

THE  
LITTLE  
REVIEW  
“ULYSSES”

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JAMES JOYCE

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EDITED BY MARK GAIPA, SEAN  
LATHAM, AND ROBERT SCHOLLS

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More praise for *The Little Review* “*Ulysses*”

“More than the shock of recognition, there is a jolt of pleasure, indistinguishable from wonder, in encountering *Ulysses* as its first intrigued readers would have in the proudly modern pages of the *Little Review*.”—Maria DiBattista, Princeton University

“This canny edition of *Ulysses* episodes from the *Little Review* throws revealing light on transatlantic modernism by tracing the intertwined histories of a seminal journal and Joyce’s masterpiece. It reconstructs serial reading by embedding the early versions in their periodical and period contexts while sending us to the 1922 *Ulysses* with refreshed vision for those who already know it, or with sharpened vision for first-time readers.”—John Paul Riquelme, Boston University

“At last, the very first published version of *Ulysses* seen by readers, as it appeared in that courageous journal the *Little Review*, beautifully presented, its context clearly explained. This is a fascinating vision of the greatest twentieth-century novel in its first public appearance. The excitement radiates off every page. Here is a wondrous artwork’s first outing, skillfully returned to the world.”—Enda Duffy, University of California Santa Barbara

“A beautifully edited volume that allows contemporary readers to experience *Ulysses* as it was first published in serialization, warts and all. The scholarship is meticulous, helpful, and unobtrusive.”  
—Sam Slote, Trinity College Dublin

“A treasure—the *Ulysses* that readers first saw and that a court banned, beautifully presented to help us encounter this work in progress as it unfolded in the *Little Review*.”—Michael Groden, author of “*Ulysses*” *in Progress* and “*Ulysses*” *in Focus*

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**THE LITTLE REVIEW "ULYSSES"**

# THE LITTLE REVIEW

Vol. V.

MARCH, 1918

No. 11

## ULYSSES

JAMES JOYCE

### Episode 1

**S**TATELY, plump Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead, bearing a bowl of lather on which a mirror and a razor lay crossed. A yellow dressing gown, ungirdled, was sustained gently behind him on the mild morning air. He held the bowl aloft and intoned:

*—Introibo ad altare Dei.*

Halted, he peered down the dark winding stairs and called up coarsely:

—Come up, Kinch. Come up, you fearful jesuit.

Solemnly he came forward and mounted the round gunrest. He faced about and blessed gravely thrice the tower, the surrounding country and the awaking mountains. Then, catching sight of Stephen Dedalus, he bent towards him and made rapid crosses in the air, gurgling in his throat and shaking his head. Stephen Dedalus, displeased and sleepy, leaned his arms on the top of the staircase and looked coldly at the shaking gurgling face that blessed him, equine in its length, and at the light untousured hair, grained and hued like pale oak.

Buck Mulligan peeped an instant under the mirror and then covered the bowl smartly.

—Back to barracks, he said sternly.

He added in a preacher's tone:

—For this, O dearly beloved, is the genuine christine: body and soul and blood and ouns. Slow music, please. Shut your eyes, gents. One moment. A little trouble about those white corpuscles. Silence, all.

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EDITED BY MARK GAIPA,  
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ROBERT SCHOLES

**Yale** UNIVERSITY PRESS  
NEW HAVEN AND LONDON

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*Frontispiece:* The opening page of *Ulysses* in the March 1918 issue of the *Little Review* (mistakenly identified as issue 5.11 instead of 4.11)

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Finally, we would like to acknowledge the many sources of funding that helped support our work on this project. At the University of Tulsa, these include the Pauline McFarlin Walter Chair, the *James Joyce Quarterly*, and the Graduate School. At Brown University, we want to thank the Department of Modern Culture and Media. Finally, a grant to Robert Scholes from the Mellon Foundation made it possible for us to provide the color images in this book. In an age of diminished funding for the humanities, this support has proved particularly important for making possible a project like this one.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The first readers of James Joyce's *Ulysses* did not hold in their hands a massive volume with a blue cover, printed in Burgundy and published in Paris. They instead read installments of the novel, serialized in a magazine of many colors called the *Little Review*, edited just off Union Square in New York City (and later in Greenwich Village), with its episodes—or sections of episodes—sandwiched in among the diverse work of other experimental writers, some famous now and others not. These readers never saw the last four episodes of the book, for two reasons: first, the editors of the *Little Review*, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, were prosecuted and fined in early 1921 for publishing the thirteenth episode, and then the novel's book publication by Shakespeare and Company, initially slated for autumn 1921, squeezed out their efforts at serialization. As Heap notes in the Autumn 1921 issue: "Before we could revive from our trial for Joyce's 'Ulysses' it was announced for publication in book form. We limp from the field. — *jh*" (*LR* 8.1: 112). As it happened, the book did not appear until 1922, but the fifteenth episode, set in Dublin's red light district, would never have passed the American censors if the editors had been bold enough to publish it. They were probably wise to "limp from the field" when they did.

The aim of this edition of Joyce's novel is to offer interested people of our own time something like the experience of those first readers, who encountered not a book but a serialized novel that emerged slowly in a little magazine across the two and a half years between March 1918 and December 1920. The text here is not a facsimile of the *Little Review* "*Ulysses*," but we have sought to preserve as many of the quirks of the original as possible, including botched text, misspelled words, and printing errors. We have also included, as the frontispiece to this volume, an image of the first page of the serialization, so readers

can get some sense of just what the text looked like in the *Little Review*. (Those interested in seeing what the other pages of the novel originally looked like in the magazine should visit the Modernist Journals Project, [www.modjourn.org](http://www.modjourn.org), where full copies of each issue are available.) Joyce's novel got more complicated as it went along, and even more complicated when he revised it after this first publication—which he did at every stage in the process of printing the Paris edition. What readers will encounter in this book is a simpler version of *Ulysses*, one less than half the length of the 1922 book version. In no way can it rival the power and complexity of the complete text, but it can serve as an introduction to this masterpiece of modernism, afford readers insight into Joyce's early composition process, and focus attention on the original publication context of the novel.

For over a decade, Joyce's last novel, *Finnegans Wake*, was known as "Work In Progress," but *Ulysses* likewise was a work in progress for many years. Genetic critics have persuasively argued that a literary work is not to be confined to some supposedly finished text, but consists instead of an entire process of composition that includes early versions and afterthoughts as well. Joyce's sense of what he was doing in *Ulysses* changed as he went along; the novel moved from a relatively realistic narrative, in which interior monologues were a major feature, to other modes of narration in which an external schema and a variety of voices and methods dominate the book's events and characters—until it returns to a radically different kind of interior monologue in the final episode. Though *The Little Review* "Ulysses" stops well short of that end, it enables us to study closely the onset of these dramatic shifts in Joyce's methodology.

To allow readers to come as close as possible to the original experience of those who encountered Joyce's work in the *Little Review*, we have not intervened in the text of the novel by adding footnotes or marginal comments, nor have we corrected typographical errors in the original, which were a feature that many correspondents complained about to the editors. We have, however, tried to provide useful information in editorial commentary that follows the text of the novel. In "The Composition History of *Ulysses*," we foreground some of the key differences between the text that appeared in the *Little Review* and the 1922 book edition, noting important changes that Joyce made as he continued to work on each episode after serialization. Then in "The Magazine Context for *The Little Review* 'Ulysses,'" we discuss the issues of the *Little Review* in which Joyce's episodes appeared, emphasizing the ways in which *Ulysses* operated in a constant—though perhaps not always intentional—dialogue

with the magazine as whole. A final section reprints various documents from the *Little Review* that have some bearing on Joyce's novel. In this introduction, we are mainly concerned with the magazine itself and the story of how *Ulysses* came to appear in it.

#### ULYSSES AND THE LITTLE REVIEW

The *Little Review* was founded in 1914 in Chicago by a young woman named Margaret Anderson. It was, in many respects, the brash younger sibling of another Chicago magazine, *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, founded in 1912 by Harriet Monroe. As its title and subtitle indicate, *Poetry* published only poetical works and critical writing about such works. Anderson, however, wanted a journal that considered all the arts. She had a special interest in music and played the piano. Politically, she was well to the left of Monroe. The anarchist Emma Goldman's name was mentioned in twenty-five issues of the *Little Review*, but only once after 1917, in this sad comment by Anderson's fellow editor, Jane Heap: "I feel that the Government was right in deporting Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They had become a tradition. Kind, loving, intelligent, intense, they had made anarchism a harmless, respected, even fashionable word in every kind of American home. For years they had kept young fire-brands from action simply out of courtesy to the Goldman-Berkman tradition" (*LR* 6.9: 36). After the war, anarchism was apparently no longer modernist. Jane Heap was an ironist, of course, suggesting that these political activists were deported not because they were radical but because they had become fashionable and were preventing young people from engaging in more active gestures of rebellion. This comment appeared, we may note, in the January 1920 issue, just a few months before the editors were hauled into court and fined for publishing *Ulysses*.

Throughout the magazine's existence, Anderson championed youth and modernism, as Mark Morrisson has shown so well in *The Public Face of Modernism*. She took the magazine to California for a few months in 1916, bringing with her Jane Heap, who had become coeditor. There, they made the supremely anarchistic gesture of leaving a dozen pages of the magazine blank, claiming that they did not have enough good material to fill an issue (plate 1). Back in Chicago at the end of the year, Anderson put this notice in her pages:

We couldn't have an October issue, owing to our usual embarrassment about funds; so this will have to serve as a sort of October–November,



though I can't put that on the cover because they tell me it would violate some new law.

We are back in Chicago where we shall stay for a month before moving to New York. Word comes from every part of the country that young magazines are dying, and that even *The Masses* may have to succumb before the increasing cost of paper, etc. That *must* not be! *The Masses* is too valuable to lose and everybody must do something about it. As for *The Little Review*, we may have to come out on tissue paper pretty soon, but we shall *keep on coming out!* Nothing can stop us now.

I feel as though we have an entirely new lease on life and were just starting with what we have to say. (*LR* 3.7: 21)

What was really new in the magazine's life was the addition of Heap, who helped inspire Anderson to continue the struggle to publish her magazine and whose work began to appear regularly over the signature "jh," giving special meaning to the editorial "we" used by Anderson.

The magazine's move to New York in 1917 was energizing, no doubt, and another, greater change was in the wings. Ezra Pound, who had been connected with *Poetry* magazine since 1914 and was aware of its younger Chicago counterpart, had earlier written a letter to Anderson, which she published in the April 1916 issue:

*Ezra Pound, London:*

Thanks for the January–February issue. Your magazine seems to be looking up. A touch of light in Dawson and Seiffert—though THE LITTLE REVIEW seems to me rather scrappy and unselective. I thought you started out to prove Ficke's belief that the sonnet is "Gawd's own city." However, he seems to have abandoned that church. I still don't know whether you send me the magazine in order to encourage me in believing that my camp stool by Helicon is to be left free from tacks, or whether the paper is sent to convert me from error.

I am glad to see in it some mention of Eliot, who is really of interest. (*LR* 3.2: 36)

Pound was associated by then with both *Poetry* and the London-based *Egoist*. He had sent Dora Marsden a copy of Joyce's first novel, which she and her coeditor Harriet Shaw Weaver serialized in the *Egoist* and then published in book form when no other English publisher would touch it. In addition, Pound was writing regularly for the *New Age*, also published in London.

Pound was constantly on the lookout for two things: a financial backer who would provide funds to pay authors, and a magazine that would allow him to select the authors that would be paid from those funds. He finally found the right financial backer in John Quinn, a New York lawyer, and the right magazine in the *Little Review*. As Forrest Read explains in *Pound/Joyce*, “Quinn and three of his friends staked the magazine to \$1600 a year for two years, and Pound to \$750 a year (\$300 for his editorial duties, \$450 for contributors)” (112). Pound described the arrangement succinctly in the course of a long letter to Margaret Anderson in January 1917:

IN A NUT SHELL.

The suggestion is this.

You provide a certain number of pages.

I fill, and pay for contributions to, said pages. (*Pound/The Little Review* 11)

The suggestion was accepted, and in the April 1917 issue Anderson announced the result (echoing Pound’s own words from a letter to her):

“Surprise”!

THE “surprise” I promised in the last issue is this: Ezra Pound is to become Foreign Editor of “The Little Review.”

This means that he and T. S. Eliot will have an American organ (horrible phrase) in which they can appear regularly once a month, where James Joyce can appear when he likes, and where Wyndham Lewis can appear if he comes back from the war. Also it means two or three other names of the “young blood” who will contribute from time to time, and altogether the most stunning plan that any magazine has had the good fortune to announce for a long, long time. (*LR* 3.10: 25)

In the issues that followed, work by those Pound approved of began to appear; Yeats, Eliot, Lewis, Ford Madox Ford (then still called Hueffer), and Pound himself took the lead. Almost a year after Pound joined the magazine, *Ulysses* began to run in the March 1918 issue.

Pound is well known for his important role in promoting the work of talented writers around him. He went to London from America in 1908 at the age of twenty-three, a young poet trying to get away from the stifling atmosphere of his own country and looking for people who took poetry seriously. He quickly got to know the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, working for him as a sort of secretary. It was Yeats who told Pound about a struggling young Irish author

named James Joyce, which prompted him to write in December 1913: “From what W. B. Y. says I imagine we have a hate or two in common” (*Pound/Joyce* 18). He goes on to tell Joyce about his connections with magazines such as *Poetry* and the *Egoist* and offers to help him get published. Joyce, who had spent fourteen years trying to publish *Dubliners*, his collection of short stories, welcomed the assistance. He was then living in Europe, where he completed the second version of his autobiographical novel—the first had been called *Stephen Hero* and the second was *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Joyce sent Pound a poem, which Pound got published in *Poetry*, and then began sending him *Portrait*, which Pound sent on to Dora Marsden for publication in the *Egoist*. *The Egoist* did not pay, but Pound felt that publication there might lead to better things—as indeed it did. One of those better things was Harriet Shaw Weaver, who became Joyce’s patron and helped support his work for many years.

By the time Joyce started work on his next novel, Pound had established his connection with the *Little Review* and could use John Quinn’s money to pay for things that interested him. In March 1917 he wrote to Joyce:

I want SOMETHING from you, even if it is only 500 words.

The “Little Review” has something like 3000 subscribers of the sort who read and buy books. They have a puff of you in the last number, promising long review in April. I think from purely practical point of view it will do you no harm to “keep in touch with” their readers. Remind them of your existence, at least six times a year. (*Pound/Joyce* 103)

At the time, Joyce had very little to offer, and wrote Pound that all he could send were a few excerpts from what would become the “Scylla and Charybdis” episode. When more pieces of *Ulysses* were ready for serialization later that year, he and Pound planned to bring them out in the *Egoist*. They would appear simultaneously in the *Little Review*, in large part, Pound emphasized, to “hold down the American copyright” (*Pound/Joyce* 126). He was aware, however, that the book would likely encounter legal trouble. “I think the chances of James getting £100 altogether for serial rights to ‘Ulysses’ (or as much of it as printers will print) are fairly good,” he wrote to Joyce’s companion, Nora (*Pound/Joyce* 126). Pound was right to be cautious: the *Egoist* could not find a printer willing to set *Ulysses* in type, and eventually only parts of four episodes appeared in its pages.

It is difficult for readers today to realize just how oppressive the censor-

ship of that period was. In the United Kingdom, printers were legally liable for any work they set in type, meaning that their businesses could collapse if they ran afoul of the law. As a result, their rigorous self-censorship foiled the plan to place *Ulysses* in the *Egoist*—all without any direct intervention from the government. In the United States, federal postal authorities were empowered to seize materials deemed objectionable, and they worked with antivice societies to police anything considered obscene. At the time, mailing material that referred even vaguely to sexuality, prostitution, or birth control was a crime. Even before *Ulysses* appeared, an issue of the *Little Review* had been seized because it contained a story by Wyndham Lewis titled “Cantelman’s Spring-Mate,” which describes a sexual encounter in what now strikes us as vague and allusive language: “The nightingale sang ceaselessly in the small wood at the top of the field where they lay. He grinned up towards it, and once more turned to the devouring of his mate. He felt that he was raiding the bowels of Nature: not fecundating the Aspasias of our flimsy flesh, or assuaging, or competing with, the nightingale” (*LR* 4.6: 13). When Joyce’s work began to appear, first Pound and then Anderson introduced several cuts designed to foil the censors. Despite these efforts, four issues of the magazine containing Joyce’s novel were seized. Then, in 1920, the government prosecuted the editors themselves; they were fined \$50 each and prevented from continuing their serialization of *Ulysses*.

When it appeared in the *Little Review*, Joyce’s second novel was thought of and discussed as a continuation of *Portrait*, which it was, but it was also much, much more. While working on *Ulysses*, Joyce decided to go beyond his earlier books by connecting the world of his own time to that of Homer’s ancient epic poem the *Odyssey*. But Joyce’s knowledge of that poem was filtered through a version for young people written by Charles Lamb, called *The Adventures of Ulysses*, which had made a strong impression on him when he first read it. Lamb’s version uses the Latin names for the characters, rather than the original Greek, which is one reason why Joyce’s novel is not called *Odysseus*. Joyce took the adventures of that hero as models for events in a single day in the Dublin he had known as a young man, rearranging them to suit his own purposes: a single episode from the ancient epic echoes, sometimes ironically, in each section of his novel.

At some point in the writing of the novel, Joyce developed an elaborate schema in which most episodes were assigned repeating motifs. He sent different versions of his outline to friends such as Carlo Linati and Stuart Gilbert,

who then used this information when writing about *Ulysses*. The schema gives the title, location, and hour of the day for each episode, and assigns to each a bodily organ, an art, a color, a symbol, and what Joyce called a “technic.” In addition, he included a list of correspondences linking characters in his novel to their mythic counterparts in the *Odyssey*. It is still not clear exactly when Joyce codified this schema in his own mind, but he seems to have developed it during the composition and serial publication of the novel and did not have it in mind when he began writing. As a result, the schematized materials are much more visible in the later versions than in the serialized episodes reprinted here. The first readers of *Ulysses* in the *Little Review* knew little or nothing of Joyce’s elaborate plan. They knew only the novel’s title, but were left to decipher its meaning with few clues. We now have titles for every chapter because Joyce revealed them in his schemas, but in the magazine and the book publications the episodes appear without them. The notes that follow Joyce’s text in our book provide some insight into Joyce’s methods of composition, but the text that appears in the following pages is deliberately free of annotation so that readers can encounter the work as it first appeared: without aids or guides, spread across a sometimes choppy series of breaks and divisions.

*Ulysses* was anything but an isolated masterpiece. It was part of an ongoing dialogue about the modern world and the sort of art needed in that world. Thus, our notes include detailed information about the articles, poems, and images that surrounded Joyce’s work as it appeared in the *Little Review*. Although this novel largely defined modernism (and indeed still defines it), when it first appeared its form and certainly its reputation were much more unstable. This indeterminacy is evident in the essays, comments, letters, and advertisements reprinted here. Drawn from the pages of the magazine, they debate the value of Joyce’s experiments with form, his often shocking attention to naturalistic detail, and his relation to other artists working with and sometimes against him. We hope that the supplementary material will help contemporary readers understand the place of Joyce’s novel in that world of almost a century ago, when modernism in literature and the other arts was being defined and contested in the pages of struggling magazines like the *Little Review*.

#### A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Although this is not a facsimile edition, we have done our best to reproduce the original look and feel of *Ulysses* as it appeared in the pages of the *Little*

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*Review.* We have preserved the original typographical and printing errors as well as the sometimes odd spacing and inconsistent layout. We did, however, remove all the end-line hyphens in compound words that were introduced during typesetting to justify the margins of the printed pages. Joyce himself did not use this punctuation, and since the line endings in this edition do not match those of the original magazine pages, those marks would clearly be out of place here. References in our editorial essays to Joyce's text as reprinted in *The Little Review "Ulysses"* are cited as *LRU* followed by the appropriate page number.

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# **ULYSSES**

JAMES JOYCE

From the *Little Review*, 1918–1920



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