* 89; *U* 1.146). In short, the British travel agency advertises Dublin, the persistent source of imagination for and setting in Joyce’s work that represents his “revolt against the English conventions, literary and otherwise” (qtd. in Gibson, *James Joyce* 167). In fact, when the British edition of *Ulysses* was published in 1936, he declared: “Now the war between me and England is over, and I am the conqueror” (qtd. in Ellmann, *James Joyce* 693). The paradox of the British selling of Joyce’s Dublin, at the risk of their imperial glory defamed by the city’s proto-publicist, originates from the paradox of Dublin as a “postcolonial space”: while the British colony provides fair prospects for British tourism, its Irish “difference” undermines British authority. In this respect, Joyce, arguably ahead of his time, markets “postcolonial” and not colonial Dublin, with the city’s difference as “hybridity” or “contramodernity” enacting “a certain defeat” in the “idea” of colonization and modernization (Bhabha 175).

Not surprisingly, colonial travel or the tourism of the nineteenth century was

administered to accommodate “an essentially schizophrenic purpose”: travelers in the empire sought the “comforting extension” of “their own” “modern” culture as well as exotic, contra- or pre-modern, “other cultures” (Mackenzie 20). Thus, travelers’ handbooks and guidebooks, which began to appear in the 1830s, were focused on the charting of the progress of “imperial modernization,” often emphasizing “the similarities with the imperial metropole rather than the exotic differences”: the handbooks assumed the role of imperial “propaganda” (34). For example, John Murray compiled Indian guides into the single-volume guide *Handbook* in 1891, which signified that the British had established “a great empire out of a congeries of states” (23). Similarly, travel firms and shipping companies published imperial guides, highlighting imperial history as well as a travel network: the first edition of the *Orient Line Guide*, published in 1882, introduced Australia as a New World for the British race without ever mentioning the Maori tribes or penal colonies in it (28). On the other hand, the Boers, delineated in the 1910s editions of imperial guides, were portrayed as “the enemies of the modernizing efforts of the British” (30). In this regard, travel guides, which enjoyed “very considerable popularity,” served as a principal means of transporting “the imperial world view” (35); primarily designed for the dominant people, they reached the educated colonials as well, whose voices were scarcely reflected in the depiction of their own place. Ireland, for example, considered the “Island of Saints and Sages” to the colonial Joyce, was viewed as a land of “congenital liars” and “white savages” living in starvation in the eyes of English travelers who came to the country only to confirm the reputation (Zuelow xix).

Arguably, then, Joyce, who loved to study the “tedious detail” of guidebooks and was thus versed in their indoctrinating fashion (Maddox 75), appropriated and reversed propaganda by writing the Dublin colonial guidebook of *Ulysses*. *Ulysses* partially resembles Murray’s “Hand-book,” which was first produced as a hybrid genre of “literary guidebook” between travelogues and modern guidebooks in 1836. Murray notes that the guidebook should be confined to “matter-of-fact descriptions” in order “to interest an intelligent traveler” and adopt a “simple and condensed”

style, using “the descriptions of others,” “such as Byron [and] Scott,” which “will enhance the interest of seeing the objects described” (qtd. in Schaff 106-7). *Ulysses*, as a “literary guidebook” about Dublin to “interest an intelligent traveler” who can perceive it as postcolonial space, is written in fairly “matter-of-fact descriptions,” not going too far to reach “a style of scrupulous meanness” as in *Dubliners* (*SL* 83). For most of the book, the (post)colonial Dublin is visualized through the “dark eyes” of “a foreigner,” the Hungarian-Jewish Bloom, who is assumed to “see ourselves [Dublin] as others [travelers] see” it (*U* 13.415; 8.662). Furthermore, he is an advertising man, trained in describing things in a “simple and condensed” style: all the people and objects that he encounters while walking around the city tend to be captured like “advertisement” (poster) images or copies, which aim “to arrest [the] involuntary attention” of consumers-(travelers)-readers and “to interest, to convince, [and] to decide” them (17.583-84). Moreover, *Ulysses* is full of “descriptions of others,” even borrowing the style of the English prose in “Oxen of the Sun,” which thus displays “an Irish bull [metropolis] in an English chinashop [colony]” (14.581). It is significant that quotations and references in the book do not merely point to Dublin’s hybridity with the English but also with other cultures, Christian and pagan, which deems it “useless to look for a thread that may have remained pure and virgin” Irish (*CW* 165). It is this hybridity that makes Dublin as an object of tourism so interesting: Dublin’s hybridity will “enhance the interest of seeing” the city depicted in the literary guidebook of *Ulysses*.

III

Before discussing the elements of Dublin tourism in *Ulysses*, it is worth noting that British metropolitan tourism was conducted as an alternative to seaside tourism in the late nineteenth century. In particular, the English magazine *Punch* praised the urban experience, increasing the appeal of large urban resorts like Brighton, which is the very first resort Bloom recalls when imagining a concert tour. Interestingly,

Bray, Joyce's childhood hometown, was called "the Brighton of Ireland," as the "only" place in Ireland comparable to the English "seaside resort town" ("Bray"). In this respect, the idea of Dublin metropolitan tourism, if the contents were right for the (post)colonial city, may not have been so improbable for Joyce, who grew up in the largest tourist resort in Ireland. In fact, Bloom's "longcherished plan" turns out to be "travelling to London" for "an instructive tour of the sights of the great metropolis, the spectacle of our modern Babylon": the metropolitan tour of London, where "the greatest improvement" was made with the "tower [of London], [Westminster] abbey, [and] wealth of Park lane," was widely advertised at the time of Edward VII's coronation in 1902 (*U* 16.499-500, 513-15; Gifford 541). It is highly symbolic then that the metropolitan Dublin guide *Ulysses* begins with the Martello tower in Sandycove—as a counterpart to the Tower of London—with Mulligan, Haines, and Stephen staying together in it. While the tower built by the British against possible French invasion betokens the colonial status of Dublin, its obsolescence and particularly its co-occupation by the three different characters suggest Dublin's post-colonial situation: Mulligan as the "stage Irish" and the "usurper" of the Irish nation, Haines as the "English tourist friend of his," and Stephen as the "bard," though "toothless terrors," to create the conscience of Ireland (Gifford 13; *U* 1.744; 16.265; 2.429). In other words, Dublin is portrayed as both subservient like Mulligan and resistant like Stephen to the English—the "palefaces" "tourists" like Haines (10.338). The essential "problem" with Dublin is that while the English metropolitans are "bursting with money," the Irish metropolitans are desperate "to get money": "money is [the] power" that can deliver postcolonial resistance (1.52, 497; 2.237).

In this respect, the Dublin guide *Ulysses* visualizes the city not only as the money-lacking colonial but also as the money-making "metropolis and greater Dublin" (12.1815). In fact, Dublin was "a rapidly expanding conurbation" in 1904 (Kiberd, "Irish Literature" 269). Dublin's electric tramline, having replaced all "the horse trams" three years before, claimed to be "the most advanced tramway system in the world" (Hickey xii). In *Ulysses*, the tramline departs every few minutes "with

the velocity of modern life” from the terminus at the Nelson’s Pillar located in the “Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis” (*U* 17.1773; 7.1-2). The city’s postal service runs “five” times each weekday, with the last delivery of “the nine o’clock postman” seen in “Nausicaa” (13.1170). Moreover, as “the ‘smartest’ of the shopping thoroughfares of Dublin,” “Grafton Street” in the middle of the day is depicted as “gay with housed awnings”; in particular, “Brown, Thomas & Co.” on Grafton, where Bloom considers buying a pincushion for Molly’s birthday, was advertised “as having been famous for ‘the best quality’ of Irish laces and linens for one hundred years” in 1904 (Gifford 176; *U* 8.614, 625-28). Similarly, Dublin’s major department store “Clery’s,” where Gerty bought her new things on summer sale in “Nausicaa,” had been in business since the middle of the previous century. By the mid-nineteenth century, Dublin already had several “all-purpose department stores” or “monster” shops, such as “New Palatial Mart,” which was the precursor of Clery’s (O’Grada 270).

Notwithstanding its metropolitan, modern elements, however, the Dublin of *Ulysses* bears the pre-modern image of colonial locality, where things may oscillate “between events of imperial and of local interest” (*U* 17.428). For example, the well-advanced tram system may suddenly die due to “short circuit,” resulting in the “tramcars with motionless trolleys” standing “all still,” while “horsedrawn” cars move “rapidly” (7.1043-49). And a drove of cattle awaiting transport to Liverpool and “blocking up” North Circular Road moves slowly from the cattlemarket to the docks; despite its being “such an important thoroughfare,” as repeatedly noted in the book, the road around northern quays has no tram service (6.403; 10.74-75). Moreover, while London’s “abbey” represents the British Crown, Dublin’s “saint Mary’s abbey,” which has been dissolved, embodies the rebellion of “silken Thomas” against the Crown in 1534; only its remains claim to be “the most historic spot in all Dublin” (10.408-9; Gifford 268). Significantly, the Glasnevin cemetery in “Hades” acutely exhibits colonial aspects of Dublin tourism. It is interesting that the British “graves, tombs, cemeteries and funeral monuments” representing imperial history have been “standard features of the classic [metropolitan]

guidebooks” (Doring 251). The “cemetery movement,” providing burial grounds in the outskirts of the metropolis, began as part of the project of modernity in the 1820s. What is more interesting, here, is that these cemeteries were “consciously designed, planted and constructed” as “places of leisure and recreation for the urban masses”; as described in the *Guide to Highgate Cemetery*, published in 1865, the cemetery was advertised as “a landscape garden next to the metropolis” (258-59). In contrast, the Glasnevin cemetery of Dublin, which was founded at the same time as the first cemetery of London in 1832, symbolizes Irish “defender [resistance] against indifference” to its colonial and not British imperial history (254). The Dublin cemetery of “Catholic and Nationalist Ireland,” located next to “gloomy gardens,” displays the graves of the “uncrowned King” Parnell and the Liberator O’Connell (Gifford 104; *U* 6.467). In addition, “Botanic Gardens,” just nearby, is pictured as growing “fat with corpsemanure, bones, flesh, nails,” which renders Dublin the city of the dead—representing the colonized—and making the “Irishman’s house” into “his coffin” (6.770, 776, 822).

In sum, as “a fictionalized guide to Dublin” in close reference to *Thom’s Directory*, *Ulysses* portrays the “image of a living city” that is endowed with contradictory or hybrid characteristics (Gunn and Hart 15, 26). Dublin is living and dead at the same time: “In the midst of death we are [it is] in life” (*U* 6.759). In other words, Joyce’s Dublin is both modern and pre- or counter-modern, both accommodating and resisting British metropolitan commercial culture. For this reason, while Irish nationalists who “failed to be modern” “ceased being Irish in any meaningful sense,” Joyce, who presumed that “to be Irish was to be modern anyway” but who did “not” become “modern to the extent that he ceased to be Irish,” uniquely captured the image of “being Irish” in his Dublin as the hybridity between being modern and counter-modern in *Ulysses* (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 267). Strikingly and absurdly, the hybridity of Dublin between being modern and counter-modern or being alive and dead may be best personified by the “ghost” of Dignam that appears “as plain as a pikestaff” in the city street (*U* 12.323-4). The “apparition” informs his living friends that some places “in the other region” are

furnished with “every modern home comfort such as *tālāfānā*, *ālāvātār*, *hātākāldā*, *wātāklāsāt*” (12.353-4, 371). Joyce’s Dublin is presented as both a pre-modern colony where the dead haunts and as a modern metropolis where even the dead may benefit from modern facilities.

It is not likely then that political convictions are a primary concern in the Dublin of *Ulysses*: “Ivy day,” in memory of Parnell, is “dying out” and his “return” if true is “highly inadvisable” (6.855; 16.1311-2). Still, the viceregal cavalcade passing “through the metropolis” is not “cordially greeted” but “unsaluted”: it is merely watched, stared at, mistakenly admired, or even “unobserved” (10.1182-3). *Ulysses*’s Dublin suggests a postcolonial space where colonial authority is neither acknowledged nor fought against, where it is hard to apply “any hard and fast rules as to right [being Irish] and wrong [being British]” (16.1095). The city thus needs “no more patriotism” of politicians but the economic “patriotism” of the Jew-Irish businessman in order for “everyone” to have “a comfortable tidysized income,” which is “the vital issue at stake” (15.1692; 16.1133-38). Here comes “money” again, which is one of the most frequently appearing words in the book. In other words, Irish postcolonial power is expected to be built by moneymakers like Guinness’s Brewery, whose “barge with export stout” to be shipped to “England” is seen on the Liffey (8.45). As the brewing industry grew rapidly since the 1850s, Guinness’s Brewery, which became “the largest in the world” in 1914, accounted for “about two thirds of all Irish output and the bulk of exports” (O’Grada 304). Interestingly, “tourism” constituted “a successful form of advertising” for Guinness’s: the number of visitors to the Dublin brewery in 1919, when it distributed 20,000 guidebooks, reached the early highpoint of 19,600, rising from 4,000 in 1887 (Zuelow 167-8). Bloom thus thinks it would “be interesting” “to see the brewery” where a conducted tour was operated; “the Dublin Distillers Company” is even provided with the “visitors’ waitingroom” (8.46-47; 10.774-5). Tourism, which helped to build Guinness’s success, could contribute to raising the status of postcolonial Dublin.

Not surprisingly, Bloom assumes that the “great field” of the tourist industry

is “to be opened up” with the establishment of a new steamship route between Ireland and Wales in 1905: “a great opportunity” is to be “certainly” created for “enterprise to meet the travelling needs of the public at large” (16.531-37; Gifford 541). In addition, the new travel route is to create “equally excellent opportunities for vacationists in the home island,” which offers “a plethora of attractions as well as a bracing tonic for the system in and around Dublin”: “Poulaphouca,” “Wicklow,” “the wilds of Donegal,” and “Howth” (16.547-63). Bloom depicts in detail the tourist sites “in and around Dublin” as if in a guidebook, even resorting to the seaside advertising term of “a bracing tonic.” Still, “uptodate [the 1900s] tourist travelling” in Ireland is “as yet merely in its infancy,” and the tourist “accommodation [is] left much to be desired” (16.564-65). Accordingly, Bloom has various schemes, apart from their feasibility at the time, in preparation for Dublin tourism. In particular, his scheme for the construction of “an asphalted esplanade with casinos, booths, shooting galleries, hotels, boarding houses, readingrooms, [and] establishments for mixed bathing” denotes a desire for the Dublin tourist resort (17.1717-18). It is interesting, here, that his “scheme for the development of Irish tourist traffic in and around Dublin by means of petrolpropelled riverboats” and the specific idea of “pleasure steamers for coastwise navigation (10/- per person per day, guide (trilingual) included) mirror Joyce’s experience of Austrian tourism (17.1720-24): the idea of passenger transportation by “petrolpropelled riverboats” is reminiscent of Austrian *Brioni*, the world’s first motor passenger ship that would be built at the STT in Trieste six years after *Ulysses*’s time. In brief, Bloom’s idea of tourism that focused on metropolitan Dublin suggests that Joyce’s Dublin, with Bloom in it, is postcolonial and not colonial, which makes *Ulysses* a guide on the tour of postcolonial Dublin.

IV

It is worth noting that the postcolonial element or the hybridity between the

colonial and the metropolitan/imperial aspects of Dublin tour suggested in *Ulysses* is reinforced by the overlay of the Mediterranean Sea, as implied in the title of the book. From the beginning of the publication of *Ulysses*, Joyce asserted its significance as the epic of an Irishman wandering Dublin and as analogous to that of the same-name Greek mythical hero sailing the Mediterranean. In fact, “the Homeric scaffolding” of *Ulysses* constituted “a very large part of the appeal” of the book, which appeared to be nearly “unreadable” to its early readers (Gibson, *James Joyce* 119). In this respect, Bloom’s Jewishness is in part related to the Phoenecian or Hebraic identity of Homeric Ulysses in line with Victor Bérard’s interpretation of the *Odyssey* (Ellmann, *Consciousness* 27-28). Meanwhile, Bloom’s Jewish identity also reflects the Jewish roots or sympathies of the legendary “ancestors” of Ireland, the “Milesians”—references to whom appear several times in Joyce’s epic. The Milesians or the Goidels “could have been Jews” as they were invited by Moses to the Promised Land, according to the Irish legend, although they went to Spain instead (Tymoczko 26-30). In short, the Dublin of *Ulysses*, where the Irish hero of Jewish roots roams around, becomes a metaphor for the imperial space of the Mediterranean, which the Greek hero of Semitic origin roves around.

On the other hand, Joyce’s Dublin, as the ancient imperial space of the Mediterranean reigned by the Greek or Hebrew, equally represents the modern colonial space of the Mediterranean dominated by the English: “the [Greek] masters of the Mediterranean are fellaheen today” (*U* 7.911). The modern Mediterranean, like Dublin, was dominated by the English, who gained “Gibraltar” from Spain in the early eighteenth century and used it since then as a “starting point for forays” into the Mediterranean (Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge* 254). Dublin, as analogous to the British Mediterranean, is well symbolized by the presence of Lord Admiral “Nelson’s pillar” in the heart of the city, which is marked as the center of the metropolis’ transportation system in *Ulysses*: the pillar commemorates the death of Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar, which was fought northwest of the Strait of Gibraltar—connecting to the Mediterranean—and brought on the greatest naval victory in British history. In addition, the modern Mediterranean may refer to

Joyce's Trieste, the major port on the sea, which served as the womb of the Dublin guide *Ulysses*: the sea may stand for the Italian city under Austrian rule. In other words, the modern sea embodies the colonial space, like Gibraltar under English domination, Trieste under Austrian rule, or the sea itself commanded by the English. From this perspective, the ancient imperial space of the Mediterranean of the Jew-Greek hero, now ruled by the British imperial power, serves as a perfect metaphor for the Dublin of the Jew-Irish hero oppressed by the same power. Therefore, in "appropriating the great imperial space of the Mediterranean" for "the space of the colonial city" and thus turning "the imperial relationship inside out" (Jameson 64), *Ulysses* presents Dublin as the postcolonial space, the hybrid between the colonial and imperial terrain.

Finally, it is striking that Joyce personally carried out the sales promotion for the book *Ulysses* for the sake of advocating postcolonial Dublin. He made efforts to publicize the book, highlighting its Greek or Mediterranean representation, as previously mentioned. Above all, he insisted on a blue papered cover for the first edition in order to match the color of "the Greek flag," which Sylvia Beach and her printers could not find until the last moment; when the printers were about to use white paper with blue prints on it for the cover, Joyce delayed the publication until he finally found the "exact tint of blue" (Crispi). Thus, the cover of the first edition of the guide *Ulysses* was printed in white on the Greek blue. Then, after its publication in Paris and the US, Joyce was actively involved in advertising the guide *Ulysses*, soliciting reviews and interpretations of the book from his admirers, which was well researched in Dettmar's "Selling *Ulysses*." In fact, Joyce's helpers, including Stuart Gilbert, Frank Budgen, and Herbert Gorman, who wrote about *Ulysses* or the author or both, acted as "a PR team" (Gibson, *James Joyce* 136): Joyce actually referred to Stuart's book as "an advertisement for the book" (qtd. in Ellmann, *James Joyce* 616). Notably, here, in advertising *Ulysses*, he was more concerned that it should be read "at all" than "right": the Dublin guide was meant to draw people to the city rather than to the book itself.

The first edition of the Dublin guide *Ulysses* explores "the infinite possibilities

hitherto unexploited of the modern art of [travel] advertisement” (*U* 17.580): the blue cover, with the white prints of ULYSSES on the top and BY JAMES JOYCE on the bottom, illustrates the Greek Mediterranean with the Irish Ulysses created by James Joyce sailing on it. The “monoideal symbols [the Greek blue and the white letters], vertically of maximum visibility (divined), horizontally of maximum legibility (deciphered), and of magnetizing efficacy” invoke the Mediterranean-Dublin travel/tour as both the ancient imperial space of the Greek hero and the modern colonial of the Irish Ulysses (17.581-83). Thus, the guide *Ulysses* was arguably intended to “arrest [the] involuntary attention” of the public—not necessarily of Ireland that had no “conscience” yet but of the world—by evoking the Greek hero and the Mediterranean. Then it should “interest” the reader that Ulysses is Jewish Irish and that the Sea refers to Dublin. And it should “convince” the reader of the parallel between the Jew-Greek and the Jew-Irish and the Mediterranean and Dublin as both being (ancient) imperial and (modern) colonial. Finally, the guide should “decide” the reader to visit Dublin, which represents the Mediterranean of the Irish Ulysses and is depicted as the hybrid space between the metropolitan and the colonial or the modern and the counter-modern. In conclusion, *Ulysses* can claim to be a travel advertisement (guide) for the tour of post-colonial Dublin that should enhance the economy of the city and the country; it was created according to the principles of “modern art of advertisement,” which are “identified with the fundamentals of advertising” (Kil 1).

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Abstract

The Postcolonial Tourism of Dublin: Reading *Ulysses* as the Dublin Guide

Hye Ryoung Kil

Modern tourism was booming in Southern Europe and the British Isles when *Ulysses* was conceived in Austrian Trieste. Particularly, the tourist industry of the Isle of Man—a model for Irish Home Rule—was significant as tourism was the root of the Island’s self-sufficiency. It can be argued that Joyce perceived tourism as a means of achieving Irish economic and political power. In other words, Joyce’s *Ulysses* may serve as a guide on the tour of Dublin, which embodies the postcolonial or hybrid space between the Irish capital and the British colony. While promoting the metropolitan image of Dublin, *Ulysses* simultaneously exploits its colonial image for tourism. Like his political views, Joyce’s idea of tourism can be defined as semicolonial. Appropriating the British notion of tourism Joyce made the capital of the British colony a tourist object as a different place.

Ulysses features a modern, urban Ireland, in contrast to the contemporary Irish tourism which promoted a romantic, rural Ireland. The Dublin tourism of *Ulysses* offers a colonial metropolitan exhibition as the counterpart to British imperial metropolitan exhibitions, which served as an important part of the tourism industry in the late nineteenth century. The colonial metropolitan exhibition that Joyce promotes through *Ulysses* makes “Dublin” the exhibit of postcolonial life. It is symbolic that *Ulysses* begins with the Martello tower in Sandycove—as a counterpart to the Tower of London—with Mulligan, Haines, and Stephen staying together in it. Dublin is portrayed as both subservient like Mulligan and resistant like Stephen to the English tourist Haines.

Ulysses’s Dublin is endowed with contradictory or hybrid characteristics. It is

a postcolonial space where colonial authority is neither acknowledged nor fought against. Furthermore, Bloom's dream of tourism which focused on metropolitan Dublin suggests that Joyce's Dublin, with Bloom in it, is postcolonial, which makes *Ulysses* a guide to the postcolonial Dublin. Joyce's efforts at the sales promotion for *Ulysses* were intended to draw people to the city of Dublin rather than to the book itself.

■ Key words : British Isles, colonial travel, Dublin, James Joyce, modern tourism, seaside resorts, *Ulysses*

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