『제임스 조이스 저널』
제19권 2호(2013년 12월) 5-28

A Broader Nationalism in "Cyclops": Joyce's Bloom and Casement*

Hye Ryoung Kil

I

Roger Casement, one of the most significant figures in both British and Irish history of the early twentieth century, has been a center of controversy, again, for the last two decades. The debate or question on the authenticity of the Black Diaries, which was allegedly written by Casement during his investigation of the Congo and the Amazon atrocities, particularly the latter involving the British-Peruvian rubber-collecting company, was historically persistent after his execution for high treason in August 1916. The claims that the so-called Black Diaries, portraying Casement as homosexual, were forged by the British—as in the case of the Pigott forgery in which the British attempted to implicate Charles S. Parnell in the Phoenix Park murder in the 1880s—were revived with the establishment of the Irish Republic and particularly with Yeats's poem, 'Roger Casement,' which

* This research was supported by the Yeungnam University Research Grants in 2013.

eulogized Casement as a saint in the late 1930s. The forgery controversy was raised again when Casement's remains, transported from London, were re-interned in Dublin in 1965. The eventual release of the Diaries and related files and materials at the Public Record Office between 1994 and 2001 brought about the recent concerns about Casement and a renewed interest in the life and writings of the once-British consul—even knighted for his humanitarian work in 1910—and the Irish revolutionary hanged for conspiracy with Germany for the Easter Rising in April 1916. The Black Diaries, specifically its homoerotic contents, served as the secret, lethal weapon to destroy the man who was accused of plotting with the enemy of Britain in the First World War, and who was internationally famous for his humanitarian works, which were embodied by the Congo Report of 1904 and the Putumayo Report of 1911. Apart from the authenticity debate, the Diaries effectively buried the humanitarian revolutionary in history, making him forgotten and unspeakable both in Catholic Ireland and in Imperial Britain.

This essay attempts to explore Casement's thoughts about Ireland and Britain and their connection with Joyce, or rather his main character Bloom in *Ulysses,* in which Casement's name and the Congo report are mentioned in the "Cyclops" episode. It is worth noting that "Cyclops" was written two years after the 1916 Easter Rising, specifically after the execution of Casement, while there is an earlier scene in "Aelous" in which Casement or his work appears without any reference to him and which was written before the Rising. The Easter Rebellion, which led to the execution of Casement, was significant because it made Casement, who with such conflicting careers and background—born Catholic near Dublin and raised Protestant in Ulster—had often been mistaken as British, finally recognized as the Irish nationalist. The nationalist Casement was imprinted on the Irish's mind so much to the extent that his "Speech from the Dock" was added to some editions of Sullivan's anthology *Speeches from the Dock or Protests of Irish Patriotism: Speeches Delivered after Conviction* (1867) that were published after 1916, which served as "a bible for Irish nationalists" (Mitchell, *Casement* 129). Robert Emmet's speech, his "last words," were contained in the anthology, which float momentarily

into Bloom's mind at the end of "Siren" (*U* 11.1275), and which Casement, too, knew "far too well"; he even gave the copies of the speech to "Indian students in Dublin" for "[their] fellow-countrymen" under the same imperial rule, as he wrote in a letter in March 1916 (Doerries 187). Interestingly, the "Siren" scene leads to "Cyclops" in which the drunkards' talking at Barney Kiernan's pub brings up Casement's name, and the Citizen identifies him as Irish: "Casement . . . [h]e's an Irishman" (*U* 12.1545). In short, in "Cyclops," written after Casement's status ascended to the nationalist martyr, the Irish—instead of the British consul—Casement is referred to as the author of "[the Congo] report" (*U* 12.1543), which is rather anachronistic for the year 1904, and also in "an anomalous lucidity" for the drunk Citizen (Mullen 98).

In comparison to the "Cyclops" scene, in "Aelous," which was written between 1915 and 1916, and in which Professor MacHugh recites a famous speech on the Irish language "by John F Taylor" (*U* 7.793), Casement's connection is not apparent, although MacHugh's account is based on Casement's version of Taylor's speech. In fact, Joyce may not have realized that he made use of Casement's pamphlet, anonymously circulated, instead of Taylor's speech. The verbatim text of Taylor's speech delivered at the Trinity College Historical Society in October 1901 did not exist, although the content was printed the next day in *Freeman's Journal* (Bender 807). The anonymous pamphlet by Casement, circulated between 1904 and 1905 and appearing in the *United Irishman* in 1906, introduces a letter that is claimed to contain "the only record available of Mr. Taylor's speech" (Casement, "Language" 155-56). The significance is that Casement's account is slightly different from Taylor's actual speech. In particular, the most often quoted phrase, "the language of the outlaw," included also in MacHugh's narrative (*U* 7.869), is not Taylor's but Casement's or of the anonymous author "X" of the letter that was cited in the pamphlet (Bender 808). "X," as the favorite pseudonym of Casement for his writings in Griffith's newspaper in the period, has served as the major clue to his authorship of the pamphlet. Furthermore, Casement's authorship of the pamphlet has been recently confirmed through the discovery of another pamphlet

containing the text with “Casement’s byline” (Bender 810). It was Casement’s version and not Taylor’s actual speech that was used in “Aelous,” whether or not Joyce was aware of the authorship of the anonymous pamphlet. Still, given the thoroughness of his inquiry about his sources for his work and the fact that the other pamphlet with Casement’s name on it was printed in 1907, there is a possibility that Joyce may have known about the author of the pamphlet he was using around 1915. If he should have been aware that it belonged to Casement, however, he would not have deemed it necessary to make any reference to Casement at the time, before the Easter rebellion broke out and Casement was known as a nationalist hero.

It was only after his resignation from the Foreign Office in early 1913 that Casement openly worked for the Irish Home Rule movement, with the Third Home Rule Bill introduced in 1912 in alliance between the English Liberals and John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Although his politics stressed peace and unity among the Irish, namely between the Northern Protestants and Southern Catholics—which was well summed up later in his last speech from the dock—he inevitably turned to force after the Northern Protestants resisted Home Rule and organized the Ulster Volunteers. Casement was one of the two Ulster Protestants who led the Irish Volunteers, organized by the Southern (Catholic) Nationalists in November 1913, “to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland,” as professed in the manifesto; the Irish Volunteers’ “ranks are open to all able-bodied Irishmen without distinction of creed, policies or social grade,” whose “duties will be defensive and protective” (qtd. in Mitchell, *Casement* 79). One of Casement’s most important achievements with the Irish Volunteers was the success of gun-running at Howth in July 1914, which was planned as the countermeasure to the Ulster Volunteers’ earlier armament. Ironically, the Howth gun-running, which owed its success to Casement’s earlier experience in British intelligence activities in the Boer War, ultimately made possible the armed uprising on the Easter two years later. Casement was greatly admired for the gun-running success in the US when he was on tour to gain support

for the Irish Volunteers from the Irish-Americans, as he wrote in a letter in July 1914: "The Irish here would make me into a Demi God if I let them. . . . [T]hey have christened me . . . 'Robert Emmet'!" (Doerries 45).

Unfortunately, however, the British declaration of war on Germany a few days later—initiating the First World War—put Casement and the Irish Volunteers behind the scene of history until Easter 1916. The British declaration of war effectively blocked the enactment of the Third Home Rule Bill, which almost became law. Even worse, it brought about the near destruction of the Irish Volunteers because Redmond, leading the majority of the Irish Volunteers and throwing "[the Irish cause] out of the window," as the Irish novelist James Stephens later wrote, offered to send "his" Volunteers to fight for the cause of the British Empire (qtd. in Bryant 208). Only a minority of Irish Volunteers, including Padraic (Patrick) Pearse, who did not follow Redmond, remained a force to play a central role later during the Easter insurrection. In the meantime, Casement turned to Germany, with the traditionally and repeatedly "mistaken" belief among the Irish nationalists that Ireland's freedom would be won in alliance with Britain's main rivals, be it Spain, France or Germany. In fact, his dangerous mission to Germany, on his own initiative though financed by the Irish nationalists in the US, was modeled on Wolfe Tone's to France in 1796 (Mansergh 197). Casement, representing the tradition of Northern Protestant Toneite republicanism, once said, "I am Wolfe Tone . . . the reincarnation of Wolfe Tone" (qtd. in Mitchell, "Riddle" 116). Thus, Casement headed for Germany in October 1914 where he was to remain until March 1916, either forgotten or defamed by British slander and libel against the once-consul turned traitor. It is interesting that the Black Diaries were not circulated or did not exist at the time, which has been the subject of suspicion on the part of the forgery claim.

When Casement, however, came back onto the stage of Irish or British history, it was in his trial; his position was tragically torn between supporting and opposing the Rebellion of 1916. It has been suggested that all "the entire proceedings of *Rex versus Casement*" were "a sacred drama whose ultimate directors were in Germany"

—that is, a German "conspiracy" designed to enhance their cause in the US by inducing the British to repress the Irish revolt "on a savage scale" and "put a prominent international humanitarian to death as well" (Edwards 173). Germany, like other European powers, was not seriously interested in Irish affairs and sought only a tactical diversion in the war with Britain. Despite a treaty in November 1914 with Casement on behalf of the Irish revolutionaries to support an armed rebellion in Ireland, Germany delayed the execution of their promises, having Casement wait until the spring of 1916 when they provided only a small quantity of guns and no military leaders as promised. It was upon receiving the message from John Devoy, who represented the Irish rebels in the US, that the planning of an armed rising for Easter in Ireland began. Casement, who "had always been greatly opposed to any attempted revolt in Ireland unless backed up with strong foreign military help," was deeply frustrated, as detailed in his long letter in March 1916; furthermore, he was even threatened by the German captain that he himself would be blamed if he did not help or accept the arms as they were and that "they should be at once used" —that is, "no revolution no rifles" (Doerries 196, 198-99).

From that moment, unexpected from his initial talk with the German ambassador in the US, Casement was plunged into deep conflict between assisting and stopping the Easter insurrection. The arms were needed in any case, while the Easter rising, with its insufficient arms and no military leaders, would be "totally futile at the best, and at the worst something [he] dreaded to think of" (194). The dispatch of the arms for the Irish revolt was "dead against [his] reason, judgment and intelligence," while at the same time, "[his] instinct, as an Irish nationalist, [was] to be with [his] countrymen in any project of theirs however foolhardy, to stand or fall with them" (199-200). Moreover, the Irish Volunteers who planned the insurrection resisted the British Conscription Bill, as explained later by Devoy, which finally led Casement to decide to "gladly go to Ireland with the arms," for it was "far better for Irishmen to fight at home and resist conscription by force than to be swept into the shambles of England's continental war" (205). However, neither was Casement to join, nor the arms to reach the Easter rebels. Having

landed on the coast of Ireland after the ship of arms sunk by the British, he was arrested inevitably and almost immediately. In order to stop the rebellion, he made his arrest known to the rebel leaders, although the revolt was to take place, despite limited arms, no military leaders, and even conflicting orders to 'cancel' or to 'go ahead' with the plan. The uprising, which nevertheless lasted throughout the Easter week, turned out to be a tragic farce or farcical tragedy: Dublin turning into a wasteland, Griffith appealing for calm, and Pearse declaring a Proclamation of the Sovereign Independent Irish State.

Still, the farcical tragedy of the Easter Rising came to have significance through its very tragedy for the Irish independence movement thereafter. In fact, it can even be said that though beaten, the Irish won a "victory" of a different kind: according to Devoy, "1,500 [Irish] Volunteers" fought against the British army of 20-25,000 for a whole week in Dublin, with the Irish having "only 103 killed and wounded" while the English having "2,700"; "The old Ireland is gone" (qtd. in Bryant 278). With the victims becoming martyrs of Irish history, Irish nationalism was reborn with the Revolt, which was further inflamed by Casement's last address at his trial. Casement's trial—which was cited by Bernard Shaw in his preface to *Saint Joan* (1923)—projected a new Ireland, "a future Irish identity of international status," establishing Casement as "a diplomat for the future Irish republic" instead of a traitor to the British Empire (Edwards 176). While still holding the view that the Rising should not have proceeded without adequate support, Casement stressed that the Rebellion was an act of national self-assertion by the Irish, as he wrote in "Line of My 'Defence'": "[I]t is the Irish cause—the cause of Sinn Féin and the rebels—their integrity and independence I am defending. . . . [I]t was no 'German plot' . . . it sprang from the fixed resolution of Irishmen themselves" (qtd. in Callanan 133). For Casement, the uprising was an act of the Irish nationalist instead of a (Southern) Nationalist movement.

II

Interestingly, the farcical element of the disastrous Rising, which drove Casement to oscillate between futile 'force' and terrible 'peace,' is well anticipated in Joyce's writings about Ireland. In particular, "Ireland at the Bar," written in 1907, describes an interrogation by the English of an old Irishman who is accused of murder and who does not know any English; without a proper means of communication, he is to be hanged, when "even the hangman," unable to "make himself understood," "angrily kick[s] the unhappy man in the head to force him into the noose" (Joyce, *Occasional* 145). The English interrogation of Ireland, portrayed as "at times comic and at times tragic" (145) in Joyce's essay, foreshadows the ridiculous staging, though metaphorically, of the Easter Insurrection by the Irish or its repression by the English in *Ulysses*: the Citizen's throwing of the "biscuitbox" is accompanied by "bonfires" and "earthquake," all visualizing "Dublin captured in photographs immediately after the Rising" at the end of "Cyclops," and with "DISTANT VOICES" of "Dublin's burning!" all the Irish nationalists fight each other in "Circe" (*U* 12.1812-96, 15.4660-97; Duffy 123-4). Symbolizing the tragic farce of Irish resistance to English rule, "Ireland at the Bar" is significant all the more because in planning to make a collection of his essays about Ireland, Joyce intended to "place this article first and to give the book its title" in 1914 (*Occasional* 325). The fact that "the Irish nation [stands] at the bar of public opinion" and is unable to "appeal to the modern conscience of England and abroad" (146) constitutes the tragic farce or farcical tragedy of the Irish nationalist movement.

Furthermore, the Irish, not knowing how to appeal to or make themselves understood by the English court, "figure as criminals," as Joyce observes in the same essay, while "criminality in Ireland is lower than in any other country in Europe" (147). The truth is that the law under which Ireland is charged is written in a different language, "the language of the conqueror," which renders Ireland having "never form[ed] an integral part" of, or never been faithful to the conqueror,

a criminal (159). In this sense, "the Irish language under English rule," like "the Hebrew language under Egyptian rule," becomes "the language of the outlaw," as Casement cunningly inserted in Taylor's original speech (Casement, "Language" 157-8). Casement's phrase "the language of the outlaw" indicates that he was concerned with Irish nationalism as early as when writing the Congo Report in 1904 and especially after meeting his lifetime supporter and correspondent, Alice Stopford Green, in 1905; she was a central figure in the Irish nationalist movement, whose *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing* (1908) served as a key text for the 1916 revolutionaries (O'Callahan 61). It is notable that Green's nationalism was initiated by Taylor, who passionately advocated the use of Irish language in the 1890s. He compared it to Moses's language, in the words of MacHugh in *Ulysses*, as "*the language of the outlaw*," in which "*the tables of the law* [were] *graven*" (*U* 7.868-9). The paradox of the Irish language as that of the outlaw, like the Hebrew language in which the true law of the Ten Commandments—which British Christian imperialism embodied—is written, illuminates the very paradox of the English domination of Ireland as lawful.

In fact, the contradiction conceived in the rule of Ireland by the English is what Casement points out in the beginning of his speech, which he delivered after being convicted of treason and was "addressed not to [the] Court, but to [his] own countrymen":

> [I]f true religion rests on love, it is equally true that loyalty rests on love. The law I am charged under has no parentage in love. . . . Loyalty is a sentiment, not a law. It rests on love, not on restraint. The Government of Ireland by England rests on restraint and not on law; and since it demands no love it can evoke no loyalty. (Knott 198)

"Loyalty," which is "a sentiment," he argues, should be called forth from the true law, which, like "true religion," is rooted in "love." The law that England claims "[her] Government of Ireland" rests upon, however, is not the true law, as it does not rest on love but on "restraint." The English rule of Ireland by restraint thus "can

evoke no loyalty," which logically means that no Irish can commit the crime of treason, as the violation of loyalty, against England. In contending so, Casement stresses that "English rule," derived from "conquest," is not lawful and can exert "no empire over men's reason and judgment and affections" (200). Inevitably, his attack on the arbitrary dominance of Ireland by the English converges with the repeated failure of Irish attempts at Home Rule—the Third Bill suspended in the final moment of its enactment with the outbreak of the War.

> Self-government is our right, a thing born in us at birth; a thing no more to be doled out to us or withheld from us by another people than the right to life itself. . . . It is only from the convict these things are withheld for crime committed and proven—and Ireland that has wronged no man, that has injured no land, that has sought no dominion over others—Ireland is treated . . . as if she was a convicted criminal. (204)

"Self-government" is the right of the Irish, like "the right to life itself," which is not "to be doled out" to or "withheld" from them by the English. The "Home Rule Bill," however, was "merely the petty party expression . . . '[i]n the interests of the Empire . . . [to] satisfy the sentiment of the over-sea democracies,'" as Casement argued in one of his essays written in 1913 (Casement, *Crime* 55). Home Rule was never considered to be the right of the Irish, as similarly noted by Joyce in "The Home Rule Comet" in 1910, which asserted that the passing of the Home Rule Bill is "the business of the English themselves" and "will matter little to the credulous Irish peasant" (Joyce, *Occasional* 158-9). In other words, the Irish, who are denied their inborn right to autonomy, are no more than the imprisoned outlaw or "a convicted criminal," while they have "wronged no man . . . injured no land . . . [or] sought no dominion over others."

The contradiction or injustice of British imperial rule is elaborated more in Casement's other essays published in 1915, in a volume entitled *The Crime Against Europe—A Possible Outcome of the War of 1914*, and informed by his knowledge and experience in the British Foreign Office. In the first essay, he criticizes the

contradictory nature of British democracy, which is democratic only "in her government of herself and in her dealings with the great white communities" and "not democratic in her dealings with subject races within the Empire": specifically "to the Indians," the British rule is that of "an absentee autocracy" and "to the Irish" that of "a resident autocracy" (Casement, *Crime* 4-5). Likewise, Joyce argues in "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages": "It is not logical of British historians to salute the memory of George Washington and to profess themselves well pleased by the progress of an autonomous . . . republic in Australia, while they treat the Irish separatists as madcaps" (Joyce, *Occasional* 116). Casement then sums up that with her empire founded on "the English navy" and "the British Bible"—which the Zulu chief says is "the secret of England's greatness" in "the *United Irishman*," as the Citizen reads (*U* 12.1510, 1524)—England is simply "the landlord of civilization"; her "spirit of imperial exploitation, whether [she] call [her]self an empire or a democracy, does not change" (*Crime* 16-17, 12). The fact that the British Empire is neither democratic nor Christian, again, parallels Joyce's remark that "a colonizing country" cannot be "prompted by purely Christian motives" whether or not "the pocket-bible" comes ahead of "machine-guns" (*Occasional* 116).

For Casement in particular, the British "spirit of imperial exploitation" was vividly observed during his official investigation of the Putumayo atrocities in 1910, which was initiated by the newspaper article written by an American traveler, "The Devil's Paradise: A British-Owned Congo" (Burroughs, *Travel* 125). The investigation on the human rights abuses by the Peruvian Amazon company, of which wealthy Londoners were the major shareholders, concluded that the system was "not merely slavery but extermination," as the poor natives were "simply [there] to be driven by lash and gunfire to collect rubber" (Casement, *Amazon* 142-3). Casement stresses that the blame for the imperial system of exploitation goes to the London investors as well, as "English men and English finance [were] prepared without question to accept [the Peruvian entrepreneur the Arana brothers'] Putumayo 'estates' and their numerous native 'labourers,'" only glancing "at the

annually increasing output of rubber" and not minding "[h]ow it was produced, out of what a hell of human suffering" (504-5). His earlier report on the Belgian atrocities in the Congo Free State under Leopold II, unlike any "external question for at least thirty years," "moved [England] so strongly and so vehemently" (qtd. in Hochschild 2). After that and this time involving the large English investment as well as the Peruvian company, the Putumayo Report not only shocked England but seriously undermined her "self-proclaimed position" "as the country of free trade that brought about the abolition of slavery"—which was to be defended only by the secret circulation of the Black Diaries, creating the image of the investigator "as the 'degenerate' rather than the imperial systems he was investigating" (*Amazon* 50, 47). Thus, the brutality witnessed in the 'British Congo' in South America irreparably turned the British consul into the Irish nationalist, just as the Congo journey in Central Africa did the seaman Conrad, who claimed to be "a perfect animal" before the Congo, into the author of *Heart of Darkness*—the classic novel on the darkness of commercial imperialism (Conrad 8).

It is true that Casement's turning from imperial servant to anti-colonial revolutionary began earlier in the Belgian Congo where he awakened to his Irish identity, as he wrote in 1907:

> I had accepted Imperialism . . . [yet] up in those lonely Congo forests where I found Leopold—I found also myself—the incorrigible Irishman. . . . I realized then that I was looking at this tragedy with the eyes of another race—of a people once hunted themselves, whose hearts were based on affection as the root principle of contact with their fellow men and whose estimate of life was not of something eternally to be appraised at its market 'price.' (qtd. in Mitchell, *Casement* 41)

Since starting his career with the English shipping company in the 1880s Africa, Casement had believed in British free-trading imperialism, to a degree, until the latter phase of the Boer War when his confidence was shaken by "British handling of native resistance" and when he felt that the Irish, as well as the native Africans,

were suffering under British rule (Casement, *Eyes* 39). The connection between the Irish and the native deepened when he investigated the Congo "tragedy," as he realized that he was "the incorrigible Irishman" looking at the exploited and abused native "with the eyes of another race"—another famous phrase of his. Though the race is designated as "the outlaw," "criminals," "once hunted" and imprisoned, their hearts are "based on affection," unlike the imperial free-trade hunter's that depend on the "market price." This is also observed in Joyce's *Ulysses* in which the Zulu chief who visits England is given "the heartfelt thanks of British traders for the facilities afforded them in his dominions" (*U* 12.1516-17), while the native chief who resists the British free-trade rule is put into exile and ultimately killed, as Casement once wrote an elegy to the death of such a native chief: "Old King of Zulu sires! Had you but known the word the white man spoke" (Burroughs, "Imperial" 391). In this regard, it can be said that Casement's report on the Congo misery—hidden for nearly twenty years—was produced at the risk of "[his] own future," because the Congo represented "the image of [his] poor old country" (qtd. in Mitchell, "Riddle" 107). The Congo Report led to the foundation of the Congo Reform Association, not only in England but also in other European countries and the US, which eventually brought about the transference of the Congo from Leopold to the Belgian Government in 1908.

Still, it took another consular mission to investigate the Amazon atrocities for Casement to completely sever from the British Empire, although he was briefly concerned with Irish cultural nationalism—he financially supported the Gaelic League, Griffith's newspaper *Sinn Féin* and others—before leaving again for Brazil in 1906. His writings were published under pseudonyms in various Irish newspapers, including Griffith's *United Irishman,* which printed his version of Taylor's speech and, which was replaced with *Sinn Féin* in 1906, was deemed by Joyce as "the only newspaper of any pretentions in Ireland" (Joyce, *SL* 101). Interestingly, one of his essays, "Kossuth's Irish Courier," published in the *United Irishman* in 1905, was about his father's mission for "the Hungarian revolutionary" in 1849, which was significant in that Griffith's Sinn Féin movement began with

a series of articles on "The Resurrection of Hungary" in 1904 (Mitchell, *Casement* 44-45). What is also interesting is that in *Ulysses,* Bloom, whose father was from Hungary, is said to "g[i]ve the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper" (*U* 12.1574), which links him with Casement. At any rate, it was after the official investigation of the British-registered Peruvian Amazon Company in 1910 that Casement finally left the Empire. At one point during the investigation, he confessed, "I'd hang every one of the band of wretches with my own hands if I had the power" (Casement, *Amazon* 144). His rage at the British company employees, brutally abusing the native laborers, then, turned to resistance to the British: "I would dearly love to arm [the natives] . . . against these ruffians" (310). This change predicts his active involvement with the Irish nationalist movement after leaving the Consulate and his efforts to inspire the nationalists: "Sedition . . . has been for a hundred years a bloodless sedition. . . . How to shed our blood . . . for Ireland—that has been, that is the problem of Irish nationality" (Casement, *Crime* 50).

III

Uniquely, and with such a consular career that made him famous in the international humanitarian movement, Casement's nationalist thoughts or perceptions about Ireland developed "from outside the country, first from Africa and then from Brazil and the Amazon" (Mitchell, *Casement* 40). It is not surprising then that he referred to "the west of Ireland," suffering from English injustices, as "an Irish Putumayo" (76), just as the Putumayo was called the British Congo. In other words, his image of Ireland was constructed from an international relationship, specifically her economic condition in comparison to other colonies' under imperial rule. He stresses that the British Empire "has grown from an island," from the conquest of Ireland; the empire has developed not from its "ethical superiority" but its "favourable geographical situation" between Ireland and

continental Europe, and thus, "[w]ithout Ireland, there would be to-day no British Empire" (Casement, *Crime* 20, 14). Specifically, he details "the trade of Ireland with Great Britain," exposing "[h]ow completely England has laid hands on all Irish resources" (23). Believing that "true independence" is based on "economic independence," he supported the reopening of "a line [steamship] to the US with German co-operation" (Mitchell, *Casement* 81)—a revival in 1912 of "the Galway harbor scheme" of the 1860s, which is also mentioned in *Ulysses* (*U* 2.326, 16.965; Gifford 37-38, 548).

It is interesting that Joyce, who made Ireland or Dublin under English rule vividly alive in *Ulysses*, conceived the book in Trieste, the Italian city under Austrian rule, and also supported economic nationalism centered on Griffith's movement; once he remarked, "If the Sinn Féin policy were followed out it would save the country" (qtd. in McCourt 115). However, while Casement's concern about Irish economy resulted from its similarity to the situation of colonies in Africa and South America, Joyce's interest in the economic revival was associated with Austrian Trieste's prosperity as the second busiest port in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, Trieste was a colony like Dublin, which enabled Joyce to write political essays, such as "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages," for the Italians under Austrian rule. In one of his essays, "Home Rule Comes of Age," written in 1907 and the title borrowed from the *Sinn Féin*, he emphasized the economic exploitation of Ireland by the English. He observes that "England does not want a rival island to grow up beside Great Britain, or Irish factories to compete with English ones . . . or the Irish ports to become an enemy naval base" (*Occasional* 144), which is in line with the Citizen's protest in "Cyclops" (*U* 12.1241-57). Advocating the importance of economic autonomy, he thus consistently read Griffith's *United Irishman* and later *Sinn Féin* as "his main continuous journalistic source of intelligence on contemporary Ireland" "for the first decade of exile from October 1904" (Clarke). In this respect, Joyce and Casement were both interested in the economic nationalist movement, and their concern was commonly evoked from their life and career in other colonies.

Notably, Casement's nationalism, which was focused on the economic revival —though resulting in his involvement in the Irish Volunteers and ultimately the Easter Rebellion—belonged to a "broader nationalist tradition" (Mansergh 189) and was distinct from (Catholic or Southern) Nationalism. In fact, the development of his nationalism was "complicated and dialectical," and not "linear and sequential" (O'Callaghan 49), which continued to the end of his life in the form of the conflict between his support for and opposition to the tragic insurrection. The dialectics of his nationalism began early in his youth—even before the Congo experiences—with the first phase ending with "the death of Parnell" (59). His early writings and poems, found in his notebooks from the early 1880s, reveal his deep interest in the "Gaelic experience of Tudor and Stuart Ireland," which would later provide him with a "radically original comparative perspective" between the colonized Africa and the defeated, penalized Ireland of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (51). His nationalism thus struggled to grow while he moved from Ireland to the Congo and again to the Amazon, which inevitably led him to recognize the Irish nation in a more advanced sense, encompassing both the Southern Catholics and the Northern Protestants. This is also demonstrated in Joyce's *Ulysses*, the "very conception" of which was "based on an implied equation of otherness with the self, of Oriental/Jew with West/Greek," "suggesting a solidarity of the marginalized" (Cheng 48). An open-minded concept of nation, though not sophisticated, is professed by Jewish Bloom, who is originally from Hungary, saying that his "nation" is "Ireland" where he was born: "A nation is the same people living in the same place. . . . Or also living in different places" (*U* 12.1422-31). Bloom's definition of "nation" is important because the concept of nationalism, as "a solidarity of the marginalized" to imperialism, addresses the suffering of both the Catholic and the Protestant in "the same" colonial Ireland, and also that of all the people "hated and persecuted" in "different" colonies under imperial rule (*U* 12.1467).

Clearly, Joyce argues, in highlighting that Parnell was "not of Irish stock," "Nationality . . . [is] something that surpasses . . . changeable entities such as blood

or human speech" (*Occasional* 115, 118). The Irish nation, in this sense, which "must" not be based on blood or language alone, is "made up [not only] of the old Celtic stock" but "the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman races" (114). Similarly, Casement, the Ulster Protestant, emphasizes the Irishness of the Anglo-Irish in his letter to the nationalist historian Alice Green: "You are a descendant of Cromwellian invader, but your heart has gone to Ireland—just as Parnell's went. . . . The 'soul' in every country is something more than Race . . . more real than . . . the hills and the streams" (qtd. in O'Callaghan 58). Both Casement and Joyce affirm the Irish nation as comprising the (Ulster) Protestants and the (Southern) Catholics, while ironically, each criticizes his own religious and cultural tradition for killing the "soul" or "nationality" of the country. Joyce declares, "I make open war upon [the Catholic Church] by what I write and say and do" (Joyce, *SL* 27); the "influence and admonitions" of the Church has "paralyzed" the Irish "individual initiative" (*Occasional* 123); and in alliance with the English, the Church has killed the Protestant nationalist Parnell. Yet, at the same time, Joyce is contemptuous of the Protestant faith which, as Stephen scornfully says, "goes a bit of the road with everyone" (*SH* 112), although it has produced "almost all the heroes of the modern [nationalist] movement" (*Occasional* 115). In this respect, the "uncreated conscience" that Stephen has to "forge in the smithy of [his] soul" represents that of the Catholic, the majority of the Irish nation (*Portrait* 253). On the other hand, the Protestant Casement, who was horrified by the Anglican "Church of Ireland," tried to waken the national consciousness of the Protestants in Ulster. He hoped for "Ulster Orangemen and Munster Nationalists" to "run guns together for the common defense of the shores of Ireland" and to "show the world" that "Orange and Green have carried the day" (qtd. in Mitchell, *Casement* 93). When the Ulster Volunteers were radicalized against Home Rule, however, Casement's "self-imposed mission" to "replace apathy with vitality"—just like Joyce's or Stephen's—was carried out "to transform the sluggish character of southern, Catholic Ireland" (Laffan 67).

In this sense, both Casement and Joyce, of different persuasions, supported the

unity of the Irish Protestants and Catholics, with their efforts commonly concentrated on the awakening of the national consciousness of the latter as the majority, which may account for Casement's conversion to Catholicism before his death. Casement's hope for the unity and peace among the Irish people remained strong until his death—despite the fact that his trial proceeded with one of the Ulster Unionists as his prosecutor—as he wrote in "Line of My Defense": "I am, possibly, serving a great cause too—the cause of peace. . . . [P]eace will begin to dawn when we begin to feel that the other side, too, has a right to defend and a cause to sustain" (qtd. in Mitchell, *Casement* 134). The advocacy for peace is echoed by Bloom in *Ulysses*, as he says, "It is hard to lay down any hard and fast rules as to right and wrong but room for improvement all round there certainly is . . . with a little goodwill all round . . . [with] mutual equality" (*U* 16.1095-99). Both Casement and Bloom recognize the importance of "peace," "mutual equality," or "a little goodwill" to see the viewpoint of "the other side" in Ireland, torn between the North and the South, the Protestant and the Catholic, believing that the Irish peace should precede her independence from England. In this respect, Joyce's treatment in *Ulysses* of Emmet's "last words" stressing the Irish independence over her unity is as ludicrous as that of the Easter Rebellion, as previously mentioned. In "Fenianism," Joyce even refers to the "rebellion of Robert Emmet" as "ridiculous," while speaking highly of the "Fenianism of '67" and Griffith's Sinn Fein as the "new Fenians," both representing the movement of a united Ireland (*Occasional* 138).

While Emmet, representing the Irish insurrection or the Irish independence by "force," is ridiculed in "Siren," Bloom suggests "love" as an alternative for the Irish independence movement in "Cyclops": "[I]t's no use. . . . Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life . . . it's the very opposite of that that is really life. . . . Love" (*U* 12.1481-5). Bloom's measure is mocked by the Citizen as "[u]niversal love," to which the nameless narrator adds, "Love loves to love love" (*U* 12.1489, 1493). Yet Bloom's belief in love and peace is more clarified later, following the previous quote about "mutual equality" in "Eumaeus": "I resent violence and

intolerance in any shape or form. It never reaches anything or stops anything" (*U* 16.1099-1100). The fact that force or intolerance within Ireland "never reaches" her independence or "stops" the oppression of England undoubtedly evokes Casement's last speech in which he stresses that the Irish Volunteers movement was "not directed against [the Ulster Volunteers] but against [Englishmen] who misused and misdirected . . . the local patriotism of the men of the north of Ireland" (Knott 201). Here, the link between Casement and Joyce's Bloom, suspected to have a common connection with Hungary and Griffith, is obvious. Casement who preaches love, especially "lov[ing] our kind" (204), and Bloom who advocates "[l]ove lov[ing] to love love," which "repeats Casement's [anti-colonial] solution" (Mullen 96), are both doubly oppressed in colonial Ireland: Bloom as the Jew-Irish and Casement as the alleged-homosexual-Irish. Significantly, Bloom is suspected of homosexuality as well, as the Citizen scorns him, "Beggar my neighbor is his motto" (*U* 12.1491). The word 'beggar' phonetically overlaps with the word "bugger" mentioned earlier in the chapter (*U* 12.457), meaning 'a sodomite' or 'to practice sodomy with.' More importantly, Bloom is "semantically confused with" Casement as the narrator's question "Who?"—in the wake of the talk about the Congo "report" by a man "Casement"—is answered "Bloom" (Mullen 100; *U* 12. 1543-50).

From this perspective, the confusion or connection between Bloom and Casement in "Cyclops" is more than a coincidence. As noted earlier, "Cyclops" was written after Casement's nationality was openly recognized and his alleged sexuality secretly known, which accounts for the Citizen's anachronistic identification of Casement as "Irishman"—though nothing else is suggested about him. Casement's identification as the Irish is at odds in 1904 Dublin where most Dubliners were not aware of his nationality. Even in 1907, Casement's Irish origin was not known to Joyce who, while writing "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages," never mentioned Casement's name for all his discussion of the Irishmen famous in other countries, including England, and even his reference to "the Congo Free State" which was directly related to Casement. In this context, it is significant that while Casement's nationality is affirmed, his revolutionary career, execution and Black Diaries are

never hinted at in *Ulysses*. It may well be said that Joyce's "leav[ing] unsaid" things related to Casement's sexuality or execution suggests his "tribute to [Casement]" as the Irish apostle of love (Duffy 101).

In other words, Bloom embodies Joyce's respect for Casement who advocates for a broader concept of nation and love, which "the loveless Irishmen" lack (*Occasional* 125), instead of for Nationalism and insurrection. It was only in the face of the Imperial War that drove the Irish nation to death that Casement, supporting neither British Imperialism nor Irish Nationalism, was forced to choose the latter—the Easter Rebellion—as the lesser evil. Interestingly, the desperate moment when Casement makes the decision to assist the Rising is comparable to the moment at the end of "Cyclops" when Bloom gives the Citizen a "soft answer" that "[y]our God . . . Christ was a jew like me" (*U* 16.1085, 12.1808-9). Bloom's love and tolerance for his fellow Dubliners reaches the tipping point here, irreparably recognizing the reality of his situation as a Jew—just as Casement while working for the British Empire realized that he was "the incorrigible Irishman"—when Bloom becomes "potentially revolutionary" (Duffy 129). Paradoxically, the Citizen who throws the biscuit-tin at Bloom is posed as the English who repress the Easter Rebels, which equates Nationalism with Imperialism. Likewise, Bloom's rising to heaven as the Jew "*Elijah*" is identified with Casement's ascension to Irish martyrdom (*U* 12.1914).

(Yeungnam University)

Works Cited

Bender, Abby. "The Language of the Outlaw: A Clarification." *James Joyce Quarterly* 44.4 (2007): 807-12.

Bryant, William. *Roger Casement: A Biography*. Lincoln: iUniverse, 2007.

Burroughs, Robert M. "Imperial Eyes or 'The Eyes of Another Race'? Roger Casement's Travels in West Africa." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37.3 (2009): 383-97.

_____. *Travel Writing and Atrocities: Eyewitness Accounts of Colonialism in the Congo, Angola and the Putumayo*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Callanan, Frank. "Between Treason and Blood-Sacrifice: The Trials of Roger Casement." *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. Ed. Mary E. Daly. Dublin: UCDP, 2005. 121-37.

Casement, Roger. *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. Ed. Angus Mitchell. London: Anaconda Editions, 1997.

_____. *The Crime Against Europe —A Possible Outcome of the War of 1914*. 1915. Lexington: Qontro Classic, 2012.

_____. *The Eyes of Another Race: Roger Casement's Congo Report and 1903 Diary*. Eds. Séamas Ó Síocháin & Michael O'Sullivan. Dublin: UCDP, 2003.

_____. "The Language of the Outlaw." Rpt. *New England Review* 25.1/2 (2004): 155-58.

Cheng, Vincent. *Joyce, Race, and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Clarke, Brian. "James Joyce Misunderstood & Misrepresented on Irish Republicanism." *Irish Blog* http://irishblog-brianclarkenuj.blogspot.kr/2011/01/james-joyce-misunderstood.html#!/2011/01/james-joyce-misunderstood.html. Web. 25 Aug. 2012.

Conrad, Joseph. *Letters from Joseph Conrad 1895-1924*. Ed. Edward Garnett. New York: Charter, 1956.

Doerries, Reinhard R., ed. *Prelude to the Easter Rising: Sir Roger Casement in*

Imperial Germany. London: Routledge, 2000.

Duffy, Enda. *The Subaltern Ulysses*. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1994.

Edwards, Owen Dudley. "The Trial of Roger Casement: A Study in Theatre Management." *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. 149-77.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Mifflin, 1999.

Joyce, James. *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*. Ed. Kevin Barry. Trans. Conor Deane. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.

_____. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. New York: Penguin, 1986.

_____. *Selected Letters of James Joyce*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. London: Farber and Farber, 1992.

_____. *Stephen Hero*. Norfolk: New Directions, 1963.

_____. *Ulysses*. Eds. Hans Walter Gabler et al. New York: Vintage, 1986.

Knott, George H., ed. "The Prisoner's Speech." *The Trial of Sir Roger Casement*. 1917. Charleston: Nabu, 2010.

Laffan, Michael. "The Making of a Revolutionary: Casement and the Volunteers, 1913-14." *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. 64-73.

Mansergh, Martin. "Roger Casement and the Idea of a Broader Nationalist Tradition: His Impact on Anglo-Irish Relations." *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. 189-201.

McCourt. John. *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*. Madison: Wisconsin UP, 2000.

Mitchell, Angus. *Roger Casement*. London: Haus, 2003.

_____. "The Riddle of the Two Casements?" *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. 99-120.

Mullen, Patrick. "Ruling Passion: James Joyce, Roger Casement, and the Bugger's Tool." *Critical Quarterly* 46.2 (2004): 95-118.

O'Callaghan, Margaret. "'With the Eyes of Another Race, of a People Once Hunted Themselves': Casement, Colonialism and a Remembered Past." *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*. 46-63.

Abstract

A Broader Nationalism in "Cyclops": Joyce's Bloom and Casement

Hye Ryoung Kil

Roger Casement, who was famous for two reports about the Congo and the Putumayo atrocities, written in 1903 and 1910 respectively, is mentioned as the author of the Congo Report and identified as Irish in the "Cyclops" episode in *Ulysses*. Often mistaken as British, the once-British consul Casement was officially recognized as the Irish nationalist through his execution for the conspiracy of the Easter Rising with Germany in 1916. In this context, the Citizen's identification of Casement as Irish in "Cyclops," set in 1904 but written two years after the 1916 Rebellion, is not only anachronistic but also suggests Joyce's acknowledgment of Casement's place in the Irish nationalist movement as well as in the international humanitarian movement. Joyce's concern about or respect for Casement is also evidenced by the fact that, apart from his name and nationality referred to regarding the Congo report, nothing about his revolutionary career and execution—about the Black Diaries or his alleged homosexuality—is hinted at in *Ulysses*.

On the other hand, Casement's nationalist thoughts, distinct from Southern or Catholic Nationalism, are represented by Joyce's main character Bloom in the book. The Ulster Protestant Casement who, unlike most Ulstermen resisting Home Rule, worked with Catholic Nationalists believed in a broader concept of the Irish nation, specifically comprising both the Northern Protestants and Southern Catholics. His idea of nation is well voiced by the Jewish Bloom, who was originally from Hungary and declares that his nation is Ireland. By necessity, Casement advocated unity and "love" instead of intolerance and "force" among the Irishmen just as Bloom stresses "love" in "Cyclops." In short, Casement supported neither British

Imperialism nor Irish Nationalism. Only in the face of the Imperial War that drove the Irishmen to death was he forced to choose the latter, the Easter Rebellion, as the lesser evil, just as Bloom is driven to give the Citizen a “soft answer,” which turns the position of the Citizen into that of the English: Nationalism is equated with Imperialism in “Cyclops.”

■ Key words : broader nationalism, Casement, “Cyclops,” Easter Rising, Griffith, Joyce, Ulster Protestant
(보다 광의적 민족주의, 케이스먼트, “키클롭스,” 부활절 봉기, 그리피쓰, 조이스, 얼스터 프로테스탄트)

논문접수: 2013년 11월 15일
논문심사: 2013년 11월 19일
게재확정: 2013년 12월 23일