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The theme of exile in James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1916) and Frank McCourt's Angela's Ashes (1996)

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ABSTRACT

Irish writers, James Joyce and Frank McCourt, have long been considered “voluntary exiles”. From a different approach, the present research work is an attempt to argue that the theme of exile in James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) and Frank McCourt’s *Angela’s Ashes* (1996) is, first and foremost, “involuntary and unhappy”, and culturally coded. The study is tackled from two perspectives: historic (Kerby A. Miller), and literary (Edward Said and Hegel). Drawing on Miller’s theory, we shall argue that Irish emigration has always been thought as “involuntary and unhappy exile”. Furthermore, the concept is deeply rooted in Irish History, culture, and particularly Irish Catholic culture. It goes as far back as early Christian Ireland. Exile, as “involuntary and unhappy”, attained unbearable degrees in post-famine Ireland, and worsened in post-colonial Ireland because of inflexible Irish authoritarian practices. Gaelic Ireland with its three pillars, Catholicism, Nationalism, and social conventions, has done much to embitter Joyce’s, McCourt’s, and the majority of Irish writers’ lives. Each of these institutions demanded absolute conformity, and any kind of deviations led directly to exile, physical or spiritual. By studying Joyce’s *A Portrait* (1916) and McCourt’s *Angela’s Ashes* (1996), we shall also emphasize the continuity of ‘exile’ as a literary theme and fate in post-colonial Ireland till the 1950s. Both Joyce/Dedalus and McCourt/McCourt share many similarities (process of maturation, reasons behind departure, and fate) which are far from being a mere coincidence. On a different but connected level, we shall also throw light on positive aspects of the condition of exile. Edward Said’s experience-based theory about exile stipulates that “involuntary exile” and “defensive nationalism” are directly proportional to each other. Said argued that exile empowers the feeling of belonging and nationalism. The exile acquires ‘new eyes’ with which to see the history of his country. From exile, Joyce and McCourt dedicated themselves to invent a “New Ireland” by recalling the brilliance of Irish culture through their autobiographical writings. *A Portrait* and *Angela’s Ashes* are full of Irish myths, legends, songs, and nature beauty that make the process of reading very much appealing and attractive. Studying the positive aspects in *A Portrait* and *Angela’s Ashes*, we shall in the process, highlight the central characteristic of exilic writing, dialectics. Joyce’s and McCourt’s relationships with Ireland as reflected in their autobiographical novels are one of a love-hate. Other exilic literary characteristics that can be mentioned at this level include: the autobiography genre as “the text of the oppressed”, a quest for a home, and Irish history and Irish Catholicism as prerequisites for the understanding of Irish Literature. As a conclusion, conceived differently from exile, Joyce and McCourt succeeded in creating a ‘fashionable’ image about Ireland through their writing.

Key word: Irish studies; the Irish tradition of exile; Ireland, exile, and nationalism; Ireland, exile, and autobiographies/memoirs; Ireland, exile, and globalisation; James Joyce and Frank McCourt.

Declaration

I hereby declare that the substance of this dissertation is entirely mine, and that due reference and acknowledgements are made whenever necessary to the work of other researchers.

Submitted on 03/09/2012

Signed : Lamia Gudouari

To my parents

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General introduction

General introduction

Despite the various troubles: poverty, seclusion, Catholicism, censorship, and “the English and the terrible things they did to [the Irish] for eight hundred long years” (McCourt 1) Ireland has continued to enjoy world prominence through Anglo-Irish literature. It has given birth to a host of poets, novelists, and playwrights who have become luminaries in English literature.

However, the majority of great Irish writers have traditionally been exiles from Ireland. Ireland’s alienation of her artists became known to the extent that the theme of exile is considered by critics worldwide as one the most “favourite themes of Irish literature” (Hendrick 1) The influential James Joyce and the contemporary Pulitzer-prize winner Frank McCourt are just two examples of a host of other Irish exiles: Sheridan, George Moore, Oscar Wilde, Padraic Colum, Austin Clarke, and Samuel Beckett.

The phenomenon of exile has not been given great amount of interest. Two interpretations may be suggested at this level. Silence on the subject of exile can first be explained by the vast Irish diaspora. More than seven million Irish people emigrated from the early seventeenth century until the establishment of the Irish Free State (Miller 1) Second, it is due to the fact that most Irish writers expressed their departure in volitional terms. “I shall go” and “leaving is important” became common expressions among Irish writers. Last but not least, it is, to a great extent, due to Irish nationalists’ incessant and influential attempts in labelling those exiles rebels, outlaws, and traitors.

Broadly speaking, when referred to, Irish writers are known to be expatriates. Daniel Corkery, in *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature*, remarks that almost all Irish writers who wrote in English have been expatriates for life (Corkery 4). By so doing, Corkery quite consciously denies the more highly charged term ‘exile’ when referring to these ‘Wild geese of the pen’ (4)

Being an expatriate suggests that a person’s separation with his homeland is voluntary. “Expatriates voluntarily live in an alien country...but they do not suffer” (Said 181) writes Edward Said. In any case, Irish writers left Ireland of their own volition in search of a livelihood elsewhere. It was pure deliberate choice. What unites these expatriate writers, according to Corkery, is their search for livelihood, their Irish background, and their use of the English language as their primary medium of expression which, still for Corkery, is unfit to represent the indigenous Gaelic Literature.

Not only Daniel Corkery who seems to believe in the assumption that Irish writers’ separation with Ireland is purely voluntary; rather, it seems that there is a unanimous agreement among authors of comprehensive standard reference books, as well. In *Exile, Emigration, and Irish Writing*, Patrick Ward was able to identify a list of books in which the subject of exile has been devoted little interest by critics:

The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writings (1991); *The McMillan Dictionary of Irish Literature* (1979); *A Short History of Anglo-Irish Literature* (1982, McHugh and Harmon); *Anglo-Irish*

Literature (1982, Jeffares); *A short History of Irish Literature* (1986, Deane); *Irish Literature: A Social History* (1990, Vance) and *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival* (1987, Foster) shows an almost unanimous disregard of the subject [exile]. Indexes to those texts rarely mention the word [exile] (except with reference to Joyce's play *Exiles*) and when they do as with Foster's *Fiction of the Irish Literary Revival*, there is a simple equation of the term with departure. (Ward 3)

Irish writers are believed to be, as whole, voluntary exiles. Because of his final credo at the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, James Joyce (1882-1941) is considered to be the most celebrated of Irish voluntary exiles. At any case, Joyce's decision to go into exile was fully deliberate. While discussing Joyce's choice to go into exile in *Modern Irish Fiction: A Critique* (1950), Kiely devotes little space to the study of Joyce's exile itself, and says of him:

His country had not driven him into exile but he had deliberately chosen exile from the country and the creed in which he was born because he considered that exile necessary to his art. (Kiely 111)

Similarly, Frank McCourt (1930- 2004) is another 'acclaimed' Irish voluntary exile, simply because he expressed his departure in such terms as 'I had to go', or 'it is a necessity for me to go'. His memoir *Angela's Ashes*, then, deals with exile as it culminates with the protagonist's decision to leave Ireland. Broadly speaking, *Angela's Ashes* describes the harrowing childhood of Frank McCourt in miserable Limerick during the 1940s and 1950s. Even though Frank McCourt grew up in independent Ireland, he realized that leaving was necessary for his self-realization. This shows a continuity of preoccupation with the subject of exile in post-colonial Ireland.

So famous are Joyce's and McCourt's credos, that critics seem uncritical about them, neither about the majority of Irish writers who left Ireland. At no point of their discussion do those critics attempt to explain in depth where they went or clarify the motives behind their ultimate decision. In short, Joyce's and McCourt's voluntary state of exile is a fact.

Such overgeneralization, however, is reductionist. It overdetermines our reading. An in-depth investigation into causes and factors behind James Joyce's and Frank McCourt's departure may open up new considerations and unfold new realities.

In a contrary approach, I would like to argue that James Joyce and Frank McCourt were not purely voluntary exiles 'just' because they claimed so in their autobiographical novels, or because the majority of Irish critics made us believe so. After all, even a personal confession in a judicial court is not enough to prove that a person is guilty. I shall try to argue that Joyce's and McCourt's decision to go into voluntary exile, as articulated by Stephen Dedalus, Joyce's alter ego, at the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Frank McCourt at the end of *Angela's Ashes*, are indeed due to a set of highly conflicting 'involuntary factors'. Their exile is an inevitable consequence to rigid and inflexible factors deeply rooted in Irish culture and particularly Irish Catholic culture which induced them to see in exile a panacea for their ills in Ireland. Although they

belong to different generations, their process of maturation, struggle, and fate (exile) share many similarities far from being a mere coincidence or influence.

Away from the underlying dogma 'For art's sake', other factors have greatly participated in shaping Joyce's decision to go into exile. Not English colonialism per se, but rather because of an 'Irish parochial mentality' that has emanated from a set of religious and nationalist procedures appropriated during the quest for independence. At the beginning, this mentality was meant to be a wary and cautious means of emancipation from English colonial dominance and a national emblem for unification. In the process however, it has shaped the entire culture of Ireland even after the establishment of the Irish Free States in 1922.

As a reaction to the fear of the disintegration of the Gaelic Irish culture, Ireland would throughout the nineteenth century seek to emancipate itself from colonial dominance. The procedures followed and appropriated were of all kinds. An agrarian, literary, and political emancipation under the leadership of the Catholic Church emerged. In the process of their emancipation, Irish nationalists relied on a revivalist approach based on bringing back to consciousness the marvels of indigenous Irish traditions and mythic Gaelic culture based on ancient myths, heroes, legends, Irish folk songs and tales. Consequently, the future of Ireland became its past as the Irish encapsulated themselves within an ancient past of myths and legendary heroes.

After independence, Irish authorities were faced with a new kind of threat, the innovations brought by modernity. Fighting modernity was much harder for Irish nationalists. The ethos of the Modern World stands just in total opposition to the Gaelic essence. The Modern world is industrial, materialistic, and secular; as opposed to Ireland which is 'semi mythical and holly', agricultural, spiritual, and religious.

New compromises were taken into consideration. According to Kerby Miller, an Irish- American historian, the compromises made between tradition and modernity have never been resolved. Compromises were determined by the strong farmer type of rural family, the Catholic Church, and by Irish Nationalism to maintain the Irish essence in a modern secular atmosphere. Each of these social institutions demanded absolute conformity. Besides, any kind of deviation was to be considered as familial ingratitude, religious apostasy, or even national treason (Miller 481) What can be well noticed is that romantic nationalism inherited from colonial Ireland was much more alive after independence.

The characteristics of the modern world (the growth of literacy, social change, and the development of modern technological systems) all helped in widening the gap between Metropolis (Europe) and Ireland. For intellectuals, arguably more than others, the outcome of that parody between Europe and Ireland was unbearable. It led directly into opposition, rebellion, and then exile. Feeling a cultural subservience and being under the mercy of strict laws that considered any attempts at assimilation with the new ethos of the modern world as an act of disobedience, Irish intellectuals would throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century seek to create a self-identity

which necessitated rebellion then exile, inner or physical. Consequently, driven by the same factors, a new wave of emigrants in post colonial Ireland erupted. More than the preceding waves of Irish emigrants (the Great Famine and colonial Ireland waves of Irish emigrants), this new haemorrhage of emigrants considered themselves as driven out, pulled out from their context. Their departure was inevitable and their exile was involuntary.

In exile, Irish writers dedicate themselves to reflect on and write about their life experiences in Ireland. Their writings tend to show stark criticism towards Irish authoritarian institutions that have done much to embitter their lives in Ireland. Prescriptions imposed by the Catholic Church, social conventions, and Irish nationalism locked tightly Irish writers' imagination pushing them either to conformity or separation i.e. exile. To convey their life experiences directly to the reader, they relied on specific genres of writings notably autobiographies and memoirs, giving birth thereby, to a long-lasting tradition of Irish autobiographies inherited from generation to generation:

For Irish writers, it was [impossible to avoid] the influence of other writers, as many Irish autobiographies expose a family resemblance that infiltrates, influences, and imitates so that texts published decades apart seem genetically linked. The link can often be observed through the apparent repetition of events and themes...there's no suggestion here of plagiarism, rather that, experiences which are considered unique gain symbolic value when they reoccur in more than one autobiography. These apparent coincidences form the scaffolding of the Irish autobiographical tradition that goes beyond the historical to become generational. (Lynch 14)

Irish autobiographies and memoirs usually end with the protagonist's decision to leave Ireland to attain freedom, individuality, and success. However, when they claim that they have freed themselves, "home" never gives way to their wishes. 'Home'-prevalent religious, literary, and nationalist discourses- exerts an immense influence on their literary works. From exile, a particular nationalist ethos remains alive within the exile's psyche and pushes him to embrace a defensive role, to act as an Irishman in the first place. The state of involuntary exile empowers the feeling of nationalism. (Said 184) This, in turn, may explain the presence of paradoxical tensions in exilic writings. Exiles leave their homelands to come back through their writings.

One adjective which can describe exilic writing in general, is dialectical. Exilic writings tend to show dialectical tensions where conflicting feelings cohabit with each other to make a whole. According to Patrick Ward, these characteristics have particular significance when applied on Irish literature regardless of the motives behind the writers' departure:

There is a very obvious tendency by [Irish] artists to refashion their natal communities and memories fictively and to stand apart from the communities they find themselves resident in after leaving Ireland. There is also, a similar doubleness of vision which may well be explicitly worked out, but is frequently implied dialogically rather than fully and openly stated (Ward 19)

This resonates well with Frank McCourt and Stephen Dedalus whose quests for self identity necessitated rebellion, the break up with authorities (politics, state, and Church), then exile. At the

same time, they hold special 'nationalist' feelings for their home from exile, a constructive criticism through the eyes of an 'Intellectual Peasant' for the latter, and a fascinating refashioning of Ireland and Irishness for the former.

Towards the end *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen Dedalus/ James Joyce articulated loud and clear that he had to leave Ireland to free himself from its nets. These nets acted as a hindrance towards his intellectual development. However, seen from another angle, Joyce left Ireland for the sake of Ireland and the Irish people. From exile, he fully dedicated himself in the service of his country and his countrymen. He set himself the dual task of liberating Ireland from English colonialism and the Irish themselves relying on the one thing he had always excelled in, the art of writing.

By so doing, James Joyce identifies well with the traditionalists' projects of emancipation. Relying on a different approach, in *A Portrait*, Joyce followed a constructive critical approach through which he could demonstrate plainly constraints and defects of the 'Irish Iron Mentality' (Miller 482). Further, and like the traditionalists, he employed the 'peasant archetype motif'. However, the 'peasant' of James Joyce, Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait*, is revolutionary, daring, anti-conventional, and intellectual. Last but not least, when James Joyce chose exile to fulfil his mission, he identified greatly with one of Ireland's most ancient religious discourses of exile as 'involuntary and unhappy', the 'missionary exile'.

In *Angela's Ashes*, Frank McCourt exhibits stark criticism towards Irish authorities, as well. He portrays Ireland as the old sow that ate her farrows. However, from exile, the narration of both his life experience and Ireland took a different itinerary.

Exile became part of a new global discourse. Previous negative notions about exile have become obsolete in a global world because of the emergence of new norms of capitalist world order. Consequently, "there appears to be an increasing tendency among scholars to homogenize or globalize the practices and values canvassed by the advanced countries of the west." (Terhemba 1)

The lapse of thirty year in exile and the huge impact of globalization helped Frank McCourt to see his experience from a different but positive side. Globalization eases the pain of separation, shortens distances, and transcends boundaries. The new context spurred McCourt's artistic imagination and resulted in a magnificent piece of literature. In *Angela's Ashes*, Frank McCourt blends two cultural schemes, Irish and American, with all their underlying literary aspects, to give birth to an amazing inventive approach that presents a new facet of the 'Irish Catholic childhood'. Humour and the motif of the American Dream grant a new flavour to the stereotypical "Irish miserable Catholic childhood."

For the purpose at hand, I intend to study two literary landmarks in Irish Literature which deal with exile as 'involuntary', which cover two different lapses of time in Irish history, and which are conceived differently. The main purpose behind is twofold. By studying James Joyce's autobiography *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young man* (1914) and Pulitzer Prize winner Frank

McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* (1996), I intend to explore the origins of the much-talked-about 'Irish tradition of exile' since the emergence of Ireland as an autonomous nation, and its continuity through the ages. By so doing, I shall try to argue that the concept of exile as 'involuntary and unhappy' is deeply rooted in Irish culture and history. Secondly, I shall try to highlight the shift in the way both writers have conceived their experience of exile as reflected in their autobiographical novels. While exile prior to the 1950s was imbued with negative connotations such as suffering, alienation, sadness, homelessness; with globalization, the pain engendered by a movement away from one's home became nearly obsolete. Globalization increased cross-cultural-contact, invented new categories of consciousness and identities, and shortened distances thereby easing the pain of separation. This situation liberates the writers and opens up new horizons in the treatment of the exile/home relationship.

Given the inevitable and huge impact of Irish history on the shaping of Irish writing, it is noteworthy to mention that this study is more likely to be a cultural and historical treatment of the subject of exile in *A Portrait* and *Angela's Ashes* than a literary study. Literary elements of the study revolve basically around the major characteristic of exilic writing. Exilic writing is dialectical. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Angela's Ashes* reflect considerable dialectical tensions: a "bittersweet" for the latter, and a love/hate for the former.

To fulfil our established goals, our methodology will be mainly based on a theoretical corpus whose authors have witnessed or experienced exile i.e. an experience-based theory. Authors suggested are the leader of post-colonial criticism, the Palestinian Edward Said and his widely acclaimed essay "Reflections on Exile"; the enormous work done by the Irish-American Kerby A. Miller in his outstanding *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* to create a suitable context for the novels under study. From a literary point of view, Hegel's concept of the interpenetration of opposites is highly recommended.

Edward Said's philosophy about exile in his essay "Reflections on exile" is one of suffering. It is based on both the strong bond a person has with his home and the terrible outcomes engendered after separation. For him, the state of separation with one's true home is unbearable if fully experienced. The well-being and safety of 'home' will haunt the exile wherever he goes, causing him but pain and sorrow. In "Reflections on Exile", Edward Said states that exile:

is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift force between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement. The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever. (Said 173)

Kerby A. Miller's ideas provide a helpful historical and cultural context within which to study the autobiographical novels. The historian Kerby A. Miller has gone beyond those superficial

observations to equate the Irish with the label exile to explore in depth why Irish emigrants and mostly Catholics viewed their departure as 'involuntary and unhappy expatriation or exile'. In his investigation, Miller has argued that the concept of emigration as involuntary exile has deep roots in the Irish literary and historical tradition. It, in fact, predates English colonialism. This can be well felt and understood in the Gaelic poets' use of the term '*deorai*', which literally means exile, to describe anyone who left under whatever reason. The list then, according to Patrick Ward, may include:

those who left under the pressure of defeat, banishment and proscription in the conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; those whose departure was lamented as the 'Flight of the Earls' and the 'Flight of the Wild Geese' in the poetry of the time; for the later generations of Irish Catholics, still living under the dispensation of those descendants of Protestants in an era of rampant nationalism. (Ward 21)

Further, Miller argues that Irish Catholic emigrants often ascribed their decision to leave in impersonal and non-volitional terms, such as 'I had to go' or 'going ...was a necessity for me' (Kearney 93). Still for Miller, this linguistic interpretation of departure as exile is given force by the presence of a Catholic worldview which devalues ambitions and actions especially actions which seemed innovative. They represent a threat to established values of behaviour and thought, communal values, and conformity.

In more positive terms, the condition of exile has also been praised for the insights into at least two cultures. Already within the Latin etymology of the term, we find the contradictory notions of exile as a forceful separation and also as a movement forward.

In that respect, and since both literary works under study were written while in exile, we shall also throw light on the positive impact of exile in the shaping of Joyce and McCourt's style and themes. Our investigation will be based on Theodor Adorno's notion of 'the Freedom of exile'. For Adorno, the state of exile is liberating because the new environment is a kind of new freedom free from constraints. It grants the exiled the opportunity to see the world and his nation in particular with new eyes, to judge objectively, and to dare to cross borders. Claudio Gullein argues in "The Writer in Exile: On the Literature of Exile and Counter Exile", that "no great writer can remain a merely local mind unwilling to question the relevance of the particular place from which he writes" (Gullein 280).

Given the contradictory nature of the experience of exile, in our discussion of the two novels, then, we shall appropriate Hegel's dialectical approach, 'the interpenetration of opposites'. We shall try to show that exile writing bears dialectical tensions which track in a variety of different ways most of which are: the condition of exile is a state that both liberates and confines the writer, writing is both the cause of exile and the way to supersede it, exile writing recuperates the past and re-imagines it, exiles write about the past and about the future, exile improves and also restricts the

writer's work, and exile heightens both regionalism and cosmopolitanism and both nationalism and globalization. (McClennen 7)

Our dissertation will be divided into three chapters:

The first chapter entitled "The Irish tradition of exile" will be divided into three sections. The first section, "Ireland, Exile, and Nationalism", is a study of the historicity of the concept of exile since ancient Christian Ireland till the 1950s. This section aims at arguing that Irish exiles are to be considered as involuntary and unhappy exiles and the blame for it is to be lamented on Irish culture, religion, and nationalism and their inability to cope with new conditions. The second section "Ireland, exile, and the autobiography/memoir", explores literary alternatives Irish exiles relied on in order to reflect upon their experiences in Ireland from exile, most of which are the autobiography and the memoir genre. The last section "Ireland, Exile, and globalization: The age of memoirs", is an attempt to re-read Irish history and culture in the light of globalization. Irish culture attained a fashionable edge thanks to innovative writer such as Frank McCourt.

The second chapter is devoted to the study of the theme of exile in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a young man*. The chapter consists of two sections occurring in opposition to each other. The first section "James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus's predicament in Ireland" is an investigation into reasons behind Joyce/Stephen Dedalus's exile. It is composed of three parts: "Joyce's repressive environment", "Joyce/Stephen and Catholicism: Religious constraints", and "Joyce/Stephen's exile: family, religion, and Irish nationalism". The second section, unfolds Joyce's traditionalist discourse. It is entitled "The influence of Irish consciousness, society, and Catholicism in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*" and is composed of: The bourgeois family code, Catholic upbringing, The 'Intellectual Peasant': Joyce's nationalist discourse, and The 'Heroic-Missionary' prototype of Joyce's exile.

In chapter three we shall study the theme of exile in Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes*. The main concern of the chapter is to highlight the continuity of the theme of exile in post colonial Ireland, and, at the same time, to show the shift in the way Irish writers reflected on their state as involuntary exiles through writings. Exile in a world immersed by globalization, exile is no longer imbued with negative connotations.

In the concluding part, I shall try to highlight the similar trajectories Stephen Dedalus (James Joyce) and Frank McCourt appropriated to leave Ireland, and the similar causes behind their forceful departure. I shall also reflect on the way they expressed their sentiments towards Ireland, for they argue, once again, that Stephen Dedalus (James Joyce) and Frank McCourt were obliged to leave Ireland. They are involuntary exiles.

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Chapter One

The Irish tradition of exile

The Irish Tradition of Exile

Introduction

The worst thing about [exile] is that you are just separated from your country...you did not want to leave, you left your country to come back to liberate it...you love your country enough in the first place to actually make that type of sacrifice, you know, to commit yourself in that manner. And to be separated from that very country and the people that you love so much is very wrenching...I suppose it's always best described by ...the title of one of Dennis Brutus's anthologies... a simple lust (Gready 146-147)

Ireland witnessed great waves of emigration of various kinds. It is true that the patterns differed but the conceptualization of emigration with the motif “unhappy and involuntary exile” still persisted. Irish emigration was thought as forced exile, never as a choice of a better life. Irish emigrants saw themselves as unhappy and homesick, and the comment made by the historian Florence Gibson clearly confirms most of the unhappy Irish emigrants' state of being when she said, “Many Irish-Americans had moved to the United States physically...but spiritually and emotionally they were back home in Ireland” (Miller 6). Crucial to Irish emigrants are intellectuals. Irish authorities, nationalists and churchmen, maintained a strong grip on the artistic imagination of Irish intellectuals during the revolutionary period and long after the establishment of the Irish Free State pushing them straightforward into exile. Alienated physically and spiritually, Irish intellectuals could find an alternative home in writing. They devoted themselves to reflect on their own experiences in writing about the harmful effects of Ireland on them, and their fate, exile. To make themselves heard, they relied on specific modes of writing that speak directly about their experiences most of which are autobiographies and memoirs giving birth subsequently to a long lasting tradition of Irish autobiography. Irish autobiographies contain the themes which have come to be viewed as the absolute aspects of the classic Irish autobiography, the concept of Irishness, the Irish “miserable” childhood, and exile as involuntary and unhappy. Irish exiles left Ireland to liberate themselves; however, home never gives way to their wishes. Their writing and choice of themes are always home-bound. By the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, Irish autobiographies, Ireland, and Irishness became popular and fashionable. Globalization alleviated the pain engendered by the state of exile; it shortened distances and broke barriers. In a global world, Irish writers started to develop innovative ways in the narration of Ireland's history to an increasing international audience through a new genre of writing, the memoir. These contemporary Irish memoirs proved successful. They attested the popularity and the longevity of the genre.

The aim of the chapter is threefold. Given its huge impact in the shaping of Irish history, the historicity of the exile motif must be acknowledged. In the first section, then, I intend to study the

development of the exile motif and the unhappy catholic view that sustained it since the early Christian Ireland, going through the pre-famine period, and culminating with post-famine Ireland. By relying on Kerby A. Miller's thesis, I shall argue that whereas it has been argued that Irish exiles, particularly intellectuals, have always been considered as voluntary exiles, the history of Ireland and its linguistic representation through art have shown the opposite. Irish exiles are to be considered as involuntary and unhappy, and the blame for exile is to be lamented on Irish culture, religion, and nationalism and their inability to cope with prevalent conditions.

In the second section entitled "Ireland, exile, and the autobiography/memoir", my aim is to explore literary genres through which Irish writers could reflect on their state as exiled physically and spiritually. Irish writers relied on specific mode of writing that speak directly about their experiences as a counter hegemonic discourse through autobiographies and memoirs. Second, exilic writing is past-bound, home culture-bound, and dialectical; three major characteristics that fit well the Irish exilic writing.

Last but not least, the last section is an attempt to read Irish exilic experience, Irish autobiographies/memoirs, and Irish history under the light of globalization. Globalization granted Ireland the opportunity to attain a fashionable edge on an international scale thanks to innovative literary representations of Irish history by fervent Irish writers who could bring success from chaos.

Section one: Ireland, Exile, and Nationalism

The subject emigration/exile has a crucial importance in the shaping of both Irish history and emigrants' reactions. This can be well felt in the various treatments of the subject of exile that range from intellectual, nationalist, religious, post-colonial, and recently from an 'ordinary' Irish emigrant points of view. Most crucial, however, is Kerby Miller's notion of exile in Ireland. The Irish-American historian Kerby A. Miller has gone beyond those superficial observations to explore in depth why Irish Catholic emigrants, more than others, mostly to America, in the pre-famine period and most significantly in post-famine times viewed themselves both as unhappy and involuntary exiles. By drawing on a huge corpus of Irish emigrants' diaries, letters, autobiographies, and poems, he argues that the concept of emigration as unhappy exile and its persistence through the ages is deeply rooted in Irish history, culture, and Irish Catholic identity. Kerby Miller's investigations and thesis are chronicled in his monumental *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to America (1985)*.

Thus, when James Joyce sent Stephen Dedalus out of Ireland armed mostly with silence, cunning, and exile, he was, indeed, tapping into an elemental constituent of the Irish psyche. James Joyce and Stephen left Ireland in the beginning of the twentieth century, and he was already preceded, accompanied, and followed by hundreds of thousand of other compatriots most of whom viewed themselves as unhappy exiles. Statistically speaking, from the early seventeenth century to the establishment to the Irish Free State in 1922, "as many as seven million people emigrated from Ireland" (Miller 1) to North America, Europe, Australia, and other destinations, giving birth to what critics call the "Irish Question".

The "Irish Question" was defined merely in terms of political conflict between English colonialism and Irish nationalism which subsequently led to huge masses of Irish emigrants. However, if we consider the continuous flow and the progressive waves of Irish emigrants and the continuity of the exile motif in Irish culture as well as the unhappy Catholic world view that sustained it during the 19th, 20th, and early 21st century, the assumption is reductionist. Irish emigration is not due solely due to English tyranny. For, if we consider those who truly left Ireland involuntarily, we can enumerate in the first place political rebels, fugitives from the law, evicted farmers, and those famine emigrants of 1845-50 who fled out of panic and fear of death. These altogether does not cover a quarter of the so proclaimed 'seven million Irish emigrants' (2). Drawing on an enormous research, Kerby A. Miller concludes that Irish notions of themselves as exile can be derived from a long process of cultural, psychological, and historical sedimentation which goes as far back as the early monastic and eremitic traditions of 'White Martyrdom'; continued with landlords' practice of territorial banishment for political reasons during the post Reformation age and its celebration and interpretation in Gaelic poetry and popular history; and culminated in the nineteenth and twentieth century with the inability of Irish society, culture, and

identity to accommodate with the necessities of the modern world. The following passage reflects well the most important points in his thesis:

...the concept [exile] itself reflected not the concrete realities of most emigrants' experiences but a distinctive Irish Catholic world view rooted deeply in Irish history and culture. The origin of both world view and exile image long preceded the English conquest of Ireland and the mass migration of modern times. Subsequent historical circumstances of rebellion and defeat, despoliation and impoverishment, served to ratify and magnify aspects of pre-conquest Irish culture which made the exile motif seem more poignant and appropriate... Usually lacking capital and political power sufficient to shape the emerging market economy to their own profit, the Irish fell back upon cultural traditions which could be adapted to deal with the strains of modernization. The resultant worldview provided an ideological defence against misfortune, and the basis for nationalistic assertion of Irish identity. However, it also reformulated and perpetuated the archaic tradition of emigration as exile in the modern context of conflict with England as origin of both political oppression and economic deprivation.

[...]

Thus, millions of Irishmen and –women, whatever their objective reasons for emigration, approached their departures and experiences ... with an outlook which characterized emigration as exile. Rooted in ancient culture and tradition, shaped by historical circumstances, and adapted to “explain” the impersonal workings of the market economy, the Irish worldview crossed the ocean to confront the most modern of all societies. From the standpoint of the emigrants' ability to adjust and prosper overseas, the consequent tension between past and present, ideology and reality, may have had mixed results. However, both the exile motif and the worldview that sustained it ensured the survival of Irish identity and nationalism... (7-8)

1) Irish emigration/exile prior to the Famine:

Crucial to Miller's findings is the association between the motif of the 'unhappy homesick exile' with the Irish Catholics. Emigration/exile has long been referred to as a burden or a curse upon the Irish people and Catholics in particular. For Catholics, the leaving of Ireland was always seen as involuntary. In any event, Irish Catholics did not leave the land gladly; they have always considered themselves as emigrants against their own deepest desires. They were compelled to leave home by forces beyond their control. The identification of the notion of “unhappy forced exile” with Catholics is more likely due to the fact that, in history, Catholic Ireland had a long experience of political exile or banishment as a result of unsuccessful resistance to English rule. Some important examples that can be mentioned here, the flight of the Ulster earls O'Neill and O'Donnell in 1607, the Cromwellian transportation in the 1650s, and the departure of thousands of 'Wild Geese' after Strasfield's surrender at the siege of Limerick in 1691. All of them provided major themes for Gaelic poets and historic models for future emigrants.

Another interpretation may also be strongly suggested in this field, is that of Edward Said. Edward Said stated that the literature of exile draws on Christian and Humanistic traditions of redemption through loss and suffering. This statement has particular force when applied to Irish culture. (Said 176)

The history of Ireland and Christianity goes back to the second half of the fifth century when St. Patrick, a bishop and a missionary, came from England to Ireland to dedicate himself to convert the

Irish inhabitants to Christianity. Consequently, Ireland became almost exclusively Christian and Irish culture became inextricably related to Christianity. It became a basic constituent of Irish identity. For, even after his death and the advent of Protestantism, Ireland remained purely Catholic.

Thanks to St. Patrick's religious innovations, Ireland became an illuminating centre of scholarship at a time where the rest of Europe was drowned by the dark ages. Scholarship had become submerged with religion; schools were adjuncts of monasteries; and significant scholars were monks. The Christian doctrine became the most important component of human knowledge and much of the art and literature involved religious themes. The era of St. Patrick became well known as the golden age of Ireland. (Desmond 3)

As Irish monastery-schools were gaining more and more prominence, the Irish Church and monasteries, given their powerful religious discourse, started to send scholar missionaries to the rest of Europe. More than simple missionaries, those scholars were called "Exiles for Christ" (5) fulfilling a divine mission. Most prominent Irish missionary during the sixth and seventh century was St. Colmcill. St. Colmcill was one of the most famous Irish Celtic monks and the founder of the Celtic monastery. His story is closely related, if not the starting point, to the concept of exile in Irish history. Benedict Kiely in *Modern Irish Fiction: A Critique* (1950) has located the idea of exile in Irish culture as far back as the time of St. Colmcill (521-597 A.D). And in a widely accepted observation, Patrick Ward stated that St. Colmcill is indeed "the archetypal if not the first exile from Ireland" (Ward 28) According to history, St. Colmcill was banished or banished himself from Ireland because of the Battle of Cooldrewny, at which 3,000 died. He felt guilty. To clear out his offence, he tried to convert as many pagans to Christ as the number of warriors who were killed in the battle. ("Columba")

St. Colmcill spent 40 years of his life far from Ireland serving God by educating the Scots and converting them to Christianity in a monastery he founded in Iona. (Desmond 5) The prototype of his exile epitomizes one of the most dominant basics of the early Irish Church, the passion for exile in foreign lands "the *consuetude peregrinandi*" (Ward 28), and its notions of exile as a type of martyrdom. Types of exile range from inner exile to missionary activity outside Ireland and both of them were linked to love of place, family, and community. "The Church of Ireland", writes Patrick Ward:

...devised a threefold classification of martyrdom, each stage of which represented an intensification of suffering and hence brought the supplicant a degree nearer to God. The first stage was known as white martyrdom wherein a man parted with everything he loved and suffered fasting and labour... White martyrdom thus underpinned a doctrine of penitential exile which imitated the experience of the lord and the apostles. Pilgrimage and exile could take two forms. The first was in terms of actual corporeal departures for which most credit could be gained; the second theologially authorised the notion of inner exile, in which a man might leave his fatherland in soul, if not in body. This inner exile manifests itself in the harsh rigours of Irish monasticism, and in more extreme form of ascetic anchoritic existence. It provides for many a model of sacrifice and devotion in the iconography of Irish Christianity.

Colmcill...became the prototype to later generation of the patriotic exile, thinking longingly in a foreign land of the little places at home he knew so well. (28-29)

Irish missionary activities were imbued with suffering and the longing for home. This can be felt in the early expressions found in the myths, legends, and sagas of Gaelic Ireland particularly in its Christianized manifestation. In “Exile in the Irish Language Tradition and in the English Language Tradition Prior to the Famine”, Patrick Ward argued that Old Irish Poets, under *brehon* laws, used three main Old Irish terms which literally mean “exile”. The term *deoraid* implies implications of disassociation, estrangement, and lack of belonging; also the term *dithreabhach* meaning one who is homeless; and *dibeartach* which means someone who suffered banishment (89) Patrick Ward’s findings, actually, emphasize Kerby Miller’s thesis which stipulates that both the concept of exile and the perception of exile as unhappy have deep roots in the Irish Christian psyche and in the Gaelic language tradition. It preceded nationalism, colonization, the reformation, and industrial capitalism. In this case, exile predates expression in the English language.

Still for Patrick Ward, Catholic Gaelic linguistic and cultural formations and practices had greatly shaped the semantics of exilic discourse in Irish history. The mixing of the religious and the secular, “indeed the impossibility of separating the two in the contents of the manuscripts produced by the monastic schools”, gave birth to a “distinctive style of prose as a medium for heroic and mythological narrative” (Brown 171) Ancient Irish exiles are to be considered as involuntary, martyrs (Catholic religion), and heroes (Gaelic culture) at the same time. Patrick Ward quotes in *Exile, Emigration, and Irish Writing*:

The Irish language, when combined with the poets’ interpretation of post-conquest Irish history provided both linguistic patterns and heroic models to predispose the Catholic Irish to regard all those who left Ireland as unwilling and tragic political exiles. (Ward 89)

Away from the spiritual suffering and the heroic notions of the concept of exile held during the very early Christian Ireland, in the following eras, it was more about forceful eviction, flight and banishment, and actual suffering. The Irish were ripped from their context because of the savagery of conquerors, landlord’s banishment; religious and social discrimination, the Penal Laws, and hunger. Beginning first with the successive waves of invasions by Vikings, then Normans, and culminating with the Tudors’ conquest and the Cromwellian and Williamite plantations, all led to huge waves of Irish emigrants who viewed their departure as involuntary. Exile, for the most part, was viewed as the result of external forces. Expressions of dislocation as exile in the poetry and the linguistic expressions became the most favourite and recurrent themes among literate Irish. Exile became also part of an Irish Catholic-nationalist discourse which was transmitted to generations and generations of Irish emigrants through the literature of devout Catholics and the poetry of Irish political associations such as The United Irishmen.

Compared to the last conquests, the Viking and the Norman were, to some extent, harmless on the cultural level. By culturally harmless, it is meant that both were unable to erase a distinct Irish Gaelic and Catholic identity. However, the scale of emigration was high particularly during the Viking invasion. And similarly, it was thought as forceful and involuntary. The Irish left out of fear from the Vikings who were killing them. Vikings, barbarian sailor-warriors from Norway and Denmark, were known for their tyranny, barbarism, pillage and plunder (Desmond 6). When they invaded Ireland in 795, they had for a goal those wealthy monasteries. They ravaged them, killed unarmed monks, destroyed manuscripts, and then burned them to demonstrate power and dominion. After all, they were illiterate. The latter, may also explain the weak cultural influence of the Vikings on the Irish.

The Norman Conquest began in 1169. The Normans are French in origin. In 50 years, the Normans expanded all over Ireland, intermarried with Gaelic nobility, and adopted the Gaelic language and culture. They became “more Irish than the Irish” (11). In *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and Results*, the English historian Edward Augustus Freeman argued that; “the immediate effects of the conquest had passed by, and that names and things of Norman origin were no longer felt as badges of Conquest. (Augustus 655)

Consequently, by the mid 1200s, Ireland witnessed an amazing Gaelic resurgence; and by the mid 1400s, Gaelic lords had taken back over half of their lost territory. (Desmond 15) Irish literature, on the other hand, was the property of monasteries. It contained “a medley of religious and secular matter, ranging from Irish poems..., and biblical history to native genealogies..., and heroic narrative...” (Brown 173).

The Tudor Conquest (1585-1609) marked the beginning of Ireland as a colony and England as a colonial institution. The policy of England on Ireland had an enormous impact on Ireland and its people. It imposed harsh laws on the Irish. It extinguished the hegemony of the Catholic Church and replaced it by the Protestant Church in 1537 thereby paving the way for centuries of religious conflict between England and Ireland. England cancelled the Kildare supremacy and acknowledged the king of England to be automatically King of Ireland. Early in 1541, Henry VIII declared himself king of Ireland. By so doing, England partially destroyed the Irish culture through a process of “Anglicization” that imposed England’s language, law, culture, and religion. Last but not least, it put an end to the old Gaelic order to pave the way for further plantations, and the Union in 1800.

Landlords’ activities pushed the Irish people directly into exile. In Ireland, landlords before and during the nineteenth century had a very bad image among the Irish. Not just because they owned almost all properties, but because they reflected many things: Land League propaganda, bitter memories of evictions, the landlords’ colonial origins, and their unbearable rent. Historically speaking, most Irish landlords came from English and Scot origins following the process of land plantations and confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Landlordism took its

severe itinerary in the nineteenth century, because during the nineteenth century there were plenty of conflicts between the landowners and the labourers and the landless due to the landlords' indifference and carelessness about the labourers' poverty and miseries. The only option available for Irish labourers was emigration and exile. In 1903, the Irish nationalist leader John Redmond went further to equate landlords' nineteenth century evictions to twentieth century wave of exiles following the colonial practices of the English when he said; "...by abolishing landlordism Parliament would create 'wealth from poverty' [and give] to the Irish people a new field at home for their industry, instead of driving them, generation after generation, as Britain has done in the past" (Miller 390).

In short, England's theory for Ireland's conquest stipulates that:

...the best course to follow was to advance the authority of the Crown forcefully in those part of the country where it was being challenged, and, through a process of colonization, aim at establishing model English settlement to take the place of those Irish lords and their subordinates, who had resisted the authority of the queen, or who had consorted with her enemies...this was the scheme of government which enjoyed the authority of precedent that derived from what was thought to be true of the achievements both of the ancient Romans in Britain and of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. (Canny 121)

However, England's task to subjugate the Irish was charged of obstacles. For, there was neither acceptance nor sympathy for reform among the Gaelic Irish. This led the English to be more brutal against those who challenged their authority, and led the Irish to be more nationalist from the inside and particularly from the outside of Ireland i.e. from exile. The English conquest created a new meaning for the concept of exile. Exile became part of a Catholic- nationalist discourse which implemented the belief that the English consciously aimed at driving the Irish out of their country. Catholic Nationalist leaders could not accept the idea that the Irish people wanted to go elsewhere, to escape Ireland, to find a new way of life. Their exile, as reflected in the poetry of the time, was portrayed as involuntary and their departure was lamented on English tyranny.

Unable to accommodate with the new atmosphere- new language, religion, and culture-, many Irish left Ireland reluctantly. Later on, they were evicted as result of unsuccessful rebellions against the English. Irish emigrants' eviction aggravated during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and seventeenth century plantations (1608-1691). Most crucial evictions in the history of Ireland prior to the famine are The Flight of the Earls (1607) and The Flight of the Wild Geese (1691). For, they gave birth, from exile, to two distinct nationalist approaches, Catholic nationalism and Gaelic Nationalism.

Brave and confident, the Gaelic lords Hugh O'Neill (1550-1615) and Hugh O'Donnell (1571-1602) refused submission to Queen Elizabeth without war. They mounted a rebellion (The Battle of Kinsale) but they practically failed. Though they failed, they survived according to a set of conditions they could not adhere. Dissatisfied with their new ranks, O'Neill, accompanied by the

remaining 99 Gaelic leaders (Desmond 22), secretly left Ireland and sailed for the continent never to come back. The Gaelic leaders' departure is what is known as the Flight of the Earls.

Patrick Sarsfield continued the fight more than a year after the Battle of the Boyne (1690) against William of Orange's army. He underwent a devastating defeat at the Battle of Aughrim 1691. After the defeat, the Treaty of Limerick (1691) was enacted where Sarsfield would negotiate his surrender. The treaty, however, established the enactment of the anti-Catholic Penal laws, and the transplantation of Sarsfield and more than 10000 Irish soldiers for the continent (26). They did so, giving birth to the legendary The Flight of the Wild Geese. The Flight of the Earls and the Flight of the Wild Geese became legendary and mythical emblems in Irish history. They served as heroic characters in Irish poetry and drama:

The 18th century poets, in desperation, sought to escape from political reality by writing on purely local or personal matters, but on the occasion when they did touch upon politics they made it clear that their only hope lay in some *deus ex machina*, such as the *émigré* Stuarts or Patrick Sarsfield and others of their exiled leaders, returning to relieve them from their plight. (Canny, "The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750" 111)

The Flight of the Earls and the Flight of the Wild Geese were not only about the departure of hopeless Gaelic lords, earls, and soldiers. In "The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750", Nicholas Canny argued that the earls and soldiers were accompanied by remarkable Irish intelligentsia: many poets, clergy, genealogists, and lawyers who spurred Irish nationalist movements. He writes:

The early years of the 17th century witnessed not only the exodus from Ireland of despairing lords and disbanded soldiers who found ready employment in the Spanish army in Netherlands, but also the departure of some Gaelic scholars, many of whom found refuge in Catholic seminaries on the continent. (94)

Thus, in exile, the evicted Irish found refuge in Catholic seminaries where they interacted with previous Irish emigrants and priests. As a reaction to their state as involuntary exiles, new feelings of nationalism emerged and gave birth to promising constructive plans to liberate Ireland. The Flight of the Earls and the Flight of the Wild Geese are said to be the very starting point of "the early modern Irish nationalism", based on the concept of "the indivisibility of Gaelic cultural integrity, territorial sovereignty, and the interlinking of Gaelic identity with the profession of the Roman Catholic faith" (Wikipedia)

Nationalism is strongly associated with the condition of exile. In *Writing as Resistance: life Stories of imprisonment, exile, and homecoming from Apartheid South Africa*, Paul Gready argues that the condition of exile is prerequisite for nationalism. "Exile is a nationalizing moments", and "a threshold of nationalist emergence" (Gready 147). Exile/nationalism relationship is also at the centre, if not the sole preoccupation, of the post-colonial critic Edward Said. Being an exile himself,

in “Reflections on Exile”, he describes how nationalism fervour develops from a condition of estrangement and the construction of a home governed by a set of collective values: language, culture and customs (Said 184). Edward Said places great emphasis on the fact that exile empowers the feeling of defensive nationalism. In spite of oppression and the threat of extension, he argues, a particular ethos remains alive in exile. Leading examples are the reconstructive projects of the Jews and the Palestinians while in exile. In an attempt to unite a whole nation, they built a national history, and revived an ancient culture and language. In short, he concludes:

Nationalism asserts a belonging and claims a home; exile is a condition of isolation and loss; and the essential association between the two is of ‘opposites informing and constituting each other. (185)

Nationalism is a goal-oriented ideology that aims at the revival of one’s own nation. It requires:

...an immersion in the culture of the nation, the rediscovery of its history, the revival of its vernacular language through such disciplines as philosophy, lexicography, the cultivation of its literature especially drama and poetry and the restoration of its vernacular art and crafts...(Haris 8)

While in exile, evicted Irish, who were appointed priests, set themselves the dual task of strengthening Catholic faith and practice in Ireland”, and devising a political formula that would facilitate the survival or even the consolidation of Catholicism in Ireland (Canny, “The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750” 95) As a means, they were convinced that Gaelic literature and spoken Irish language were the obvious vehicle for their missionary endeavour (95) The resulting outcome was the creation of a highly influential Irish nationalism whose moral code was in complete conformity with Catholicism (96), and subsequently, a religious-bound and conservative Irish consciousness. The latter was successfully implemented and transmitted through successive generations of Gaelic writers during the 17th century by:

Those who had departed the country in the wake of the fleeing earls in 1607...Soon after the Restoration (1660), those poets who had bewailed the dire consequences of Cromwell’s success brought themselves to support the status quo... [and] some poets made a valiant effort to again make the mental readjustment following the defeat of their cause in Williamite War. (111)

Gaelic poets had a great deal in promoting the ideas of the Counter Reformation priests. An analysis of the Gaelic literature produced in the 17th century, had shown that the Gaelic poets of the 17th century were familiar with Counter Reformation literature, and they were influenced by the assumptions and sympathies of the Counter Reformation authors. The spread of Counter Reformation ideas “was the most potent influence in effecting the transformation in the outlook of Gaelic poets that occurred in the early decades of the 17th century” (103) New characteristics,

themes, and content, then, came to characterize Irish literature in order to accommodate the counter reformation doctrines:

[first of all] an unqualified respect for the role of the papacy in political and spiritual matters...[second] a firm grounding in Catholic apologetics, and an obsessive detestation of Protestantism...[besides] those being praised were still frequently likened to ancient heroes of the Celtic past, but parallels were now increasingly drawn with biblical and classical heroes...a recurrent theme in the praise poems and one which can be directly attributed to Counter Reformation influence was that the true noble, should, as well as being a defender of the Catholic Church, exemplify the Christian way of life. (103-104)

Catholicism and nationalism became closely associated with each other. Evicted priests were able to promote a new political awareness among Ireland's political leaders.

Continental-trained clergy of Gaelic and Old English background were now united in interpreting the Irish military struggles of the 16th century as a religious conflict and they implied that Catholics in Ireland would have prevailed had they abandoned their traditional rivalries to oppose the menace of Protestantism. (98)

In short, the Catholic religion came to embrace all aspects of the life of the Irish people- political, social, and artistic- prior to the famine, in post- famine Ireland, and even after the establishment of the Irish Free State (1922).

In an attempt to study the origins of the Catholic-nationalist discourse in Ireland, Lawrence J. Taylor argued that the discourse can be explained by a long process of implementation handed down from the early fifth to the twelfth century where "Irish nationalism *per se* has no role in this drama, and Catholicism acts as a marker only between Irish and pagan" (Taylor 104). It continued during the period of the Anglo-Norman invasions which brought new dynamics between Catholicism and Irish Identity. It finally culminated in the period running from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century when the Catholic Church held a strong grip on the moral content of Irish identity during a period of rampant nationalism. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Church's authority reached its zenith to the extent that its authority was taken for granted. Clerics actively interfered with the political life of the country by putting pressure on Irish legislators. Moreover, by the late nineteenth century, the Catholic Church gained effective control over education as the manager of the national schools (Miller 420).

Adding to the powerful influence of the clergy inherent from the past and the subsequent powerful religious discourse which contributed to the creation and maintenance of a lasting link between religion and nationalism, other elements helped in strengthening the catholic discourse in Ireland. Still with Lawrence J. Taylor, one of the most influential factors that strengthened the catholic priests was the very nature of submissiveness that characterized the Irish peasant psyche. In "Peter Pence: Official Catholic Discourse and Irish Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century", Lawrence J. Taylor concludes;

The intimate relationship between Catholicism and nationalism in nineteenth century Ireland is recognized. So well acknowledged, in fact, that the loyalty of a peasantry, the great majority of whom were pressed and impoverished, to a Church that is growing visibly more rich and comfortable is taken for granted. The clergy managed to portray the Church as the friend of the oppressed-indeed as the oppressed itself-even as their buildings trumpeted their growing wealth and power.

[...]

A survey of the historical and contemporary European scene reveals the Catholic Church playing a wide range of roles in respect of regionalism and nationalism. The various dimensions of the Church as an institution-belief system, devotional practice, cultural, social, and/or political authority-each may figure differently into the equation of nationalism...where the Church is out of power, for example, but has deep roots in the populace...there is great potential for religion to link itself into national symbols as well as symbols of nationalism. The opposition between regimes on which this form of religious nationalism rests links the Church with the oppressed *vis-à-vis* those in power. (Taylor 103-104)

Given its hegemonic discourse, the Catholic Church became an emblem for nationalism particularly in post-famine Ireland following the Act of Union in 1800. Priest became “the epistemological guardians of the purity, essence and soul of Ireland and nationalism is fuelled seamlessly into the Irish version of Catholicism” (Miller 151) Churchmen, consequently, set themselves the task to prescribe rules of behaviour and thought, to correct colonial stereotypes, and to give memorable representation of the Irish character. In the process, they gave birth to a distinct ideological construction of Ireland as a “Semi Mythical Holy Ireland” (421).

Yet, the priests’ endeavours to portray Ireland as a “Holy Land” could not deter the haemorrhage of Irish emigration. The advent of the English threat in the form of military defeat, the overall control on Irish lands by Protestant landlords and a loss of Irish property, religious persecution following the enactment of Penal Laws, and not to forget the debilitating Irish Famine, altogether created an atmosphere of bitterness, pessimism, and disillusionment among the Irish. This state led the majority of the Irish straightforward into alienation, opposition, then, emigration. This emigration was thought as involuntary and unhappy. Much of the poetry of the time reflected well the overall situation. Poetry,

Was written in allegorical form, usually with grief-stricken Ireland being personified as a pre-Christian Goddess...the content of these poems indicates that the Gaelic outlook which flourished in the 18th century was a deeply pessimistic one because in rejecting the existing political system, the Gaelic poets held out no realistic prospect of an improvement upon their position other than a vague hope of a fortuitous return to a lost golden age. (Canny, “The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750” 111)

The conceptualization of emigration as exile, however, was imbued with heroic dimensions by the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century Ireland. Heroic representations of Irish exiles have been well felt in the writing of two particular revolutionary organizations which were inspired by the American and French Revolution, ‘The United Irishman’ and ‘The Irishman’. The American

Revolution (1776-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1799) have served as a catalyst in the transformation and growth of the 'Irish mind'. They triggered various rebellions for Ireland's freedom. The contributors to the nation's freedom, 'The United Irishman' and 'The Irishman' (Ward 93), played an important role in promoting the exile image and endowing it with heroic dimensions through their writings and songs. Previous passive characterisation of the native Irish as 'a victim, involuntary, and non responsible' had become 'an active, responsible, and heroic participant in his fate in the songs celebrating the exile of the United Irishman' (Thuente 11) The writing of the United Irishman has contributed greatly in the growth and the transformation of the Irish consciousness.

Most popular poems can be mentioned: for example, "The Exiled Irishman's Lamentation" which is about an Irish peasant who was forced to leave his country because of a cruel landlord. The peasant's departure is mainly due to his support for principles purely patriotic and political. Heroic dimensions in the poem lay in the fact that the peasant, though in exile, remains defiant urging his compatriots still in Ireland to continue the fight:

To my country attached, and a friend to reform,
Erin ma vorneen! slan leat go brah! I supported old Ireland ? was ready to die for it;
If her foes e'er prevailed, I was well known to sigh for it;
But my faith I preserv'd, and am now forc'd to fly for it
Erin my vorneen! slan leat go brah! But hark!
[...]
We have numbers-and numbers do constitute power;
Let's WILL TO BE FREE- and we're free from that hour:
O Hibernian sons-yes- we'll then be the flower .
Boie yudh ma vorneen! Erin go brah! (Qtd. in Thuente 16-17)

In addition, "Green on my Cape" deals with nationalist sentiments; whereas "The Exile of Erin", is about the interpretation of an exiled sentimental longing for his home and family. For, in addition to heroism, the state of exile is also a state of suffering and longing for home:

But the day-star attracted his eyes' sad devotion,
For it rose in his own native isle of the ocean,
Where oft in the flow of his youthful emotion,
He sung the bold anthem of Erin Go Brah.
Oh, sad is my fate, said the heart-broken stranger,
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee;
But I have no refuge from famine and danger,
A home and a country remains not to me.
Ah! never again in the green sunny bowers,
Where my forefathers liv'd, shall I spend the sweet hours,
Or cover my harp with the wild woven flowers,
And strike to the numbers of Erin Go Brah.
Erin, my country, tho'sad and forsaken,
In dreams I revisit they sea-beaten shore,
But alas, in a far foreign land I awaken,
And sigh for the friends who can meet me no more;
Oh! cruel fate, wilt thou never re-place me,

In a mansion of peace where no peril can chase me:
Ah, never again, shall my brothers embrace me,
They died to defend me, or live to deplore.
Where is my cabin door, fast by the wild wood;
Sister and Sire, did you weep for its fall.
Where is the mother that looked on my childhood?
And where is the bosom friend dearer than all?
Ah, my sad soul, long abandon'd by pleasure,
Why did it doat on a fast-fading treasure,
Tears like the rain drop may fall without measure,
But rapture and beauty they cannot recall;
But yet all its fond recollections suppressing;
One dying wish my lone bosom shall draw (Qtd. in Thuente 18-19)

The Great Famine was a watershed in the history of Ireland. It engendered a dramatic change on all levels: demographic, political, and cultural. The scale of Irish mass emigration witnessed a significant increase between 1845 and 1855. Kerby A. Miller claims that more people left Ireland in eleven years (1845-1855) than had left in the preceding two hundred and fifty (Miller 291). The result was the disappearance of almost an entire generation:

Almost 1.5 million people embarked for the United States, 340,000 sailed for British North America, around 300,000 settled in the cities of Great Britain, and about 70,000 went to Australia. In all, more than 2.1 million people left Ireland in these eleven years, over a quarter of the pre-famine population, and greater than the combined total of all those who had left in the previous two-and-a-half centuries. ("Irish ancestors")

Furthermore, he estimated that more than ninety per cent of those fleeing Ireland in these years were Catholic and that a very large number were Gaelic speakers (Miller 297) Famine emigrants came in huge numbers from the poor regions of the West.

Some historians like Mary Doly argued that the Famine emigration was a continuation of earlier trends. (Gribben 235) Departure was thought as forced exile, never as a choice of a better life, and the native Irish literature "did indeed portray departure from Ireland as involuntary exile" (Thuente 11), while "the native Irish emigrant was portrayed as the tragic victim of fate forced to leave his beloved people and places in Ireland" (12)

On the cultural level, the Great Famine receded in Irish popular memory. (Gribben 235) It became a recurring feature in Irish literature. It also took part in Irish nationalist discourse. It became a motivating force among political and civic organizations. Given the submissive nature of the Irish, it was very easy for Irish nationalist leaders to spread feelings of hatred and enmity against England by interpreting the Irish Famine in such way as to portray England as a 'cruel killer'. In an article on English Rule, John Mitchell wrote that the Irish people attributed the Great Famine collectively not to "the rule of heaven as to the greedy and cruel policy of England" (McGovern 38) Similarly, in *Hunger: The Biology and Policy of Starvation* (2010), John R. Butterly and Jack Shepherd, in an attempt to study causes behind the Irish famine, were able to devise two interpretations, from a

nationalist and less nationalist points of view. Yet, both interpretations ascribe the Famine to England's misrule and malevolence:

The nationalists say that the British government deliberately used the pretext of the failure of the potato crop to reduce the Celtic population by Famine and exile, and those less willing to see conspiracy, but who blame the social and economic systems imposed on Ireland by the British government. (Butterly, Shpherd 43)

The 1800 Act of Union and The Great Famine came to shape the entire Irish policy in post-famine Ireland. The threat the Irish felt against English colonialism was immense. They feared a disintegration of Irish traditions and hence a total loss of identity. As a reaction, Ireland would, throughout the 19th century, seek to emancipate itself from colonial dominance and, later on, from the Western Myth of America. What is appalling in the case of Ireland is the fact that the quest for emancipation was not reduced to a solely political struggle; rather, it was a coalition between devout religious churchmen, fervent political nationalists, and influential literary figures. The religious emancipation was guided by Daniel O'Connell, the Emancipator or the Liberator; an agrarian and parliamentary emancipation directed by the nationalist political leader Charles Stewart Parnell; a literary and cultural emancipation initiated by such figures as Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats and the other members of the Abbey Theatre; and a political emancipation as an inevitable result of the Easter Rising of 1916 and The Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-1921) which led to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. Though independent, the scale of emigration and exile intensified in post-famine Ireland, revolutionary and De Valera's Ireland.

2) Post-Famine emigration/exile:

2. a) Revolutionary Ireland:

In an attempt to categorize patterns of Irish emigration-exile, Kerby A. Miller could classify Irish emigration into five main patterns; Settlers, Servants, and Slaves: Irish Emigration before the American Revolution; Liberty, Intolerance, and Profit: Irish Emigration 1783-1814; From "Emigrants" to "Exiles": The Pre-Famine Exodus 1815-1844; "Revenge for Skibbereen": The Great Famine and Irish Emigration, 1856-1855; finally, The Last "Exiles": Ireland and Post-Famine Emigration, 1856-1921. Among these five patterns, however, most crucial Irish emigrants/exiles were "those attendants upon the commercialization of agriculture, the decline of rural industry, and the Anglicization of Irish culture i.e. the exiles of the Post-Famine period" (Miller 1). Compared to the preceding phases, Post-Famine Ireland witnessed great waves of Irish emigrants most of whom, "still left reluctantly sometimes bitterly, and even many who welcomed or accepted emigration still conformed to old patterns, at least occasionally, by interpreting departure as involuntary exile." (345) And most crucial to Post-famine Irish emigrants were the intellectuals whose artistic freedom

was always undermined by strict nationalist laws, inflexible traditional practices, and literary primitive discourse under the leadership of the Catholic Church.

Post-famine Ireland was the most crucial, parochial, intense, religious-bound, and alienating period in the history of Ireland (481). This was mainly due to a set of rigid, sometimes radical, religious and nationalist procedures and practices appropriated during a long process of fighting against English colonialism and intensified after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 as a safe means to preserve the essence of the Gaelic Irish identity from innovations brought by modernity. The bitter outcome was a vast flow of Irish emigrants, notably intellectuals, heading in huge amounts namely towards the United States of America. More than the preceding waves of emigrants, post-famine emigrants considered themselves as ripped from their context because they left Ireland because of “the very individuals that belong to their nation”.

The atmosphere of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Ireland- a period of extended warfare and colonialism; and large-scale external and internal migration and the unbearable experience of physical experience; and the widespread perception of a loss of traditions, home, cultural roots and hence nostalgia - led to the emergence of a distinct Irish nationalism. In colonial Ireland, the quest for nationalism was “socially constructed by the very individuals that belong to a given nation.” To increase the feeling of nationalism, “the very individuals that belong to a given nation”, generally churchmen, nationalist leaders and intellectuals called for a return to a national past and for the expulsion of foreigners. In the process, however, million of Irish people, mostly intellectuals, run away from Ireland.

Given their hegemonic religious discourse inherited from the past, Irish churchmen’ practices to portray Ireland as “Holy Ireland” resulted in a Catholic “Iron Morality” (Miller 421) “Holy Ireland” was fashioned out of what England, and later on the modern world under the hegemony of the United States of America, were not. It is spiritual as opposed to materialistic, conservative as opposed to modern, agricultural and rural as opposed to industrial and urban. It praised hierarchy, status, patriarchy, purity, and piety; and it opposed landlordism, Protestantism, secularism, and socialism (423). The resulting mentality, on the other hand, the Catholic “Iron Morality”, is based on a rigid conservative Catholic teaching. Irish priests reflected their church’s concerns for order, authority, and spiritual conformity; and their middle class parent’s obsession with social stability and their children’s chastity. In addition, they condemned fairy beliefs, sexually integrated education, crossroad dancing, and all other practices which threatened their clerical hegemony. This state is not so much surprising, for churchmen mostly came from:

The traditionally conservative and anti-intellectual peasant class and they resent what they consider the pretentious of lay intellectualism and leadership. They support more than any other pressure group Ireland’s cultural isolation from the ‘pagan world’. As a result, they are strong advocates of a book censorship which not only bans the best works of non-Catholic writers, but the outstanding literary productions of Irish and English Catholic writers. They insist that censorship

protects the moral fibre of Irish life from all alien, secular, immoral, and subversive ideas. (McCaffrey 28)

The practices of the Catholic Church in Post-famine Ireland gave birth to an Irish consciousness which is highly hierarchical, communal, and traditional. Besides, it made of the Irish the most faithfully practising and sexually controlled. Joseph McMahan, a Catholic priest and historian, describes the vision of the Catholic Church at that period as being “static and hierarchical [where] Triumphalism was the dominant note [i.e.] all foreign ideas were frowned upon and that new social principles were regarded with hostility and there was a tendency to dismiss new ideas without even examining them” (Qtd. in Ward 179) Unfortunately, churchmen’ practices cancelled many old customs which had given vitality and originality to peasant life. Sir Horace Plunkett once declared that “without being told by them that the exodus is largely due to a feeling that the clergy are...taking innocent joy from the social side of life” (Qtd. in Miller 421)

The Catholic/nationalist discourse was reinforced by the literature of the Irish Literary Revival by a group of writers who came to be called the ‘Traditionalists’ (Hirsch 1116). Most prominent Irish traditionalists are William Butler Yeats, John Synge, George Russell, Isabella Augusta Gregory, and Douglass Hyde. The nationalists’ projects of Irish Traditionalist intellectuals consisted on the revival of rural customs and stories of the Irish country people, especially “The Irish peasant” (1116) In order to create a distinct pure national Irish Identity, those ‘traditionalist’, mainly with political, cultural, and nationalist impulses, believed that the onely resort was to turn back to the peasant-like Ireland. The major devices they employed were the folktales and the belief in the supernatural both Christian and Pagan since ancient Irish literature was basically oral. The revival of the Mythic Gaelic culture, ancient myths, heroes, legends, Irish folk songs and tales, then, became a national emblem in Irish literature.

Besides investigating back into pre-Christian Irish history, nationalist literary figures experienced a renewed interest in the Irish language. W. B. Yeats, a pillar and a driving force behind the Irish Literary Revival, and his followers went even further to establish the criterion that “Irish literature hence forward was not to be thought of outside the Irish language”, simply because, “being in the tongue of the foreigner, it was a threat to the survival, and the revival of Irish” (Ward 179-180) By so doing, nationalist traditionalists were attempting to restore the values and brilliance of ancient Gaelic culture to young Irish men and women of their own time. In sum, what can be said about the Irish revivalist literature is that it is romantic in its appeal to emotions and its idealization of the beauty and virtue of peasant life. It is what Yeats called:

Our natural magic [which] is but the religion of the world, the old worship of nature and that troubled ecstasy before her that certainty of all beautiful places being haunted which it brought into men’s mind...[turning into] something closer to alchemy...transmutation of all things into some divine and imperishable substance” (Qtd. in Castle 174)

The literary campaign for emancipation was successful to some extent. Revivalist writers played a significant role in the national awakening and the great deal of credit for the success of the Independence Movement. No one can deny the role of Patrick Pearse in The Easter Rising 1916. However, the drawbacks supersede the benefits. Measures employed by the Revivalists engendered intellectual division, seclusion and alienation, poverty, and exile.

In order to indicate the continuity between the age of Pre-Christian heroes and the modern Irish farmer, traditionalists often translate the ancient sagas into the speech of the nineteenth and twentieth century. This gave rise to a widely critical characteristic of the Irish Catholic community, the tendency of escapism. Irish Catholics tend to always explain present sufferings according to past proverbs and experience. By living within the dimension of the past, the future of Ireland became its past as the Irish encapsulated themselves within an ancient past of myths and legendary revolutionists. This resulted, in turn, in the Irish inability to cope with the present which worsened Ireland's situation by isolating it from the rest of Europe for about half a century, an alienation of the Irish, the spread of poverty all over the country, and a narrow-minded consciousness full of constraints.

To empower their cultural position, revivalists also introduced censorship laws which stipulated the banning of any Irish literary work far from being for the sake of nationalism. A set of characteristics which define devout intellectuals from rebels and outlaws were established and implemented. In "Holy Ireland: Constructions, Omissions, Evasions, Resistance", Patrick Ward summarizes these characteristics as follows;

The worlds of Irish Catholicism and secular Irish cultural nationalism manifest in depictions of Holy Ireland, Mother Ireland, and organizations like the Gaelic League, the GAA, the Catholic Press, Cuman na nGaedheal, Inghinidh na hEireann and in popular drama, prose and song, formed an overlapping, contingent, contiguous and mobile, intra-molecular discursive formation which came to define itself largely by what it was not and by what it imagined itself to be. It was a world of monocular, ersatz, essences, which excluded what it could not contain. Among those exclusions was the would-be truth teller, the intellectual, the social rebel and, for the most part, the artist of the avant-garde. (Ward 180)

In short, two expressions can summarize the revivalists' practices in post-famine Ireland, convention is rewarded, and innovation brings chaos. The coupling of religious (Roman Catholic Church) and ethnic (Gaelic) identities created an atmosphere which was highly artistically and creatively limited. The atmosphere of post-famine militates against that spirit of expression on which art blossoms, leaving no option for creative writers but exile, inner or physical.

In parallel, then, there was another group of intellectuals who objected the traditionalists' prescribed artistic measures for artistic creation. For, those measures and demands reinforced secular constraints which diminished the scope for individualism, independent thought and action, and realistic representation. One of the most prominent opponents of the Revivalists is the much-

talked about James Joyce. James Joyce objected fervently the cultural assumptions of the Revivalists especially the idealization of the peasant picture as a symbol of national virtue and cultural unity (Castle 173) He once commented that revivalists whose faith in Irish anthropology “blinded them to the contractedness and the interestedness of realistic representation” as well as “to the deleterious effects of Revivalist programs of cultural redemption that offer meagre and ineffective alternatives to colonialist and nationalist idealization” whose “reliance on a primitivist discourse was largely unexamined and uncretticized.” (Qtd. in Castle 180)

For James Joyce, Revivalists were so interested in correcting colonial stereotypes and giving memorable representations of the Irish character that they neglected to take care of the present. They moved away from depicting the real life of Ireland with its contemporary economic and social issues. Even after the end of the revolutionary period (1916-1922), they continued writing in the romantic tradition (McCaffrey 26). Consequently, Joyce’s interest was more about the problems of the city and rural population. He focused on:

The urban proletariat, the lower classes, the petite bourgeoisie, the unemployed, single men and women, children which underscored the double justice done by the misrepresentation of both nationalists and revivalists for not only did they idealize or mystify the peasant, but the figure of the peasant had come to stand for all Irish people regardless of the fact that many were increasingly residing in cities. (Castle 181)

The new generation of intellectuals was revolutionary in its appeal. Unlike traditionalists, they believed that reviving the Gaelic language and Irish myths was irrelevant as it encouraged escapism and exaggerated sentimentality among the Irish. Consequently, they were more interested in reflecting upon social and economic daily troubles through a detailed depiction of Irish slum life. What characterizes these writers is the fact that:

...for the most part, Catholics of the working or lower middle class accept cultural and political nationalism, but what is distinctive is that they represent the social and economic aspects of the Irish independence movement. To them, Irish freedom means much more separation from England and the restoration of an ancient language and culture; it is also a prelude to progress, prosperity, cultural advances, social reform, economic opportunities for the young, and an end of emigration as a panacea for Ireland’s ills. (McCaffrey 27)

Moreover, these writers are completely convinced that nationalism, Irish Catholicism, and conservatism are responsible for Ireland’s failure to advance. Consequently, their published works, generally from exile, tend to expose the limitations as well as the harmful effects of these three impediments to progress on Ireland and even on the intellectuals themselves. Actually, it is not nationalism or Catholicism per se that offends them, but rather its limited nature in Ireland and its corruption into chauvinism. By so doing, they treated their subject materials realistically and not romantically (27). Sympathy is directed towards talented youth denied opportunities leaving them

the alternative of marginality or exile. Disillusionment and frustration became the dominant themes. (27-28)

Because they were always criticising the status quo, these writers are labelled subversive and unpatriotic by traditionalists, nationalists, and churchmen. Even worse, in order to secure privileged access to power, nationalist leaders imposed harsh strategies which range from territorial banishment, political and religious oppressions, the introduction of censorship laws, and exclusivist definitions of communal and national belonging. For instance, the Irish government placed a ban on every *émigré* publication and its revised historiography in its own favour i.e. the nationalist literature. This denial of the right to criticise has done much to embitter and frustrate the writers' lives. It led them straightforward into opposition, exile, and sometimes out of church.

A young Irish writer John Montagne commented desperately on the state of the Irish writer within an Irish environment which was making him so discontented and driving him to become neurotic. He writes:

If any one thinks I am exaggerating the mild horror of it, let him observe the heavy, almost neurotic shadows that lie over the best Irish writing of the past fifteen years...all good works that we have no reason to be ashamed of, but always almost on the single theme of frustration, the sensitive striving to exist within an unsatisfactory society where the intellect and the flesh are almost regarded as ancient heresies. (Qtd. in McCaffrey 29)

In this dreary background of politics, religion, poverty, and narrow class-consciousness; this unfit artistic environment which censored almost all the new literary innovations, the intellectual, above all the artist, was being obliged to fight for his vocation to impose himself or, as the majority did, to escape from the trap of Ireland.

Exile has also taken part of a broad modern Western discourse. Perhaps more than any period in history, the 20th century has witnessed an enormous flow of displaced people. The migrant has become "perhaps the central or defining figure of the 20th century" (Gready 135) and Exile has become a common occurrence, a human condition, in Edward Said's critical phrase, where millions upon millions of people in the modern period were violently uprooted by imperial and colonial practice and warfare. Examples range from the Europeans who fled from the Nazis, to the Asians and Latin Americans who migrated to escape war, dictatorial regimes, and famine. However, obviously while commenting, Edward Said is thinking about the plight of his people, the Palestinians. In the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 (*Al Nakba*), over seven million Palestinian fled in fear of the fighting or were driven from their homes. Still for Edward Said, the difference between earlier exiles and those of our time lies in the fact that our age,

bears stressing scale: our age with its modern warfare, imperialism, and the quasi-theological ambitions of totalitarian rulers- is indeed the age of refugee, the displaced person, and mass migration. (Said 174)

For the modern creative writer, more than other, the state of exile is a prerequisite condition for intellectual originality. The spread of literacy and colonial expansion helped to put a distance between the metropolis where writers live and home where they acquired their identity. Besides, the pace of social change and its insistence on originality pushed intellectuals and creative writers to see exile as inevitable. What is becoming true of the modern age at large is that, intellectuals are committed to a homeless existence either physically or spiritually.

Exile has been transformed into an enriching motif of the modern period. The critic George Steiner, along many other critics, argued that the modern western culture is in large part the work of exiles, *émigrés*, and refugees. He went even further and proposed a thesis which stipulates that Western literature, as a whole, is “extraterritorial”, a literature by and about exiles. He writes:

it seems proper that those who created art in a civilization of quasi-barbarism which had made so many homeless should themselves be poets unhoused and wanderers across language. Eccentric, aloof, nostalgic, deliberately untimely. (Qtd. in Said 174)

No wonder, among the most famous Nobel Prize winners for literature, we find several exiles. Elias Canetti, the 1981 winner, is a Bulgarian who writes in German and lives in London. Czeslaw Milosz, the 1980 winner, is a Polish diplomat who teaches in California. The Polish –born American Issac Bachevis Singer, is the 1978 winner. Previous Nobel Prize recipients who have lived in exile part or most of their lives include, Vladimir Nabokov, Samuel Beckett, Pablo Neruda, and Miguel Angel Asturias. (Lagos-Pope 7)

Whether global or local, the concept of exile in Ireland is exceptional. For, Independent Ireland, De Valera’s Ireland, witnessed a new wave of Irish emigrants most of whom saw themselves as ‘involuntary unhappy exiles’.

2. b) De Valera’s Postcolonial Ireland: Ireland and modernization

After the establishments of the Irish Free State in 1922, creative writers expected better conditions. They thought of an Independent Ireland: free, open-minded, and tolerant in a modern world governed by technological inventions and rapid social change. On the artistic level, they hoped that artistic constraints inherited from colonial Ireland would be loosened up. On the contrary, they stood still, even stronger. After independence, religious and nationalist leaders faced another kind of threat, the innovations brought by modernization. The ethos of the modern world stands, too, just in total opposition to the ethos of “Holy Ireland”, and Kerby A. Miller’s definition of modernization reflects clearly this opposition;

In economic terms, modernization implies expansion of trade and communication, commercialization of agriculture, industrialization, and urbanization. In social contexts, the concept connotes the rationalization of human relationships according to the impersonal operations of the market place: resulting in increased functional specialization, social differentiation, occupational

and geographical mobility, and the growth of the supralocal, voluntary associational activities (economic, political, and religious, etc) and of bureaucratic form of organization. In cultural and psychological terms, modernization is deemed synonymous with the primacy of cosmopolitanism over localism, “rational” over “supernatural” belief systems, acquisitive individualism over communal constraints, and meritocratic principles over claims to ascribe status. (Miller 361)

Faced with the threat of modernization, nationalists, churchmen, and traditionalists could but intensify religious and nationalist beliefs inherited from colonial Ireland to preserve Ireland from the dissolution of a pure Gaelic Catholic Irish identity.

The period after 1922 in Irish history is associated with the name of Eamon de Valera, the first President of the Irish Free State. Under De Valera’s presidency, the romantic nationalism inherited from the 19th century was still very much alive. One of its most powerful manifestations is De Valera’s ideal of a ‘Rural Catholic Gaelic Ireland’ which was formulated in the 1930s and for a long time. De Valera’s intention about the future of Ireland was well felt and understood in the speech he gave during St. Patrick’s Day on March 17, 1943, which also coincided with the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Gaelic League, “The Ireland That We Dreamed Of”.

De Valera’s dream of a defectless Ireland is just another clichéd imagery of an Ireland which is founded on traditional family values and Catholic Morality as “the preferred alternatives to wealth and economic prosperity” (Lynch 99) His ideal vision reflected his backward-looking, traditionalist view of an isolationist, agricultural land controlled by the Roman Catholic Church where women held a subservient role. He said loud and clear;

The ideal Ireland that we would have, the Ireland that we dreamed of, would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as a basis for right living, of a people who, satisfied with frugal comfort, devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit – a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contest of athletic youths and the laughter of happy maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. The home, in short, of a people living the life that God desires that men should live. With the tidings that make such an Ireland possible, St. Patrick came to our ancestors fifteen hundred years ago promising happiness here no less than happiness hereafter. It was the pursuit of such an Ireland that later made our country worthy to be called the island of saints and scholars. It was the idea of such an Ireland - happy, vigorous, spiritual - that fired the imagination of our poets; that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty; and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved. One hundred years ago, the Young Irelanders, by holding up the vision of such an Ireland before the people, inspired and moved them spiritually as our people had hardly been moved since the Golden Age of Irish civilisation. Fifty years later, the founders of the Gaelic League similarly inspired and moved the people of their day. So, later, did the leaders of the Irish Volunteers. We of this time, if we have the will and active enthusiasm, have the opportunity to inspire and move our generation in like manner. We can do so by keeping this thought of a noble future for our country constantly before our eyes, ever seeking in action to bring that future into being, and ever remembering that it is for our nation as a whole that the future must be sought. (Wikipedia, “The Ireland That We Dreamed Of”)

In an open modern world, De Valera’s ideals had failed. They suspended Ireland’s development as a modern European nation for about half a century. Consequently, Ireland’s alienation increased and resulted in an extreme poverty and lack of imagination among Irish writers. For

Every one knew that any county that strayed from the path [modernization and globalization] would be punished by financial crisis, and would soon be obliged to accept the harsh austerity prescribed by teams of Western technocrats. (Shapiro 4)

Blaming De Valera for Ireland's lack of imagination became a common place criticism among critics. They identified it as a subsequent national malfunction. They argued that:

Ireland failed to live up to the ambition of its hopeful founders, listing as cases in point the fact that partition was entrenched, emigration soared, and the economy went into seemingly terminal decline. (Lynch 99)

Consequently, a second wave of intellectuals, along with citizens of all ages, erupted.

Though the incessant attempts of both politicians and churchmen to stop the haemorrhage of exiles, they were all doomed to failure. Consequently, in order to win people's support, representatives of the hegemonic culture explained Irish choice for emigration/exile in ways that empower their position and serve their interests. On the one hand, they considered those exiles as "holy missionaries fulfilling a divine destiny", though paradoxically; they regretted greatly the loss of power over them. On the other hand, they explained it as a wilful betrayal, stupidity, or basically because of British oppression in Ireland, which resulted in an intensification of feelings of hate towards both the exiles themselves and England. (Miller 483)

By now, the predicament of creative intellectuals in Ireland can be summarized. From all Irish emigrants, it was the intellectuals who mostly suffered. Their suffering was double edged. In any case, exile was the sole resort. On the one hand, intellectuals in colonized Ireland have always felt a cultural subservience towards metropolitan countries. Adding to this, the growth of literacy, social change, colonial expansion, and modern technological systems pushed those intellectuals to see in exile the ultimate resort. On the other hand, though Ireland has been so fertile a breeding ground for artists, she has not known how to cultivate them but rather pushed them to see in emigration/ exile the only panacea for their ills. Poverty, Irish nationalism, provincialism, not to say parochialism, Irish Catholicism, and censorship have all acted as a hindrance to artistic creation. Creative writers understood that growing up in Ireland means the gradual realization for the necessity of leaving their native land. In this case, we can say that Irish writers have traditionally been exiles from Ireland not so much because of colonial circumstances as because of Ireland itself. In this regard, George Bernard Shaw declared:

My business in life could not be transacted in Dublin...Every Irishmen who felt that his business in life was in the higher planes of the cultural professions felt that he must have a metropolitan domicile and an international culture: that is, he felt that his first business was to get out of Ireland" (Qtd. in Eder 82)

Dublin and the entire culture of Ireland were too provincial. So they were for Joyce a generation later, for Frank McCourt after that, and for the seven millions Irish citizens who emigrated from Ireland to settle in various countries from 1602 till and after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922.

Irish writers who chose exile or escaped to produce their literary work recognized:

the ignorance and bigotry of their own country while they were in exile. Some such as Beckett (Nobel Prize for Literature 1969) merged into their host society to embrace its literary, philosophical, and cultural preoccupation. Others, such as Edna O'Brien (1930), denounced the society from which she came. The New York-based Irish author Frank McCourt (1932) depicts the poverty and desolation of his miserable Irish Catholic childhood in his memoir *Angela's Ashes* (1996), and in *Tis: A Memoir*, its sequel (1999), he tells the story of his American journey from impoverished immigrant to brilliant teacher and raconteur. (Amoia, Knapp 18)

Section two: Ireland, exile, and autobiographies/memoirs

Irish authorities maintained a strong grip on the Irish imagination during the revolutionary period and long after 1922 leading Irish writers to ask many questions that denote loss and confusion, and alienation (physical and spiritual). The alternative home they found was in writing. In order to make themselves heard and in seeking to establish a counter hegemonic discourse, they relied on specific forms of writing which spoke directly about their experiences mostly autobiographies and memoirs giving birth, in turn, to a long lasting tradition in Ireland, the tradition of self-life stories or the tradition of Irish autobiography.

Broadly speaking, the work of postcolonial exilic novelists is "profoundly autobiographical" (Gready 138) As a primary premise, the autobiography may be defined as a "retrospective account in prose that a real person makes of his own existence stressing his individual life and especially the history of his personality" (Williamson 14). It is also a "writer's recounting of the better part of a life times worth of experiences that have most influenced the course of his or her life", and which may "possess some kind of thematic unity" (Long xiii).

As a literary form, the autobiography has witnessed changes and development in terms of content and aims. In the twentieth century, for example, autobiographies were meant to be a severe critique of totalitarianism. Victims and opponents of totalitarian regimes tend to "present striking critiques of these regimes through autobiographical accounts of their oppression." (Wikipedia, "Autobiography") Autobiographical writing may then be considered, in this case, as self defence, as the text of the oppressed.

Irish autobiographical writing fits well in the context. Alienated physically and spiritually because of the colonial institution and then by governmental confinement, Irish writers use their writing as a kind of rebellion to express what they witnessed in Ireland. Their writings are a vindication of the harms they endured while dwelling in Ireland. Irish autobiographies are also a means of self definition. Through personal experience, Irish writers seek “self examination, reconstruction of historical events and circumstances to identify the other force, the hostile or liberating energy which made the self come into consciousness” (Lynch 1)

Once commenting on the importance of Irish autobiography, Seamus Deane argues that reflecting on one’s own experience through writing is a healing process. This notion has recently been emphasised by Claire Lynch, a professor at Oxford University, when she asserted that:

Autobiographies offer an antidote to the divisions by allowing individuals to explore their own sense of identity and how it conflicts or conforms to accepted standards, national or otherwise. (2)

Theoretically speaking, exilic writing is highly related to the native land. As already argued, the state of exile is an unbearable and traumatic experience. For the creative artist, indeed, it is double-edged. “Alienation from a cultural or physical home has radical effects on a writer’s mind as well as his choice of theme”, claims Andrew Gurr (Gurr 15). In other words, adding to the physical displacement from his country, the exile’s predicament lies in the fact that his professional tools are highly or inextricably related to the culture and linguistic realities of his/her country of origin. Life and art, then, are inseparable.

As a reaction to their state of deracination, exile, and alienation, writers in exile have frequently responded to their situation by writing books that express their ‘quest for home’, metaphorically speaking. In literature, this has been given the shape of a search for identity through self-discovery and self-realization. Andrew Gurr distinguishes between two kinds of “quests”. He noticed that in metropolitan countries, the quest has usually taken the form of a search for a cultural heritage; whereas in colonial situations, the search has rather been for a social or national identity. He writes:

Deracination, exile and alienation in varying forms are the conditions of existence for the modern writer the world over. The basic response to such conditions is a search for identity, the quest for a home, through self-discovery or self-realization. In the metropolitan regions—Britain or America for instance—this has usually taken the form of a search for the past, a cultural heritage, explicitly in James Eliot and Auden, and implicitly in Lawrence’s demand for a return to the honesties of blood and feeling against the sterile rationalisations of materialistic man. Outside the metropolitan regions, in provincial or colonial situations, the search has rather been for a social or national identity, a country of the body as well as the mind. (14)

Thus, through their writing from exile, those writers dedicate themselves to reconstruct their own personal identity. They tend to create a past and stable image of their country. This is why writers in exile are likely to be fixated in the past and its relation with the personal and political future they

hope for. Still with Andrew Gurr, in *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern literature*, he states:

All art, whether produced in physical exile, by internal exiles or by determined traditionalist, is static, backward-looking, concerned primarily with a stable image and identity in the individual or in his society at large. [...] The expatriate seeks to identify or create a cultural history and therefore a cultural identity which is necessarily based on the past. [...] And the exile is still more deliberately concerned to identify or even creates a stasis, because home is a static concept rooted in the unalterable circumstances of childhood. Insecurity [of homelessness] prompts the writer to construct static worlds, to impose order on the dynamic, to see the dynamic as chaos. (23-24)

Irish autobiographies offer additional definitions in the field of autobiographical prose and its relation with exilic writing. Irish autobiographical writing is unique in its genre. It is rarely analyzed without taking into consideration the socio-historical context in which it was produced. After examining abundant Irish autobiographical texts written by Irish writers in the twentieth century, Claire Lynch argues in her extensive study, *Irish Autobiography: Stories of Self in the Narration of a Nation* (2009) that the Irish autobiography is difficult to define because it possesses multiple dimensions. This characteristic makes the study of Irish autobiographies relevant to a number of areas of both Irish studies and autobiographical writing including literary, historical, economic, archaeological, and social fields. She writes:

The study of Irish autobiography has potential significance for a number of areas which concern scholars of Irish studies including national identity, language debates, the influence of the church, and the role of the Diaspora.

[...]

Unlike other European autobiographical traditions which are closely connected to the novel, Irish autobiography has a compound genre identity. Plural by nature rather than singularly self-reflective; it often seems more like a collection of short stories than a novel, or uncomfortably similar to biography or even dramatized history. (Lynch 3)

What can be said about Irish autobiographical writing, and literature in general, and history are mutually connected to each other.

Not only Claire Lynch who agrees on the mutual relationship between literature and Irish history. It seems that there is a unanimous agreement on the fact that Irish writing is strongly related to historical factors and by implication the prevailing political conditions. Almost all Irish intellectuals have reflected on the astonishing degree to which Irish literature is conditioned by its context, and have outlined the connection between the fate, career, and biography of an individual and that of his community, nation, and race. In his *History of Irish Literature* (1967), the short-story writer and novelist Frank O'Connor went so far as to state categorically that he knows no other literature so closely linked to the immediate reality of politics like Irish literature; while Seamus Deane argued that

Irish history and Irish culture have contributed to the creation of a distinctive style of autobiography particularly in the representation of communities where the author is concerned not only with an individual narrative but also multiple selves and others. (Qtd. in Lynch 3)

As far as themes are concerned, Irish autobiographies are almost exclusively centred on Ireland, Irish identity, and the concept of Irishness. Irishness and Irish identity are difficult terms to be defined due the “multifarious history which has shaped them and the contrasting individuals and political forces who claimed ownership of them” (3-4) Irish identity is defined in terms of national identity. Three major discourses are involved in the shaping of Irish national identity and by implication Irish autobiography writing: colonialism, history, and religion.

The history of colonialism in Ireland had a great impact in the development of the autobiography genre. In *Irish Autobiography: Stories of Self in the Narrative of a Nation*, Claire Lynch goes further to offer the perspective thesis that British colonialism, more than others, did not only act as a catalyst which produced a thriving autobiographical tradition, but also successfully maturing it into a specifically Irish form of writing (10) Given the process of marginalization and oppression during the War of Independence and the Civil War, Irish men and women found in autobiographical writing a means of self defence and cultural preservation (10-11) By doing this, Irish writers argued that reflecting on one’s personal experience can become a representative of a particular marginalized group. In Claire Lynch’s words, the “autobiography can become the text of the oppressed” (9)

When analyzing Irish writing, we cannot oversee the huge contribution of Irish history to Irish life story writing. The history of Ireland is frequently presented as a powerful factor in the shaping of the narrative of Irish individual life. The critic Eamon Hughes has even recommended the reading of the history of Irish nationalism in order to grasp the writer’s individual life, philosophy, political and religious affiliation, and aims i.e. his identity. For, Irish history is often considered as a source of autobiographical inspiration, while nationalism is considered as “the dominant force in the production of the [autobiographical] genre”. In this respect, Eamon Hughes concludes:

To understand Irish autobiography, it is necessary to understand Irish nationalism as a phenomenon which both underwrites the specific problematic of self-definition in Ireland and provides the overarching framework within which Irish autobiographies define themselves. (Qtd. in Lynch 11)

Last but not least, Catholicism had also played an influential role in the shaping of Irish identity. No wonder, given the long religious discourse of the Catholic Church, it was inevitable for the Irish writers not to be influenced and shaped by Christian dogmas. Claire Lynch has stated that the historically important role of Catholicism in Ireland and its inevitable impact on identity and the meaning of the self “can also be implicated in the precise way in which autobiography has developed.” (Lynch 11-12) The most remarkable celebrations of Catholicism in Irish

autobiographical writing is the prototypical “Miserable Irish Catholic childhood” because Roman Catholicism was associated in Europe with relative poverty (11); and the confessional-like writing.

Irish autobiography has demonstrated the influence of the confessional act alongside Catholic doctrine so that the relative importance of the confessional within the text can be shown to reflect the significance of Catholicism on the cultural norms at the time of the writing. (11-12)

On a different ground, Paul Gready stresses a correlation of artistic creativity between exile, as an enabling factor, and life stories. In *Writing as Resistance: Life Stories of Imprisonment, exile, and Homecoming* (2003), he asserts that the relationship between incarceration, exile, homecoming; violence more generally; and theories of circularity circles around the autobiography. “The incarceration, exilic, and homecoming rites of passage” were “creatively enabling and compulsive” because “they provided a metaphor not only for power relations within an oppressive state but also for the creative art” (Gready 273) The writer, then, is not only concerned with recreating facts about his home, he is also engaged in creating a work of art.

Andrew John Gurr, a British contemporary literary scholar, has written on the relationship between exile and art, as well. In *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern Literature*, first published in 1981, he goes further to argue that in the twentieth century, exile is prerequisite for freedom of an artist. For, exile “creates the kind of isolation which is the nearest thing to freedom that a twentieth century artist is likely to attain” (Gurr 14) In exile, the intellectual is always going to be marginal. This situation is liberating. The intellectual is free from the constraints of conventionality and customs. He is more engaged in taking risky decisions, in innovating and experimenting rather than being under the mercy of an authoritatively given status quo. James Joyce wrote his major artistic landmarks, *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, while in Europe; Ngugi Wa Thiongo wrote the first two novels of his famous Kenyan trilogy while he was at Uganda University and the third in Leeds; and recently, the Irish Frank McCourt wrote his widely acclaimed memoir *Angela’s Ashes* while he was in the United States of America.

James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* epitomizes well the mutual relationship between fiction and autobiography. *A Portrait* has long been acknowledged as a classic of the *Bildungsroman* and the *Kunsteroman* genre. The concept of *Bildung* has witnessed many changes. In the beginning, *Bildung* was the process through which the formation of the young man was moulded on the spiritual image of the Christ. Then, the concept acquired a wider educational meaning. Formal education was regarded as a necessity through a set of experiences such as visiting museums and historical sites. However, it was until the publication of Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meinster* that the concept of *Bildungsroman* has acquired its common meaning. Goethe went beyond the plain notion of the *Bildung* to suggest that the interaction with life was likely to be a painful once experienced. In *Wilhelm Meinster*, the events which contributed in the formation of Wilhelm’s personality were concrete, fully lived, and painful (Benstock 61) They include disappointment and

personal sufferings, and relations with various women. Because of the latter, Goethe was considered as shocking and amoral at that time. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, then, insisted on the primacy of life over social conventions. This was a welcome breath to young writers particularly Joyce who tried in each time to identify himself strongly with rebels.

In short, the notion of the *Bildungsroman* is a very simple one. It is mainly a novel of education where:

The author treats the life of a man [or a woman] through the important years of his spiritual development, usually from boyhood through adolescence. He is shown as being informed and changed by interaction with his *milieu*, and with the world. Experience as opposed to formal education, is considered central to development. The young man must encounter life, and be formed in that encounter. The *Bildungsroman* is inevitably open-ended: it prepares the hero for maturity and life but does not go on to depict that life; in place of experiencing his destiny the hero is made ready to confront it. There is no guarantee for success, but there is generally good reason to hope for it. The hero of the *Bildungsroman* also has his characteristic traits. He is normally good-hearted, naïve, and innocent. Often he is completely separated from society by birth or fortune, and the story of his development is the story of his preparation to enter into that society. The *Bildungsroman* thus has as an important concomitant interest in the relationship of the individual to society, the values and norms of that society, and the ease or difficulty with which a good man can enter into it. (62)

It may seem that there is an opposition between the factual autobiography and the fictive *Bildungsroman*. On the contrary however, there are considerable correspondences and convergences between the two in terms of context, content, and form and Appolo Amoko's studies in this field reflect this relationship. He writes:

An autobiography refers to an account, typically in the first person, retrospectively documenting the life of a real person who serves as both narrator and protagonist. The term *Bildungsroman* refers to a so-called "novel of formation," that is, a fictional account tracing, usually in the third person, the spiritual, moral, psychological, or social growth of a fictional protagonist, typically from childhood to maturity. For all their normative insistence on literal truthfulness, autobiographies are carefully constructed esthetic objects. As Philippe Lejeune succinctly observes, "the paradox of the literary autobiography, its essential double game, is to pretend to be at the same time a truthful discourse and a work of art." Under the guise of merely reproducing the story of a real-life character, the genre relies on a complex (and not always self-conscious) interplay among remembering, forgetting, revising, inventing, selecting, and arranging events. At the same time, even though the *Bildungsroman* – like any other work of art – normatively eschews literal truth claims, it nevertheless makes, under the guise of fiction, large truth claims about specific historical, political, and cultural contexts. (Akomo)

In addition to education, *A Portrait* is a novel of artistic development, critics agreed. Thus, *A Portrait* is said to belong to the *Kunstlerroman* genre, as well. Unlike the *Bildungsroman*, the protagonist of the *Kunstlerroman* forcefully rejects the commonplace life that society has to offer.

Joyce's innovations in autobiographical writing were original. He fused the novel form with autobiographical content to set the seal for a long Irish *Bildungsroman* tradition that disrupts the use of many of the well-established elements of autobiographical theory. (Lynch16) Basically, the Irish

Bildungsroman “tend to parallel the adolescence of the individual with the adolescence, as it were, of the political nation as a whole” (17)

Yet, Joyce’s relation with his nation, as reflected in *A Portrait* and all his successive literary works was full of ambiguities. Joyce tends to show harsh criticism towards the Irish Catholic Church, nationalism, and social conventions portraying them as the true detriments to the progress of Ireland. He also claims that exile from Ireland is a necessity not an option. By the age of 22, Joyce urged himself to flee from Ireland never to come back. Ireland and the entire culture of Ireland acted as a hindrance to his artistic mission. Nevertheless, the entire culture of Ireland was always at the core of his writing. He fled Ireland to free himself, but, in fact, to be confined by its culture, history, and the future he dreamt of. Already in 1906, two years after his exile began, he missed his homeland and said that “he had never felt at ease in any other city but Dublin, except Paris” (Qtd. in Eder 90) What can be said about Joyce’s relation is that it reflects opposition, a love-hate attitude, i.e. it is dialectical.

Not only James Joyce’s writings that showed dialectical tensions, this characteristic can, in fact, be stretched to encompass exilic writing as whole. The approach of dialectics to exile writing has attracted the attention of many critics. In *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space* (2004), Sophia A. McClennen offers a theory of exile writing that accounts for the persistence of dual impulses and for the ways that they often co-exist within the same literary work. She proposes that exile writing bears dialectical tensions. She first started by vindicating the binary thinking which has so long been applied when dealing with exile literature analysis. She argues that the literature exiles produce in terms of binary thinking is far from being a suitable approach, for it is unable to fully grasp and reveal the complexity of the experience of exile. Further, binary thinking proved to be, to some degrees, limiting because it attempts to define and establish categories for exilic texts by privileging certain textual interpretations over other. The approach she offers then, introduces the dialectical thinking as the most appropriate theoretical framework for interpreting the condition of exile and its textual representation. She writes:

Dialectics considers the material as a constantly changing process; the metaphysical is only part of the critical process, since the dialectician seeks to understand the intersections between forces in tension. Exile is not an abstract idea; nor is it an essence that can be predetermined, nor is it merely of a series of material facts: a dialectical critique of exile culture understands texts produced in this condition as a complex combination of concrete elements that are in tension, in the process of change, and interconnected...The focus on binaries tends to limit the categories of meaning that one looks for in a text. Dialectical thinking would encourage, instead, that one looks for all angles or perspectives represented in a text. (McClennen 29-30)

One of the best dialectics is the Hegelian Dialectic. Hegel’s concept of dialectics is combined by three key elements most of which is the interpenetration (unity) of opposites. The interpenetration of opposites explains well the ways exile literary texts include conflicts and opposition. A few examples can be suggested here concerning mostly recurrent dialectical tensions in the literature of

exile. First of all, exile is a state that both liberates and confines the writer. In this case, exile improves and also restricts the writer's work. Exile writing recuperates the past and re-imagines it; exiles write about the past and about the future. It is noteworthy to mention that those dialectical tensions differ because writers themselves are different, but they are common features in exile writing. (30-31)

Many other scholars offer evidences or hint at a dialectical theory when it comes to an analysis of exile writing. Thanks to Sophia A. McClennen's systematic investigation in her outstanding *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space* (2004), a short summary of those critics is provided. The Spanish Claudio Gullein describes "counter-exile" literature as a process that moves beyond the polarities of absence and presence. (38). In addition, Michael Seidel in his comprehensive *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* describes the exile as both a wanderer and a homebody, and exile literature "wavers" between rupture and connection depicting "separation as desire, perspective as witness" (39). Similarly, Gloria da Cunha-Giabbai in a study of Hispanic exile writing suggests that exile literature tracks according to binaries and dualism by acknowledging that certain writers construct parallel realities based on the past and the present (40). Further, Amy Kaminsky's study of Latin America *After*, argues that exile writing depicts the nation as both physical/geographical and symbolic/political. Patrick Ward also suggests a multidisciplinary approach to the study of exile, emigration, and internal marginalization within an international, comparative context because the ideological, social, and cultural formation and representation of the idea of exile are contrapuntal, hybrid and dialogic (Ward 35). Last but not least, Edward Said describes exile writing as "contrapuntal" (Said 180). Lexically speaking, in music to be contrapuntal is to have two or more independent but harmonically related melodic parts sounding together; like the dialectic where opposing concepts are held in tension within a unified whole.

Hegel's concept of the interpenetration of opposites allows for a theory that is more flexible and fluid, where the analysis of any texts will be determined by a study of the particular dialectical tensions determined by its specific historical circumstances and the literary work's narrative components.

By the end of the 20th and the early 21st century globalization, Ireland witnessed the emergence of a new kind of writing closely associated with, sometimes used interchangeably in modern expressions with autobiography, is the memoir genre. The memoir genre is autobiographical writing concerned with positive questions of modern Irish Identity as consequence of:

Expansions of Diasporic identification [that] stretched the limits and meanings of Irishness in new directions...as concepts affected cultural attitudes, lifestyle choices, and arguably national identity, both emigration and the Celtic Tiger effect had and inevitable influence on the production of Irish literature, in particular, life-writing. (Lynch 140)

For Dr. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, the memoir is just another recent appellation of the autobiography tradition which generally ends with the artist's self-imposed exile. In "Contemporary Memoirs", she summarises the aims of autobiographies and memoirs and its relation to Ireland; she says:

Autobiographies have been renamed memoirs, perhaps, because they can be seen to serve a new purpose: to reveal certain circumstances throughout a life that testify to the unusual claims the writer has made upon the world...Men who write memoirs...usually wish to encompass the destiny of a particular nation, or race, or quality that has led to oppression: they are for example, Irish, or Jewish... (Heilbrun 1)

Section three: Ireland, Exile, and globalization: The Age of Memoirs

New meanings of exile and emigration have emerged in the context of late twentieth and the beginning of the 21st century. Within a new context of globalisation and its underlying aspects, the appearance of a multicentered world, the disappearance of the British empire, the collapse of the Church's authority, and the dissolution of traditional anti theses, the traditional notions of exile have become antiquated and irrelevant.

The workings of globalization alleviate the pain generated by the state of exile in the contemporaneous epoch. Distances are reduced and affection towards homeland decreased. (Kearney 217) A process of healing started giving birth to amazing reflexions on exiles' life stories generated by Irish writers on a global scale.

Ireland and Irishness acquired a fashionable edge. The Irish social and cultural critic Fintan O'Toole argues that the long history of Irish emigrants, succeeded in putting their own mark in the contemporaneous world. It enabled them to retain some original sense of identity and difference in comparison to those who are immersed in cultural sameness and forgetfulness. In an introduction to a collection of essays entitled *The Ex-Isle of Erin*, he writes:

[Ireland] has buried memories, forgotten histories, that it some useful precedents for engaging with, rather than being swamped by, the new realities. By remembering and re-imagining them, it can, perhaps, learn how to surf the global waves without drowning in a flood tide of blandness and amnesia. (O'Toole 22)

The new ways in which Irish identity will be articulated today and in the future, O'Toole predicts, is determined by a combination of the past and the creative re-imagining of contemporary writers in Ireland and the Irish Diaspora, i.e. the writer will have to accept his historical reality and accommodate himself to the prevalent situation. Once this adjustment is fulfilled, the wit, humour, and imagination of Irish lead to an increased productivity from young writers.

Richard Kearney presented a similar opinion in his book *Across the Frontiers: Ireland in the 1990s*. In his introduction, Kearney objected fervently previous conceptions about Irishness as

being static. For him, it is on the contrary, a dynamic cultural identity which developed in an experimental dialogue with other cultures. Irish cultural history reads like a “litany of intellectual migrations which have established extensive associations between Ireland and the wider world” (Kearney 21).

The 1990s witnessed an unprecedented amount of memoirs. This phenomenon is what critics, columnists, and viewers call the ‘Age of Memoirs’. In 1995, nearly two hundred memoirs were published. Two widely approved interpretations were put forward by commentators. ‘Memoirs’ boom was due to the huge widespread of “from-rags-to-riches-success stories”, and the pervasive culture of confessional television programs and the “tell-it-all” new nature of popular culture that appeared in the United States of America. In “The Age of the Literary Memoir is Now”, James Atlas reflects upon the openness that characterized the 1990s:

In an era when ‘Oprah’ reigns supreme and 12-step programs have been adopted as the new mantra, it's perhaps only natural for literary confession to join the parade. We live in a time when the very notion of privacy, of a zone beyond the reach of public probing, has become an alien concept. (Atlas 5)

Early memoirs used to be the property of prominent figures like politicians, military leaders, or businessmen. They tend to focus exclusively on the protagonist’s successful career rather than his/her private life. The 1990s’ memoirs, however, came to be written not only by famous figures but by unknown ones, as well. Hundreds of people from different generations were and are still seeking out personal narrative. The new approach of memoirs tends to revolve around a person’s life in a certain period of time. These memoirs usually cover the growth from childhood or adolescence to young adulthood. They detail a sordid environment in which some deprivation or vice, such as poverty, alcoholism, or sexual abuse, played a large part in shaping a person’s identity. Most popular during the 1990s is William Styron’s *Darkness Visible* (1992) which deals with the author’s account of his descent into mental illness; Susana Kaysen’s *Girl Interrupted* (1994) which deals with Kaysen’s life in a mental institution; and *The Liars’ Club*, a memoir of growing up in dysfunctional Texas family by May Karr in 1995. (5-6)

Similarly, Ireland witnessed a prodigious flow of memoirs. Globalization and its underlying ethos combined with the political development led the Irish to move beyond those previous narrow notions which engendered a monolithic notion of Irish identity. The Irish have begun to recognize the plurality of their cultural heritage through novel modes of writing particularly memoirs. In an article on Nuala O’Faolin’s memoir *Are you Somebody? The Accidental Memoir of a Dublin Woman*, Zoe Heller writes:

Literary critics of the future will no doubt look back on the 1990s as the decade of the memoir, a period that saw a prodigious flowering of somber narratives about grim pasts. (Heller)

Within a global Irish context, the memoir is essentially “a record of one’s participation in public events” in which “personal feelings and responses are recounted to explain, clarify, or perhaps justify actions in the external world” (Lynch141) Writers like Frank McCourt, Noala O’Faolain, Nell McCaffery, John McGahen, and Liam Clancy developed novel ways of selling their own life story and Ireland’s history to an increasing international audience. Stories,

incorporate many of the familiar features of the 20th century Irish narrative—booze, religious repression, sexual guilt—[they] avoid the affectations and subvert the sentimentalities that often afflict a certain sort of self-consciously ‘Oirish Literature’ (Heller)

Most popular Irish memoirs written by Irish emigrants and exiles include Nuala O’Faolain’s *Are you somebody?* Where she tells intelligently a hard story of growing up in Ireland of the 1950s struggling for meaning and love with sensitivity and introspection; Nell McCafferty’s *Nell* (2004), where she explores her upbringing with relation to her parents; John McGahern’s *The Leavetaking*, which tells the story of a young teacher in Dublin; the legendary Liam Clancy’s *The Mountain of the Women: Memoirs of an Irish Troubadour* (2002), which narrates an irresistible tale of a life lived fully and describes Clancy’s eventful journey from a small town in Ireland in the 1930s into the heart of the New York music scene in the 1950s and ’60s; and not to forget Frank McCourt’s *Angela’s Ashes* (1996), which tells the harrowing childhood of Frank McCourt and his eventual departure to the United States of America at the age of 19 where he became a prominent writer and storyteller. The success of these texts attests the popularity, the longevity, and the indispensability of exile/emigration in the construction of a dynamic Irish identity. (Lynch)

The 1990s memoirs propagate a new concept of Irishness and Irish history characterized by tolerance, pluralism, and elasticity of Irish culture. The new concept coincided with the 1990s new political discourse about emigration and exile in Ireland which aimed at healing a nation from past tragedies through a process of cultural unity. The new discourse translates the concept of ‘exile’ into ‘Irish Diaspora’. ‘Irish Diaspora’ is:

A trope which both reflects the new postcolonial approach to the study of Irish history and culture and, with its Jewish connotation, suggests cultural unity across political and physical boundaries. (Boss, Gilsean, Olinde 41)

Though the term ‘Irish Diaspora’ appeared earlier in a book by Timothy W. Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish* (1954), it was until the 1990s that the phrase came to be widely used to describe Irish emigrants and their descendants thanks to Irish President Mary Robinson. In her 1995 address to the Joint Houses of the Oireachtas, “Cherishing the Irish Diaspora”, Ms Robinson made clear intentions about the indispensability of Irish emigrants in her future political projects. She said:

The men and women of our Diaspora represent not simply a series of departures and losses. They remain, even while absent, a precious reflection of our own growth and change, a precious reminder of the many strands of identity which compose our story. (“Cherishing the Irish Diaspora On a Matter of Public Importance”)

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Chapter Two

Exile in James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man

Section one: exile in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

Introduction

The struggle against conventions in which I am at present involved was not entered into by me so much as a protest against these conventions as with the intention of living in conformity with my moral nature...I seriously believe that [Richards Grant] will retard the course of civilization in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves. (Qtd. In Eder 89)

James Joyce, the most celebrated and ambiguous of Irish exiles, was often considered as a purely voluntary exile, a heretic, a rebel, an outlaw, but rarely an Irish *per se* imbued with an Irish cultural heritage and nationalist convictions. These assumptions are mainly due to Joyce's incessant criticism and indignant attack of all that constitute the Irish identity -inflexible social conventions, Catholic beliefs, and nationalist practices- throughout his literary production: *Dubliners* (1914), *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), *Ulysses* (1922), and *Finnegans Wake* (1939). It is also due to the practices of the Irish authorities which resulted in the construction of an Ireland whose consciousness is past-bound and full of constraints; and whose artistic discourses are subsequently primitive.

The Irish authorities, churchmen and nationalist leaders, exercised a strong grip on the imagination of Irish writers. They considered any kind of deviation or artistic innovation as a heresy or treason. Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), a heavily autobiographical novel, accounts well for the smothering impact of Irish culture on the growing up of a writer at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century Ireland. The events of the story trace Stephen Dedalus' growing alienation from an inflexible social and cultural environment that threatens and stifles the imagination of the young artist thereby paving the way for his forceful exile. Social convention, Catholicism, and Irish nationalism are presented as being the basic impediments for Ireland's progress and the reasons behind the Irish writer's decision to go into involuntary exile.

However, criticism of and indignation against one's own country do not imply a wish of non-belonging or a wilful separation. On the contrary, they can represent a kind of a commitment for a cause. From exile James Joyce dedicated himself to write about his homeland, Ireland, in an attempt to liberate it and to "invent [new] souls" (Castle 180) His literary works revolve exclusively around Ireland, Irishness, and what it is meant to be an Irish. In this case, "[Joyce's] moral nature" in the very initial quote does not solely imply his stand as an artist, but, before everything, his stand as a

citizen, an Irish citizen with innate morals and values to help his country. Further, what Joyce meant by “he will retard civilization” when addressing Richard Grant who refused to publish his art is:

To withhold or alter his representations would retard civilization in Ireland for getting a good look at themselves as phantasms, people who exist only in the terms of a primitivist discourse with little or no relevance to their daily lives, who see reality as a distortion of what may be real or authentic about themselves. (Qtd. in Castle 182)

Joyce’s desire to realize the ‘spiritual and moral’ liberation of Ireland from exile puts him in the same place as the Revivalists. His decision to fulfil his mission from exile, on the other hand, epitomizes one of Ireland’s very early constructions of exile as a missionary and heroic endeavour. Both concepts emanate from a long discourse of exile as involuntary and unhappy deeply implanted in Irish Catholic identity.

The opening quote summarizes well the aim of the following chapter. In order to argue that James Joyce’s exile is involuntary, we shall first reflect on the conditions in which Joyce was dwelling while in Ireland. By so doing, we shall identify reasons behind Joyce/Dedalus’ forceful departure and the incidents that preceded his decision: a gradual alienation and a total break up with social, religious and nationalist standard beliefs. On the other hand, we shall investigate aspects of Joyce’s Irish traditionalist discourse: his literary tools are inextricably related to his home culture, the “intellectual peasant” image, and the “missionary-heroic” prototype of his exile. In the concluding part, we shall highlight the dialectics in Joyce’s writing, one of the most recurrent aspects of exilic writings. For, most of his claims and actions in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* are controversial. Where he claims that he had freed himself from the nets of Ireland, there are still many indications that show that he is not as free as he claims to be.

Section one: James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus' predicament in Ireland

The aim of this section is to argue that James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus' exile is culturally and socially coded. The Irish Church's and nationalists' prescribed codes of social behaviour smother Joyce/Stephen's artistic freedom. These practices led Joyce/Dedalus straightforward into exile. Further, the section aims at highlighting the development of the theme of exile in *A Portrait* which takes the shape of social alienation, develops into a kind of disapproval and stark indignation, and finally a total break up and exile. The section is then to be divided in to three parts: Joyce/Dedalus' repressive environment, Joyce/Dedalus and Catholicism: Religious constraints, Joyce/Dedalus' exile: Family, religion, and Irish nationalism.

In a letter he wrote to Nora, his wife, James Joyce describes his life as encompassing all the objects of disaffection and the dislike he felt against the environment surrounding him. This surrounding environment makes him feel like a displaced person:

My mind rejects the whole present social order and Christianity-home, the recognized virtues, classes of life, and religious doctrines. How could I like the idea of home? My home was simply a middle-class affair ruined by spendthrift habits which I have inherited. My mother was slowly killed, I think, by my father's ill-treatment, by years of trouble, and by my cynical frankness of conduct. When I looked on her face as she lays in her coffin a face grey and wasted with cancer – I understand that I was looking on the face of a victim. We were seventeen in family [several children died in childbirth or infancy]. My brothers and sisters are nothing to me. One brother alone is capable of understanding me.

Six years ago I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature [Joyce began visiting whores in night town at the age of fourteen]. I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me. By doing this I made myself a beggar but I retained my pride. Now I make an open war upon it by what I write and say and do. I cannot enter the social order except as a vagabond. (Qtd. in Eder 89)

Joyce/Stephen's surrounding environment was dreary and disheartening. Since the very first pages of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, in those random and incoherent fragments of Stephen's consciousness, the greater themes and motivating forces that came to shape Stephen's final destination were presented in a microcosmic world. The political world as represented by Dante's brushes: the maroon velvet which stands for Michael Davitt and the green velvet for Parnell. The constraints of the religious world were revealed when Stephen was not allowed to marry the Protestant girl Eileen. Crimes and undeserved punishment, and the famous threat of the Catholic Dante "apologize...,if not, the eagles will come and pull out [his] eyes" (Joyce 8) Art as reflected by stories of Stephen's father and Stephen's songs. Last but not least, exile as a forceful separation as Stephen longed to be at home and lay his head on his mother's lap instead of going to Clongowes. None of them are developed in details; but as the events progress, Stephen presents a stringent criticism about these three impediments. At last, he comes to know that it is only through rebellion that he comes to free himself.

1) Joyce's repressive environment:

Since the very beginning of Joyce's *A Portrait*, exile was hinted at as being a resort, either through forceful eviction, or metaphorically as flight.

Throughout the first chapter, Stephen Dedalus was trying to acclimatize himself to the existing social and political environment. He faced different problems and obstacles which made him suffer and feel a sense of dispossession and displacement. This situation threw him back on his own inner resources and engendered a sense of detachment and alienation, at school and even at home. In these very moments came the role of literature. Literature would enable Joyce/Dedalus to create a world from which he could not be dispossessed.

Stephen's life at Clongowes alternated between a hostile present and an attractive world filled with imagination. His first experience at Clongowes School was filled with unpleasant expressions like coldness, wetness, unfriendliness, unfamiliarity, and alienation. His memories of home, on the other hand, were warm and dry. In moments of great depression, Stephen imagined in vivid detail flying home for holidays.

At home, however, he was alienated, as well. Though the warmth and happiness that surrounded his family, as reflected by Joyce's description of the Christmas dinner, "A great fire, banked high and red, flamed in the grate and under the ivytwined branches of the chandelier the Christmas table was spread" (Joyce 30) Stephen still feels like an outsider. Now, Stephen is old enough to sit with adults at a Christmas dinner. However, he feels distance and alienation from them similar to what he felt at Clongowes. In the presence of Stephen, the grown ups criticized harshly the involvement of the Catholic Church in Irish politics. As a consequence, a dispute erupted between Stephen's father Simon, Stephen's Catholic governess Dante, and Mr. Casey a friend of the family, over the Church's indignation on the fervent nationalist Charles Stewart Parnell.

Within an Irish context, the Christmas dinner dispute captures well the divisions among political, social, and religious landscape of the late nineteenth century Ireland into the novel. Secularists like Mr. Dedalus and Mr. Casey feel that religion is keeping Ireland from progress and independence; while the orthodox, like Dante, feel that religion should take precedence in Irish culture. Secularists consider Parnell the saviour of Ireland, but Parnell's secret affair with Kitty O'Shea darkened his political career and earned him the Church's condemnation. Dante feels that, as Catholics, it is their duty to follow orders from their priests and bishops without questioning them, even when those orders might be opposed to the Irish patriots' cause. To Dante's claim, Mr. Casey reacted angrily by saying that Ireland should not have God at all. The dispute resumed by Dante's departure.

During the whole quarrel, Stephen was silent, passive, and intensely alienated from the political world. He quickly noticed that the world of adulthood was full of conflicts, doubt, anger, and separation. Moreover, he understood that politics was a charged subject that can cause huge fissure

even within a single small family. Faced with such a complex situation, Stephen felt confused about which authority to trust:

Stephen looked with affection at Mr. Casey's face which stared across the table over his joined hands.... But why was he against the priests? Because Dante must be right then. But he had heard his father say that she was a spoiled nun and that she had come out of the convent in the Alleghanies when her brother had got the money from the savages for the trinkets and the chainies. Perhaps that made her severe against Parnell. (39-40)

To Stephen, this moment became significant, perhaps epiphanous, as it enlightened many aspects that will shape his decision to break definitely with these institutions and embrace the role of an exile. First of all, those are the very implications of the political and religious forces which he eventually seeks to escape altogether. Second, although he was shocked after his father's utter questioning of the Catholic authority, he was not different either. His father's criticism, in fact, prefigured his own questioning of the Jesuit authority at the end of the chapter, and his rejection of the Church as a young adult. In a letter written shortly after his father's death, Joyce acknowledged that:

My father had an extraordinary affection for me. He was the silliest man I ever knew and yet cruelly shrewd. He thought and talked of me up to his last breath. I was very fond of him always, being a sinner myself, and even liked his faults. Hundreds of pages and scores of characters in my books came from him. (Qtd. in McCourt 60)

After the dispute, Joyce/Stephen was obliged to re-establish his sources of authority. Like the majority of the Irish, Stephen was unquestionable about authority. He was submissive. When he first heard the other students talking about what Simon Moonan and Tusker Boyle had done, he did not think to question what they did wrong. It would never occur to him to question the school authorities. Stephen was convinced that the students must have been guilty to be punished so severely by school authorities.

Things acquired another turn as soon as Stephen was unjustly punished by Father Dolan because of a crime he did not commit. When he was severely punished because of his broken glasses, he recognized that the authority made a mistake. He was certain that the punishment was indeed "unfair and cruel" (Joyce 58) Out of this incident, Stephen came to embrace the role of an innocent victim. The victim-like state was necessary for his mission and decision, as well. In order to write about Ireland and the atrocities of life there, he needed to clear out from Ireland, Dublin. In order to make it authentic, he needed to feel persecuted, rejected, driven out, and betrayed i.e. a victim. In "Reflections of Exile", Edward Said noted that Joyce chose a quarrel with Ireland and kept it alive so as to sustain opposition;

Whenever his relations with his native land were in danger of improving, [Joyce] was to find a new incident to solidify his intransigence and to reaffirm the rightness of his voluntary absence (Said 182)

Stephen has already come across the notion of crimes and undeserved punishments early in the first chapter. It was already mentioned at home when he wished to marry Eileen; at Clongowes, when two boys were caught in homosexual activity; and back at home, when adults were arguing over the nationalist leader Parnell who was caught in a secret affair. Generally, these crimes did not demonstrate any kind of malice or harm towards others. None of them robbed, killed, or wished harm directly upon others. Yet, they were all severely punished more severely than they deserve. Stephen, then, understood that the Irish in general are more than accustomed to unfair punishment by the Catholic Church.

Stephen did not accept the punishment imposed on him. His pain was moral rather than physical. For the first time, he decided to act on his own and he was rewarded. He succeeded in going to speak to the rector and denounce Father' Dolan. For the other students, Stephen became a hero. For Stephen, it was one of the most important moments in his soul's development. This questioning of authority paved the way to his latter rebellions. Rebellion means success. At the end of the chapter, Stephen was acclaimed hero, cheered by his classmates, and carried on their shoulders. After a short moment, the crowd dissipated and Stephen was alone. Unlike the first instances of isolation, Stephen's isolation and distance this time were different. He was "happy and free" (67) This kind of happy exile or wilful alienation will come to characterise Stephen's relationship with the politics and the religion of his country as he gets older.

In Joyce's conception, this atmosphere, Clongowes, the Jesuit authority, and politics with its highly charged dispute, represses the artist's imagination.

Older and more mature, Joyce/Dedalus opens up the second chapter with an air that suggests routinization and limitation. Joyce/Dedalus spent pages in describing trivial details about what Uncle Charles would do "every morning," or what he and Stephen would do "on week days.", or the long circular walks Stephen took every Sunday with his father and Uncle Charles. By so doing, Stephen suggests how much his freedom is limited by the adult world once again. Though he is no longer at Clongowes, he is still, at the disposal of adult authority. His literal and physical freedom is limited, and his means of escape throughout this chapter becomes fuelled by literature.

Literature makes of Stephen a different person. As he feels different from the world around him, Stephen would, then, seek to detach himself from the adult world. His detachment became necessary because of a set of changes. First, the family's fortune declined because of Mr. Dedalus' irresponsibility which obliged the family to move to Blackrock. Second, Stephen's imagination,

fuelled by literature, made him see his surroundings under a new light, and caused him to detach himself from ordinary life.

Now, Stephen is older; he feels very different, confident, and morally mature. And yet, he feels apart. For example, at a birthday party, Stephen felt no fun, and merely watched the other guests silently.

In addition, Stephen's suspicion grew greatly and caused a change in the way he viewed the adults. In the beginning, Stephen always asserts himself by what "father said", or "Dante" said. However, the way Stephen looks at Uncle Charles, his father's close friend, suggests arrogance and pity.

Though he had heard his father say that Mike Flynn had put some of the best runners of modern times through his hands Stephen often glanced with mistrust at his trainer's flabby stubble covered face, as it bent over the long stained fingers through which he rolled his cigarette, and with pity at the mild lusterless blue eyes which would look up suddenly from he task and gaze vaguely into the blue distance... (69)

Stephen started to blame his father and his Uncle Charles for being careless. This was apparent early in the second chapter as Stephen visited the chapel with Uncle Charles. While Charles prayed piously, Stephen, "though he did not share [Charles'] piety":

He often wondered what his granduncle prayed for so seriously. Perhaps he prayed for the souls of purgatory or for the grace of a happy death or perhaps he prayed that God might send him back a part of the big fortune he squandered in Cork. (69-70)

By suggesting that Uncle Charles might be praying to God to "send him back" the fortune he "squandered," Stephen was making a critique of Uncle Charles by expressing his dissatisfaction with the family's declining economic status.

Like Joyce's family, the Dedalus family's financial situation fell from a relative prosperity towards near poverty because of his Father's irresponsibility. As a result, Stephen could not go back to Clongowes School. Now he is detached from school and friends. He spends the whole day listening to his father's political discussions and stories about the past which do not appeal to Stephen's interest.

The background of Joyce's family was something from which Joyce left with increasing urgency. Already at the age of twelve, Joyce had started to look on his family with an air that seemed like indifference. Like Joyce, Stephen Daedalus, longed to free himself from the misrule and confusion of his father's house and his mother's care and patience. Stanislaus, Joyce's closest brother, called his last address "Bleak House" (Curran 70) The Joyce's living conditions even worsened after the death of their mother. After a while, Joyce could no longer bear the prevalent situation. A friend of his says: "After May Joyce's death in August 1903, there was no alternative for the Joyce children

but flight” (Eder 94) Caught between two difficult options, either to help support the family or to make a life for him elsewhere, his artistic mission dictated the second choice [exile].

In *A Portrait*, Stephen was greatly critical about the authority of his father. He grew increasingly alienated from his father, not only because of his father’s irresponsibility but also because of Mr. Dedalus’s inability to cope with the present. For example, in the hotel, Mr. Dedalus was unable to talk to the hotel waiter about common acquaintances. They got mixed up. Mr. Dedalus’s failure to accommodate and his constant drinking is an attempt to protect himself from the pain he cannot face directly. His denial of the reality around him alienates his son. In opposition to his father’s identity, Stephen felt the urge to assert his own identity:

-I am Stephen Dedalus. I am walking beside my father whose name is Simon Dedalus. We are in Cork, in Ireland. Cork is a city. Our room is in Victoria Hotel. Victoria and Stephen and Simon. Simon and Stephen and Victoria. Names. (Joyce 105)

Stephen felt very distant from his father. In those moments, he recalled a poem by Shelly about the moon wandering lonely in the sky in;

*Art thou pale for weariness
Of climbing heaven and gazing on the earth,
Wandering companionless...? (109)*

Stephen’s feelings towards his father might also be understood in terms of sympathy, compassion, and pity. For, he believed that his father, like his useless and harmless mother, is a victim of a system that had driven him into a degrading destitution. In a letter he wrote for his wife, Nora, in 1904, he said “When I looked on the face that I saw in the coffin, I understood that I was looking at the face of a victim and I cursed the system that made her a victim” (Gibson 68)

Stephen’s disappointment with authority does not lead to conflict; rather, to a pose of detachment. He finds for himself a new home of literature, imagination, and writing. In order to escape the broken world surrounding him, at night, Stephen dives in reading novels which greatly inspire him like the famous *The Count of Monte Cristo*. While reading *The Count of Monte Cristo*, he imagined himself as the “dark romantic hero, proud in his exile. He imagines himself as the Count of Monte Cristo, Edmond Dantes, who is active, adventurous, heroic, and even dangerous. This identifies well with the new role of Stephen, like the count, who is a pursuer of vengeance; Stephen is frustrated with the injustice he sees in the world.

Throughout this chapter, Stephen sets himself as far apart as possible from his surroundings. He begins to assume the role of the exile, modelling himself after Lord Byron, whom, unlike his classmates, he considered the best poet; and Edmond Dantes from *The Count of Monte Cristo*. His literary imagination suggests he is beginning to embrace the role of an exile.

2) Joyce/Stephen and Catholicism: Religious constraints

The Church has made inroads everywhere, so that we are in fact becoming a bourgeois nation, with the Church supplying our aristocracy . . . and I do not see much hope for us intellectually (Qtd. in Attridge 41)

Later in his life, a friend asked James Joyce why did he leave the church, Joyce replied: “That’s for the Church to say” (Qtd. in Fagnoli, Gillespie 5) One of the most essential reasons behind Joyce’s exile is the Catholic Church. In Ireland, Catholicism connotes betrayal, repression, and alienation. Joyce considered the Catholic Church and the mentality it emanated from to contaminate the social, political, educational and cultural fields of Ireland as a hindrance towards his development and that of his country. He went even further to suggest that Ireland suffered from a double colonization. On the one hand, they were victims of Britain, which controlled them politically. On the other hand, they were victims of the Roman Catholic Church which ruled them spiritually from Rome. Anyone who came across Joyce’s literary works would certainly have noticed his rejection of the Catholic Church.

Since the very first chapter, we have been introduced to one of Ireland’s historical pillars, Charles Stewart Parnell. Parnell is not fictional, and does not appear as a character in the novel. However, as an Irish historical political leader, he is an esteemed figure whose death influences many characters in *A Portrait*. When James Joyce was ten, his family fortune declined with the fall of Charles Stewart Parnell to whom they were tied. The relationship between Joyce’s family and Parnell goes as far back as when they used to live in Cork. Thanks to Richard Ellman’s research on James Joyce’s early life, we come to know that the Joyce family descended from the noble families of Galway, and they were related to nationalist leaders as Daniel O’Connell. Besides, they owned a huge property in Cork. After the death of his grandfather, James Joyce’s father, Simon, inherited all of Cork properties. These properties produced an income of about “315£ a year, plus an additional bequest of 1000£ from his grandfather, John O’Connell” (Ellman 116) Accustomed to luxury and fame, when James Joyce’s father settled down with his family, he tied up his fortune to “Parnell’s rising star” and started to live as a member of the comfortable Irish Catholic bourgeoisie.

Charles Stuart Parnell was one of the most important figures in the 19th century Ireland and Great Britain. A fervent Irish nationalist, Parnell emerged as a reaction to a set of oppressive colonial rules. He was influenced by the Fenian ideology and by the movement in favour of a Home Rule. In 1879, he allied with the American representatives of the Fenian movement and also accepted the presidency of the Agrarian League which was founded in the same year by Michal Davitt. As he started to gain social popularity, Parnell was imprisoned for eight months under the charge for

incitation to social revolt. Surprisingly however, this eight months' imprisonment took his popularity to the zenith, so much so that he was acclaimed "Ireland Uncrowned King". (Gibson 27)

After solving many agrarian problems, Parnell turned his attention to the question of internal autonomy, Home Rule. Unfortunately, the Home Rule Bills were rejected one after the other. Besides, attempts to defeat Parnell were of all kinds. The tragedy occurred in 1889; Parnell lost whatever power and popularity he had when he was accused of adultery with Mrs. Katherine O'Shea, a married woman. The charge was true, and the Irish Catholic Church mobilized public sentiments against him. All the political parties deserted him, and he was forced to give up the leadership of his party. His incessant attempts to regain his former position of influence contributed to his death from exhaustion. He died one year later persecuted and abandoned by all.

To Joyce/Dedalus, the Parnell's story was a lesson to be learnt. It offered Joyce/Dedalus many insights which were to be emphasized during his process of Catholic education. First and foremost, it was clear for Joyce that the Catholic Church exerted a strong grip over Irish society because of the tensions between religion and politics. Second, Joyce came to notice that the post-Parnell era was pervaded by a kind of remorse as the dream of Home Rule faded away. Last but not least, Parnell's fall, the responsibility of the church and the bitter feelings it left behind pervade much of Joyce's works, for "whenever he looked, in Irish political literary history, he found that the master theme was betrayal" (Attridge 32)

Born into a fervent Catholic family, a Catholic education was among the family's first priorities. Joyce entered at the age of six and a half and left the latter in 1898 at the age of sixteen. Joyce had a successful educational career. He won several prizes for scholarship in national exams and was elected president of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was both a popular student and a class leader respected by his fellow students and teachers. In the autumn of 1898, Joyce entered the Catholic University where he specialized in modern languages and had his B.A. degree in 1902. The Joyce family plan for a pure Catholic education for James Joyce, unfortunately, fired back on them. For, before he left Belvedere he had totally rejected his religion, dismissing its values as frustrating.

At an early age, Joyce showed a stark opposition to the Church's religious practices to reach divine power. In *Stephen Hero*, he echoed loud and clear that "man cannot reach the divine heart except across that sense of separation and loss that is called sin" (32) And he did not take much time to act. At the end of the second chapter, Stephen started to visit brothels where he had his first sex experience with a whore. The excitement of his transgression was immense.

Stephen considered his friends' religious devotion as hypocritical and shallow. On his part, he feels no shame about his double life-his devotion to the Virgin Mary and an obsession with visiting whores.

However, the Church's hegemonic discourse in Ireland is so powerful that even a "rebellious" person like Joyce/Dedalus could not immune himself from its hypnotic influence. Soon after his

utter transgression, Stephen underwent a radical transformation. Religion regained its position as “the spirit of the law” in his life. He repented, changed his heart, and dedicated his heart to the service of God.

Chapter three focuses exclusively on five crucial days, the days of the retreat. The retreat is a Christian program for high school and college students which provides the participants the chance to contemplate God’s role in their lives. Reading chapter three gives the impression that we are reading the Bible. It consists of Stephen’s hearing sermons, worshiping, and looking for chapels to confess.

Stephen’s repentance, however, is mainly motivated by fear of hell more than anything else. The sermons focus solely on the threat of the tortures of hell. Father Arnall spends a large portion of his sermon describing hell’s geographical and physical characteristics. The priest never offers a reason to believe in God but emphasizes the consequences of a sinful life. In short, Father Arnall’s sermons are:

excessive in their scope, and in their morbid and explicit attention to detail. The narrative is excessive in its unrelenting and comprehensive presentation of these sermons. It shifts from direct quotation of the priest to the style of paraphrase that seems to present Stephen’s reactions to the sermon at the same time, but our overall impression of this section of the chapter is like sitting through these entire sermons. There is very little narrative presence interrupting the relentless flow of the priest’s words. Stephen’s response is also somewhat excessive, feeling that “every word was for him,” and fearing an immediate death at the hand of God on his way back to his room. (Gale Cengage 27-28)

Father Arnall’s sermons on hell and damnation infiltrated “the fear of God” into Stephen. At the end of the chapter, he repented, confessed, and began a new life in the service of God. He became priest-like. He speaks very little but listens and reacts internally. In order to illustrate well this situation, the narrator presents the sermons directly. For example:

And this day will come, shall come, must come; the day of death and the Day of Judgment. It is appointed unto man to die and after death the judgment. Death is certain. The time and manner are uncertain... (Joyce 129)

Already after the first sermon, Stephen was imagining his own death and damnation:

His flesh shrank together as it felt the approach of the ravenous tongues of flames, dried up as it felt about it the swirl of stifling air. He had died. Yes. He was judged. A wave of fire swept through his body: the first. Again a wave. His brain began to glow. Another. His brain was simmering and bubbling within the cracking tenement of the skull. Flames burst forth from his skull like a corolla, shrieking like voices:
—Hell! Hell! Hell! Hell! Hell! (142)

“*Ad vitam eternam. Amen.* Another life! A life of grace and virtue and happiness! It was true. It was not a dream from which he would wake. The past was past.” (166) are the very words of Stephen’s repentance. At this moment Stephen realized the fallacy of his previous life and the truth of a religious life. Henceforth, he starts to dedicate his whole life to the service of God.

Stephen devises a new system of religious discipline upon himself. Each day consists of prayers, rituals, and religious devotion. He attends mass each morning and offers prayers. Each of his three daily chaplets is dedicated to the “three theological virtues”, Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost. Each day of the week is devoted towards gaining one of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. He divides week days into parts that correspond to particular spiritual functions:

SUNDAY was dedicated to the mystery of the Holy Ghost, Tuesday to the Guardian Angels, Wednesday to Saint Joseph, Thursday to the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, Friday to the suffering Jesus, Saturday to the blessed Virgin Mary. (167)

Stephen’s religious devotion seems almost monkish and masochistic. For, he tries to mortify each of his physical senses. He keeps his eyes to the ground, and does not try to avoid loud or unpleasant noises. He intentionally subjects himself to unbearable smells. He makes sure he does not enjoy his food. He places himself in intentional uncomfortable physical situation, both while sleeping and awake.

Furthermore, Stephen’s religious repentance made him very submissive. Stephen became less critical and more accepting of the authority of the Church. He did not question the authorities of the Church but feared and respected them. The reappearance of Father Arnall was in itself, a reminder of the old times when Stephen was younger:

The figure of his old master, so strangely rearsen, brought back to Stephen’s mind his life at Clongowes: the wide playgrounds, swarming with boys, the square ditch, the little cemetery off the main avenue of limes where he had dreamed of being buried, the firelight on the wall of the infirmary where he lay sick, the sorrowful face of Brother Michael. His soul, as these memories came back to him, became again a child’s soul. (123)

Even Stephen/Joyce’s language suggests the rhythm of the ‘little’ Joyce/Stephen of chapter one. It is a child like language:

He had confessed and God had pardoned him. His soul was made fair and holy once more, holy and happy. It would be beautiful to die if God so willed. It was beautiful to live if God so willed, to live in grace a life of peace and virtue and forbearance with others. (166)

In addition, Father Arnall kept calling Stephen “My child”, which emphasizes more the childlike submission to authority.

The absurdities of his religious dedication cut Dedalus off from the world around him. It alienates him from those around him. It further freezes his artistic imagination. Imagination is an artistic tool that allows writers to express themselves creatively. In 1906, Joyce moved to Rome to occupy a position of a bank clerk (Eder 89) He spent nine months there. Joyce disliked Rome for many reasons. First of all, the conditions under which he lived there were unbearable. He worked as a bank translating commercial nine hours a day, and gave lessons when he returned home at night. Second, he had neither time nor motivation for writing. Finally, Rome, the centre of Catholicism was probably the basic reason why Joyce disliked the Eternal City. He found it as corrupt as Dublin. He declared:

I have come to the conclusion that it is about time I made up my mind whether I am to become a writer or a patient cousin. I foresee that I shall have to do other works as well but to continue as I am at present would certainly mean my mental extinction. It is months since I have written a line and even reading tires me...I have gradually slid down until I have ceased to take any interest in any subject. I looked at God and his theatre through the eyes of my fellow –clerks so that nothing surprises, moves, excites, or disgust me. (Qtd. in Eder 96)

Viewed from another angle, Joyce/Dedalus in chapter three is, indeed, providing the reader with his most explicit critique of the Catholic Church. He is emphasizing the limitation, the depressive and alienating aspects of a religious life. The Church mechanisms are portrayed as coercive and reductive. No wonder, Stephen is going to set himself free in the following chapter.

Stephen’s refusal of a religious life is well felt when Stephen rejects the priest’s offer to take part in a community of priesthood and the language he uses, as well. In fact, what particularly annoyed Joyce in the Church’s practices were the ways in which the church recruited intellectuals like him to serve in priesthood. Stephen refused the suggestion exclaiming “Non Serviam” to all the representatives of Orthodoxy and convention. By so doing, Joyce/Dedalus rejects the Church and the religious life altogether.

Stephen Dedalus describes the priest himself in the language of death and damnation. He looks into the priest’s face and sees only “a mirthless reflection of the sunken day.” It is almost as if the priesthood embodies, at least for Stephen, death rather than life. Further, “The priest’s face was in total shadow but the waning daylight from behind him touched the deeply grooved temples and the curves of the skull.” (Joyce 175) The priest’s face is not visible in the dim light, only his skull. A skull is often associated with death. Beside, his voice was described more than once as “grave and cordial”, and “grave” resonates strongly.

Now, Stephen pictures himself as a priest, but this time in a more negative light. Stephen realizes that life as a priest would cost him the individuality he has cultivated for so long:

The chill and order of the life repelled him. He saw himself rising in the cold of the morning and filing down with the others to early mass and trying vainly to struggle with his prayers against the fainting sickness of his stomach. He saw himself sitting at dinner with the community of a college. What, then, had become of that deep rooted shyness of his which had made him loth to eat or drink under a strange roof? What had come of the pride of his spirit which had always made him conceive of himself as a being apart in every order? (183)

The idea of being part of a community of priests does not appeal to Stephen's sense of individuality, as he remembered that his philosophy rests on the sense that he is special, "being apart in every order":

He would never swing the thurible before the tabernacle as a priest. His destiny was to be elusive of social or religious orders.... He was destined to learn his own wisdom apart from others or to learn the wisdom of others himself wandering among the snares of the world. (184)

The dean has spoken to Stephen Dedalus in terms of the eternal salvation of his soul, but for Stephen, the opposite is the case. For him, becoming a priest "threatened to end for ever, in time and eternity, his freedom" (175). Stephen rejects the priesthood, and accepts the idea that to fulfil his destiny, he had to sin, "The snares of the world were its ways of sin. He would fall. He had not yet fallen but he would fall silently, in an instant. Not to fall was too hard, too hard...." (184) Stephen accepts the idea that to sin is human, and that the constraints of his religious faith will never stop threatening his freedom.

While walking on the sea shore, Stephen saw a girl bathing. He interpreted every aspect of their encounter in symbolic terms. The girl seemed to Stephen like a bird, which suggests Stephen's new desire for flight from Ireland, to set himself free from the nets of religion, nation, and family. For Joyce/Dedalus, freedom and art imply departure:

A girl stood before him in midstream, alone and still, gazing out to sea. She seemed like one whom magic had changed into the likeness of a strange and beautiful seabird. Her long slender bare legs were delicate as a crane's and pure save where an emerald trail of seaweed had fashioned itself as a sign upon the flesh. Her thighs, fuller and soft-hued as ivory, were bared almost to the hips, where the white fringes of her drawers were like feathering of soft white down. Her slate-blue skirts were kilted boldly about her waist and dovetailed behind her. Her bosom was as a bird's, soft and slight, slight and soft as the breast of some dark-plumaged dove. But her long fair hair was girlish: and girlish, and touched with the wonder of mortal beauty, her face...
-Heavenly God! cried Stephen's soul, in an outburst of profane joy. (195)

This moment is epiphanous as James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus realizes that his native Ireland is a labyrinth of influences that he must escape. Ireland is the very opposite of Joyce/Dedalus' ideals.

3) Joyce/Stephen's exile: family, religion, and Irish nationalism

I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home my fatherland, or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use-silence, exile, and cunning (Joyce 247)

Chapter five of Joyce's autobiographical novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, represents the culmination of the main themes of the novel most of which is the Joyce/Stephen's final rejection of the institutions that have endeavoured to set his moral direction-Irish Nationalism, the Catholic Church, and family. In this fashion, Stephen reflects his reasons to break with each. Joyce/Stephen portrays Irish Nationalism, the Catholic Church, and Family, as inhibitive forces that repress the artist's freedom, his creative imagination, and finally force him to leave Ireland. At the end of the chapter, we hear his preparation to definitively leave Ireland for Europe.

Joyce/Dedalus, convinced and determined, engages himself in long series of conversations in which he defends his attitude towards his country and towards politics, and his attitude towards his family and religion. Stephen here is portrayed as a "non-stop" talker. Four crucial conversations structure Stephen's view, as well as some serious objections to it, with the Dean of studies, Davin, Lynch, and most importantly Cranly.

Stephen's conversation with the Dean of studies reveals a marked change in his attitude towards authority. For Stephen, the Dean, who is a priest as well, represents a figure of both religious and academic authority. For this reason, the dissatisfaction he had felt with the Jesuits in general, is headed towards the Dean. As the Dean was teaching Stephen the art of starting a fire, Stephen reflects on the Deane's position as submissive:

Kneeling thus on the flagstone to kindle the fire and busied with the disposition of the wisps of paper and candle butts he seemed more than ever a humble server making ready the place of sacrifice in an empty temple, a Levite of the Lord. . . His very body had waxed old in lowly service of the Lord...and yet had remained ungraced by aught of saintly or of prelatric beauty. (210)

His position was emphasized by his reaction to the "droll statue" of the national poet of Ireland on his way to class, where he detects "sloth of the body and of the soul," and a "servile head...humbly conscious of its indignity." (204) Stephen is now eager both to judge, and to set himself apart from, religious and artistic figures of authority. After the "funnel-tundish" debate, Stephen concluded on the Dean with an air of disgust: "Damn the dean of studies and his funnel! What did he come here for to teach us his own language or to learn it from us? Damn him one way or the other." (286-287)

On the same day, Stephen discussed the very question of Irish nationalism as he encountered his friend Davin. Davin is the typical Irish nationalist among Stephen's friends. He came from the West of Ireland. He seeks both political and cultural independence, and believes that it is people's responsibility to free their country.

In the brief conversation they have, we get a clearer exposition of Stephen's point of view on these issues. Stephen explained to Davin that he could not give himself fully to the Irish nationalist movement simply because of the history, hypocrisy, and betrayal that surrounds Irish patriotic endeavours. Joyce/Dedalus will not side with the nationalists because he sees no hope in that path because of the way the Irish people have treated their own leaders. He tells his friend Davin that, "No honourable and sincere man . . . has given up to you his life and his youth and his affections from the days of Tone to those of Parnell but you sold him to the enemy or failed him in need or reviled him and left him for another" (Joyce 220). Nor does Stephen have any intention of following the Roman Catholic Church, which would merely be to follow a system under the leadership of an external authority (from Rome). For Stephen, these forces make impossible to any rational human being to give his loyalty to this cause

Stephen equates Davin's nationalistic ideals with subservience. He kept calling him "a tame little goose" for signing the petition. Davin, on the other hand, criticises Stephen as "a sneerer", indicating his dissatisfaction with Stephen's alienation. In Davin's view, to be Irish is not merely hereditary; it rather necessarily involves a responsibility to the cause of the Irish people and a pure love for the Irish culture and language.

In the course of their discussion, Davin surprises Stephen with an expected question, "Are you Irish at all?" Stephen, speechless, offers to show him his family tree to prove it. Davin's response is, "Then be one of us" (230). To be Irish, for Davin, means to demonstrate one's belonging through action. Excited, Davin asks Stephen once again why he dropped out of the Irish language and culture class. Stephen indicates plainly that one reason is because Emma, his beloved, was flirting with the priest who teaches the class. However, Stephen's objections run much deeper. He is interested neither in Irish culture nor in Irish nationalism. In one of his letters to his brother, James Joyce wrote:

If the Irish programme did not insist on the Irish language I suppose I could call myself a nationalist. As it is, I am content to recognise myself an exile: and, prophetically, a repudiated one. (Lund 62)

In *A Portrait*, Stephen expresses his view as follows:

—This race and this country and this life produced me, he said. I shall express myself as I am.
—Try to be one of us, repeated Davin. In your heart you are an Irishman but your pride is too powerful.

—My ancestors threw off their language and took another, Stephen said. They allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them. Do you fancy I am going to pay in my life and person debts they made? What for? (Joyce 230-231)

Stephen loathes the Irish for being “subjects” to another power and culture. The Irish have allowed themselves to be shaped by alien forces and cultures. They are, in this view, victims of two empires, the British and the Roman Catholic. That this is foreign to Ireland’s true nature is made very clear when Stephen, when he was a student at University College, enters a house owned by the Jesuits. He senses the history of the place and asks himself, “Was the Jesuit house extraterritorial and was he walking among aliens? The Ireland of Tone and of Parnell seemed to have receded in space” (199). And when Stephen found out that the Dean of Studies was an Englishman, he realized the Jesuit house was indeed “extraterritorial” and not really part of Ireland at all.

Stephen was convinced that it was his ancestors who made the mistake, and it was not his duty to pay for it. And from his part, he accepted his current situation as being politically and linguistically bound. Far from feeling any responsibility or regret, he made his mind to escape these constraints.

When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets. (231)

The conversation shifts to Lynch. Actually, it was more likely to be considered as a lecture on art than a dialogue. With Lynch, Stephen found a much more receptive audience than with Davin. Yet, Lynch does not seem to be interested in the question of aesthetic value which Stephen is so fascinated with. He tried to resist Stephen’s lecture by claiming he has a hangover.

Stephen gives a detailed description about his theory. Through it, he is seeking both to define beauty and the concept of the beautiful, and to define the proper place of the artist in relation to his or her creation. Stephen has based his definition of beauty mostly on the work of Aristotle and Aquinas. Few days before the walk with Lynch, Stephen declared to the Dean that he would work with those ideas until his own are better formulated. He says:

I need them only for my own use and guidance until I have done something for my self by their light. If the lamp smokes or smells I shall try to trim it. If it does not give light enough I shall sell it and buy another. (212-213)

For Stephen, beauty exerts “static” emotions; it does not evoke “kinetic” emotions of desire. Stephen’s view emphasizes the structure, wholeness, and harmony of a piece of art. Further, he asserts that we can in fact define the “necessary qualities of beauty” despite the fact that different people in different cultures perceive different qualities as beautiful:

Though the same object may not seem beautiful to all people, all people who admire a beautiful object find in it certain relations which satisfy and coincide with the stages themselves of all aesthetic apprehension. (238)

Furthermore, Stephen identifies three essential forms of art: the lyrical, epical, and dramatic. Most valuable to Stephen is the dramatic where the author is most removed from the work of art, when the “personality of the artist...finally refines itself out of existence.” Stephen’s ideal image of the artist is; “Like the God of the creation, [who] remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails.” (245)

The last conversation with Cranly is Stephen’s most challenging conversation. Cranly is valued as Stephen’s closest friend. Cranly in *A Portrait* is the model of Joyce’s closest friend at university, John Francis Byrne. Despite some disagreements, Byrne remained someone with whom Joyce could speak frankly. Further, they kept in contact with each other until Byrne/Cranly immigrated to the United States in 1910 (Fargnoli, Gillespie 7-8) Cranly’s opinion is very important. He is daring; he is not afraid to be frankly critical about Stephen’s ideas and actions. He shows strong opposition to his plans to leave his country and family.

Cranly’s objections to Stephen’s plans are humanistic. Cranly is probing to find out just how human Stephen is. As Stephen and Cranly were walking on alone, Stephen tells Cranly about an unpleasant conversation he has had at home. Stephen’s mother wanted him to attend Easter services in church, but Stephen refused to because he no longer feels the religious faith he used to have. For Cranly, it is not a matter of rejecting religion, family, or nation per se; it is rather a critical situation where really close people who will be hurt by his actions. He tells Stephen that a mother’s love is more important than religious doubts, and advises him to go without hesitation. Stephen, from his part, does not see his quarrel with his mother as a question of feelings.

Cranly perceived that all his efforts are deemed to be useless. Cranly added more drama to the conversation when he asked Stephen if he liked his mother. However, at this stage, Stephen is already convinced by the fact that detachment and exile are necessary for his freedom and individuality.

After that, Stephen announced to Cranly that he has already made his mind to leave Ireland. Cranly quickly pointed out that it is not the Church that is driving Stephen away, but rather, it is his very own will. Cranly replied eagerly, “you need not look upon yourself as driven away if you do not wish to go or as a heretic or an outlaw” (Joyce 289) It is clear that Cranly was hinting at Stephen’s role of exile as being an outlaw. This is largely true because Stephen’s very conception of being an artist necessitates his rebellion against family, nation, and religion. Again, he asserts:

I will not serve that in which I no longer believe whether it call itself my home, my fatherland or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use—silence, exile, and cunning. (281)

At the end, Stephen chooses silence, exile, and cunning to oppose Ireland's language, nationality, and religion. He has to exile himself from Ireland not only because of his personal disgust and to avoid the 'nets', but also because of the Irish people's hostility towards their artists. This hostility is demonstrated to Stephen when he visits the National Theatre on its opening night.

A burly policeman sweated behind him and seemed at every moment about to act. The catcalls and hisses and mocking cries ran in rude gusts round the hall from his scattered fellow students. - A libel on Ireland! - Blasphemy! We want no budding Buddhists (226)

From his first journal entry, it seems clearly that Stephen has not taken Cranly's remarks to heart. Stephen's account of the situation is superficial, "Long talk with Cranly on the subject of my revolt. He had his grand manner on. I supple and suave. Attacked me on the score of love for one's mother." (282) He has made his mind and there are no chances for change at this level.

From his Journal, we come to notice that Stephen is not afraid to be alone. He has, by now, embraced the role of exile fully. He woke up and started spontaneously to compose a villanelle.

The villanelle has a strict form. The composer is forced to follow a very confined, ordered narrative space. Interpretations of Joyce's reliance on the villanelle as Stephen's method of communication are ambiguous. Joyce/Stephen's definition of art includes a sense of fluidity. However, in "Religionless and Asexual: Searching for the Smithy of Stephen's Soul" (1996), Chris Verschuyt argues that Stephen's poem is implicitly a condensation for the reader of the key elements of Stephen's whole story:

First, consider the fact that there are nineteen lines in the poem, and nineteen sections (as separated by three asterisks) in the novel. If not for the further evidence presented in the villanelle's structure and content, this could be dismissed as coincidence. But the first and third lines are repeated in the stanzas following: line 1 in the second and fourth, and line 3 in the third and fifth. Likewise, throughout his story, Stephen grapples with the church and with his sexuality, alternating between the two. Major instances of this vacillation appear in each chapter: as a young boy at Clongowes, he considers the implications of God's name (262); the young adolescent Stephen struggles to allow himself to be kissed by a prostitute (353), leading to guilt as he tries to reconcile himself with the church (395-7); and the vision of a woman on the beach keeps him from promising himself to the priesthood (434).

The final two lines of the villanelle present lines 1 and 3 repeated as a couplet... they represent the change of focus that takes place in Stephen as he writes this poem, redirecting his energy from the church and sexuality onto himself and his art. (Verschuyt 1-2)

Towards the end of the novel, the narrative switches to a journal form. Stephen is no longer being heard by an external narrator, but speaking in his own voice. This final section contrasts with the very first section which opened with a different external voice-Mr Joyce telling his son a story.

Throughout the novel, we have been accustomed to see Stephen longing to find his own voice. He was first drawing on other's voices such as Aquinas and Aristotle, quoting Elizabethan poems, and later realizing that he must devise a language because he cannot bear the fact of speaking the language of others. In this section, then, Stephen is offering his own perceptions, dreams, insights, and reflections through his words.

Thus, in the journal entries, we have Stephen's voice directly. His tone is dramatic. At the end of the novel, we see the young man, whom we have followed since early childhood, now an "artist," eager to leave his dreary homeland behind in favour of life, art, freedom, and experience:

26 April: Mother is putting my new secondhand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race.

27 April: Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead. (Joyce 288)

In the concluding part of Joyce's *A Portrait*, two main themes emerge: the portrayal of family and social conventions, Catholicism, and Irish nationalism as inhibitive, repressive, and coercive forces; and Stephen's progressive rejection of and detachment from those institutions to attain freedom, aesthetic and physical. The devices that Joyce employs in order to make this implication clear are worth noting. First, the working out of Stephen's view is done either by himself alone, in complete isolation, or in direct opposition to his friends. Second, throughout the novel, Stephen looks on his friends and acquaintances with an air of detachment. He is different. Third, Joyce's aesthetic view is of course one which implies distance and objectivity and freedom. He was forced to leave to fulfil his goals.

At university, Joyce discovered what he deemed to be the necessity for his exile. In 1902, Joyce went immediately into exile in Paris. According to his lifelong friend Mary Colum, Joyce's move to Paris to continue his studies in a medical school was actually an opportunity to escape what he regarded as the intellectual and artistic 'claustrophobia' that inhibited creative efforts in Ireland. (Eder 87)

Immediately after his mother's death, Joyce made up his mind to 'clear out of Dublin' freeing himself from the institutions that he regarded as obstacles to fulfil his artistic growth, the background of his home life, and the political and artistic life of Dublin. For Joyce, this environment represented all but an encouraging environment for a potential artist like himself.

Unlike his literary peers, Joyce was almost the first to dare and criticize the status quo. From exile, Joyce was able to describe Ireland and the Irish as extremely past bound, religion-bound, and full of constraints.

The Irish objected all efforts at amelioration. Through his portrayal, Joyce makes us believe that Ireland was indeed an 'old sow that ate her farrows', and that the Church in Ireland did indeed represent a hindrance towards creative life. However, in *A Portrait*, Joyce does not tell us that

silence, exile, and cunning are the necessary weapons of all young artists in all societies, but this is in particular true for Ireland.

Through *A Portrait*, James Joyce presents a sympathetic portrait of the trials of a sensitive, intellectual young man as he grows up in Ireland. However, the novel is also an attempt to understand the young man's choices, decisions, and exile. Growing up in Roman Catholic Ireland, Stephen Dedalus must discover his own path in life. It is not satisfactory for him to follow the pattern of life laid out for him by family, religion, and culture

Section two: Joyce's traditionalist discourse

Introduction

Joyce's exile is full of ambiguities. Asked by a friend when he would return to Dublin, Joyce answered "Have I ever left it?" (Qtd. in Ellman 100) All his life, Joyce felt an intense ambivalent attitude towards his homeland, a kind of love-hate attitude. Yet, the entire Dublin was always at the heart of his writing. In 1906, two years after his exile began, he said that "he had never felt at ease in any other city but Dublin, except Paris" (Qtd. in Eder 87); though, like many writers of the Lost Generation, he had never been home at home.

From *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce's sole subject was Dublin, a Dublin presented in sordid details. Since his obsessive theme was Dublin, we can assume that the new environment has exerted a very minimal influence on Joyce's literary themes. It seems that, all along his "European Hegira" (Eder 98)—Pola, Trieste, Zurich, Paris, and Zurich— it did not matter to him where he was. The lack of influence on Joyce's literary works has been explained according to three main factors.

The first factor is Joyce's poor eyesight. Joyce suffered from serious eye troubles and underwent many eye surgeries. His first trouble was in Trieste. From Richard Ellman's biographical study, we come to know that weak eyes and nearsightedness is a hereditary illness in the Joyce family. While in exile, Joyce spent most of his time in cafés, bars, and restaurant; and had little time and less vision for sightseeing. He even once claimed from Rome that Dublin is "more beautiful naturally in my opinion than what I have seen of England, Switzerland, France, Austria, or Italy." (Qtd. in Eder 96)

Secondly, at the end of *A Portrait*, Stephen declares that he intends "to forge...the uncreated conscience of [his] race", and not to better himself. For H  l  ne Cixous, Joyce's departure was not an emigration towards a better material life but a spiritual exile. She observed that there was no 'promised Land' for Joyce; the only "place both dear and necessary for him is the 'space' of the book and the only time that of the work in progress" (Qtd. in Eder 91) Stephen does want to do something for his country, but he wants to free it through art, not politics or religion. And this is clear from the previous quote, when he goes to "encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (Joyce 276).

Last but not least, just like those banished from their lands, Joyce's art tends to show strong connections to his homeland. In *Writers in Exile: The Identity of Home in Modern literature*, Andrew Gurr writes; "All art... is static, backward-looking, concerned primarily with a stable image and identity in the individual or in his society at large." (Gurr 23-24)

While Joyce/Stephen claimed that he had freed himself from the "nets" of Ireland; there are still many indications that he is not as free as he claims. First, Joyce/Stephen's ideas, language, and art are affected by his origin, traditions, social conventions, and mostly his Catholic upbringing. Second, by wholly dedicating himself and his art in the hope of liberating Ireland and the Irish from

within a colonial context, Joyce places himself in the same place as the Traditionalists. However, the 'peasant' image of Joyce is not like Yeats's 'spiritualized fisherman' or Synge's 'wandering tramp' (Hirsch 1191), but the 'crafty' or the 'intellectual' peasant whose basic weapon to free Ireland is writing, writing about truth and reality. Joyce's philosophy about fighting for freedom is said to be based on the famous quote "The Pen is Mightier than the Sword". The written word can change a person. It can influence people for many a generation. On the contrary, "the sword" destroys cultures and negates cultural values. Last but not least, in order to fulfil his mission, Joyce had to leave Ireland. His departure is heroic and missionary in the sense that he went into exile for the people of Ireland i.e. in the service of Ireland. By so doing, James Joyce epitomizes one of Ireland's most ancient discourses about exile held during the early Christian Ireland, the missionary exile.

The influence of Irish consciousness, society, and Catholicism in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets. (Joyce 231)

In *Irish Writers and Religion*, Robert Welch argued that Stephen's "fly by" is ambivalent. He proposes the perspective thesis that "flying by" refers to 'denial' (escape), but also to 'assent'. 'Flying by' means 'flying with' i.e. using those nets as wings. (Welch 121) Stephen/Joyce, indeed, went into exile loaded with great amounts of the raw materials he needed for his writing from native Ireland.

1) The Bourgeois-family code:

Social aspects in Joyce's *A Portrait* have not been given enough importance as they should be. This is due to the fact that the centrality of Stephen's consciousness has become like a dogma in Joyce's studies. Yet, however Joyce tries to isolate himself from the world around him, reading his autobiography gives the impression that the outside world never gives way to his wishes. James Joyce reflects at every moment the dialectic between individual subjectivity and social reality. He always captures how consciousness is determined by a social existence. In *A Portrait*, there are many indications that Stephen's ideas, language, and art have been affected by his economic status and Catholic upbringing.

Stephen, like Joyce, was born into the kind of family that his friend Cranly calls "the lap of luxury" (Joyce 275). They descended from the noble families of Galway. James Joyce's father regarded himself as a respectable gentleman setting social ambitions for himself, his son (James), and his whole family.

The first Christmas dinner of Stephen with the grown ups, was a bourgeois dinner *per se*. He was surrounded by warmth and prosperity; he was dressed in a stiff Eton collar; he was brought down to the family circle like his father before him. Mr. Dedalus was portrayed as a symbol of high social status. He stood before "a roaring fire, twirling his moustache and spreading his coattails in satisfaction"; he sophisticatedly poured whiskey for Mr. Casey; and later, when the family servants had brought the meal, he lifted a "heavy cover pearled round the edge with glistening drops" to reveal a turkey. Stephen reflected immediately:

He knew that his father had paid a guinea for it in Dunn's of D'Olier Street and that the man had prodded it often at the breastbone to show how good it was: and he remembered the man's voice when he had said:
--Take that one, sir. That's the real Ally Daly. (33)

In this scene, Stephen's conception of his father is that of a prosperous gentleman who presides over a whole family and exerts an influence over the country.

Brought up in a noble Catholic family, Stephen was always reminded that he was different from the others. Since the very beginning of the novel, Stephen Dedalus was careful to distinguish himself from his classmates. Stephen's moral attitude towards his classmates suggested a sense of superiority and elitism. He was also taught that there are clear distinctions between soul and body. He was taught that expressions like "he'd give you a toe in the rump" are not "nice" things to say, and that rough boys like Nasty Roche are "stinks". He was educated by priests who forbade all kinds of sexual feelings.

However, most crucial to Irish Nationalists is the special feeling of animosity they hold for the English and the Protestants. Stephen/Joyce was taught that England had always been the first enemy of Ireland. Joyce's stand towards the English was well felt and understood when the young Stephen Dedalus located himself in the first chapter of *A Portrait*. Joyce was careful not to mention the United Kingdom. (Benstock 21)

Stephen Dedalus
Class of Elements
Clongowes Wood College
Sallins
County Kildare
Ireland
Europe
The World
The Universe. (Joyce 17)

Like father, like son. Stephen identifies greatly with his father's ambitions and beliefs. This can be seen almost everywhere since the early chapter. Stephen grew up convinced by his high family status and his special place within his society. Already at the age of six, he was sent to the famous Jesuit School Clongowes Wood to acquire the best education in order to ensure his future. Stephen's father later said "...let him stick to the Jesuits in God's name, since he began with them. They'll be of service to him in later years. Those are the fellows that can get you a position." (80) Once there however, Stephen could immediately perceive the pretention and the arrogance hanging over the place. At Clongowes Jesuit School, people were qualified by their social status:

--What is your name?
Stephen had answered:
--Stephen Dedalus.
Then Nasty Rock had said:
--What kind of a name is that?
And when Stephen had not been able to answer Nasty Rock had asked:
--What is your father?
Stephen had answered:
--A gentleman.
Then Nasty Rock had asked:

--Is he a magistrate? (8-9)

To regain his initial position, Stephen tries to identify himself with his father's heroic, nationalist, and religious figures. He first identifies with his father's hero, the aristocratic Parnell. On the playground, Stephen thinks of the patriot Hamilton Rowan. In the classroom, he wears the white rose of York and fights against Jack Lawton's group of Lancastrians. His developing pride will remain to haunt him till the last chapter when his friend Temple, who is obsessed with noble families of Ireland, told him "I know all the history of your family... "Do you know what Giraldus Cambrensis says about your family?" (230)

No wonder, it was very difficult for Stephen to accept the growing poverty of his family. In *A Portrait*, the move from prosperity into poverty left Stephen "embittered and angry". When he was told that he could no longer return to Clongowes in the fall, Stephen "had felt the slight changes in his house; and these changes in what he had deemed unchangeable were so many shocks to his boyish conception" (73) The newly economic situation was unbearable; it forced him to associate himself more and more with the common world of Dublin streets. Stephen/Joyce would then, throughout the novel, seek out "nobility", the "nobility" of his acquired upbringing using the only means left open to him, imagination (literature) and religion.

In order to escape the broken world of his 'miserable' family, at night, Stephen dives in reading novels which greatly inspire him like the famous *The Count of Monte Cristo*. Just as Stephen identifies with the protagonist of the children's story that his father reads to him at the beginning of the novel, he now imagines himself as the Count of Monte Cristo, Edmond Dante. Stephen has grown fond of imagining himself in the role of the Count of Monte Cristo. A count equals a noble man. In British social ranking, a count represents a British earl. Unlike the young boy in the children's story, Stephen's new role model, the count, is active, adventurous, heroic, and even dangerous. Like the count, who is a pursuer of vengeance, Stephen is frustrated with the unfairness he sees in the world around him.

Joyce's/Stephen Dedalus' aesthetic theory and role as an artist emphasise his uniqueness, difference, and isolation from others around him. While a student at University College, he broke away from Roman Catholicism and its teachings and the provincial patriotism that he observed in Ireland; he started to read extensively and resolve to become an esteemed writer. All along the novel, he was trying to crystallize his personality around such sophisticated intellectual figures as Aristotle, Aquinas; and quoting elegant Elizabethan poems. For Joyce, aestheticism was a means to acquire a feeling of social superiority and elitism.

Stephen's attraction to the church and the priesthood is because of the fact that the priesthood provides privilege, power, and prestige. For Stephen, priesthood is a source of power and direct access to privileged knowledge and secret power. When the priest speaks about its aspects, Stephen's first response is positive:

A flame began to flutter again on Stephen's cheek as he heard in this proud address an echo of his own proud musings. How often he had seen himself as a priest wielding calmly and humbly the awful power of which angels and saints stood in reverence! His soul loved to muse in secret on this desire. He had seen himself, a young and silent mannered priest, entering a confession swiftly, incensing, genuflecting, accomplishing the vague acts of the priesthood which pleased him by reason of their semblance of reality and of their distance from it. (180)

Furthermore, Stephen reasons to become part of a community of priesthood is only a question of pride, and about the benefits of his work on the world around him. Stephen has no intentions of helping people to find the path of heaven. On the contrary, he imagines taking pleasure in hearing other people's sins, the pride he would feel at being above such sinful existence:

[longing to] know the sins, the sinful longings and sinful thoughts and sinful acts, of others, hearing them murmured into his ears in the confessional under the shame of a darkened chapel by the lips of women and girls. (181)

Stephen's participation is for wrong reasons. It suggests that Stephen is perhaps not as changed as it would seem. However, Joyce/Dedalus' relation with Catholicism cannot be summed up in one word, refusal. Given the long process of Joyce's Catholic upbringing, Catholic beliefs and dogmas sank directly into Joyce/Dedalus' mind.

2) Catholic upbringing:

James Joyce reveals stark opposition to the Church's practices in Ireland. Yet, despite his rejection of its tenets, Catholicism exerts an immense influence on his artistic life. It is not surprising though, because he received a pure Catholic upbringing since his very childhood. Joyce remained with the Jesuits for about fifteen years. He entered at the age of six and a half and left the latter in 1898 at the age of sixteen. He was first educated at the foremost Jesuit college of Clongowes Wood, a prestigious Jesuit boarding school in County Kildare. After only two years he withdrew when his family could no longer afford the cost of his education. Then, after the brief contact with the Christian Brothers, which was rarely mentioned later in life, (Fargnoli, Gillespie 2) he and his brother were enrolled as day student at another esteemed Jesuit school, Belvedere College. He culminated his studies at the Catholic University of Dublin. (3-4)

In the third chapter of Joyce's *A Portrait*, Stephen, indeed, did not express disbelief or lack of faith in God. On the contrary, he was still familiar with the deep tenets of Catholicism. During his career at Belvedere, Stephen became known for his piety, and his peers chose him to be a prefect of

the sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Consequently, Stephen brought the attention of the director, who suggested that Stephen might be one of the few boys at the College who would be chosen to pursue a religious life. Joyce/Dedalus' mastery of Catholic doctrines was also made evident when he was asked by his classmates to embarrass the teacher by asking obscure questions about Catechism. Stephen seemed the kind of person who liked his theological knowledge:

It was strange too that he found an arid pleasure in following up to the end of rigid lines of the doctrines of the church and penetrating into obscure silences only to hear and feel the more deeply his own condemnation. (Joyce 120)

Similarly, in the last chapter, Cranly, after a long discussion, concluded that Joyce/Dedalus' mind was supersaturated by the religion he was claiming to reject. Cranly asked Stephen if he believed in Eucharist, Stephen answered by saying he "neither believe(s) nor disbelieve(s)", and "do(es) not want to overcome his doubts" (272). Further, Cranly insulted Jesus in front of Stephen to see his reaction. When Cranly suggested that Jesus was "a conscious hypocrite" and "not what he pretended to be" (287) Stephen admitted that he was "somewhat" shocked to hear Cranly saying this. Then, Cranly asked if this is why he did not want to take communion, because he feared that God might indeed be real, Stephen admitted that this was true. It was clear for Cranly that Stephen's mind was supersaturated with the tenets of Catholicism.

Joyce/Stephen Dedalus could not set himself fully outside the structure of the Church because of his long story in the Church. For Cranly, Stephen's disbelief was rebellious in nature and not disinterested since he very recently did believe, and his doubts came true when he tested him, the second time.

Catholicism is deeply implanted in Joyce's soul. He attaches great importance to the overall formation given him by the Jesuits. His first biographer, Herbert Gorman, describes the Clongowes period "as the novitiate, the preparatory training for all that was to follow." (Qtd. in McCourt 6) To August Suter, he said that he had learned from the Jesuits "how to gather, how to order, and how to present a given material" not minor skills for a budding novelist" (7)

When Stephen has finished expounding his theory, his friend Lynch comments, "That has the true scholastic stink" (Joyce 245) Joyce's conception of himself and his "mission" as an artist uses the language of the priesthood. For him, church is both an 'idle intellectual game and a useful romantic trope for his imaginative construction of life'. *A Portrait* is full of language that is strongly linked to religious doctrines and beliefs such as, 'priest', 'soul', 'body', 'sin', and 'damnation'. In the wet dream scene, Joyce/Stephen produces a quasi-religious and romantic poem:

Your eyes have set man's heart ablaze
And you have had your will of him,
. . . above the flame the smoke of praise
goes up from ocean rim to rim (233)

When he thinks about Emma, he identifies himself with God; “[E. C.] . . . would unveil her soul's shy nakedness to . . . [a priest] . . . rather than to him, a priest of the eternal imagination, transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everlasting life.” (221) And in the villanelle episode, Stephen's mind is portrayed as “pregnancy” with inspiration that came from a mysterious, divine source, “In the virgin womb of the imagination the word was made flesh. Gabriel the seraph had come to the virgin's chamber” (247).

Joyce/Stephen's artistic creation, emotions, and ambition are full of religious and spiritual terms. He imagines himself like the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ with Cranly as John the Baptist, or imagines “smoke, incense ascending from the altar of the world.” (248).

Religious aspects in Joyce/Dedalus' literary works have attracted the attention of various critics and priests as well. Some critics agree that:

Stephen 'is unable to analyze his ideas or shape his life except in terms of the philosophy that the Catholic Church has evolved or adopted'. S. Foster Damon asserts that 'Stephen has mastered Aquinas and Aristotle so well that he saw the whole world through their eyes'. Haskell M. Block, in what is perhaps the most complete and illuminating discussion of the theory, writes; 'the theoretical formulation of Joyce's aesthetic rigidly followed Thomistic principles'. And according to Harry Levin, Joyce 'required the sanction of St. Thomas Aquinas for his art, though not in his beliefs'. (Beebe 272)

Mostly crucial to Joyce' studies when it comes to religion is the huge influence inflicted on James Joyce by Saint Aquinas. Saint Thomas Aquinas is an Italian priest of the Catholic Church in the Dominican Order, and an immensely influential philosopher and theologian in the tradition of scholasticism. Aquinas' influence on Joyce's philosophy can be seen in the very notions of “God in himself” which was investigated by W.J. Hankey in *God in Himself: Aquinas' Doctrine of God as Expounded in Summa Theologiae* in 1987; and the attraction of Aquinas by sinful thoughts. Furthermore, In *Joyce and Aquinas*, Father William T. Noon, has offered substantial evidence in favour of his opinion that Joyce remained a believer in spite of many appearances to the contrary.

James Joyce left Ireland, Dublin, loaded with great amounts of the raw material he needed for his writing and his exile. He travelled with a sense of schooling he had acquired from the Jesuit. He had arrived to Trieste after twenty two long years under the tyrannies of British imperialism, Roman Catholicism, and Irish nationalism. Finally, he brought with him a genuine interest in socialist ideas due to his experience of living on many different levels of the Dublin social ladder. It is true that

Joyce rejected Ireland, but he was immersed with material from home. Thus, when he said ‘This race and this country and this life produced me...I shall express myself as I am’ (Joyce 202), he was, in fact, acknowledging his indebtedness to Irish culture which had shaped his psyche.

3) The ‘Intellectual Peasant’: Joyce’s nationalist discourse

In *James Joyce*, Andrew Gibson identifies James Joyce, like the Wild Geese who fled Ireland, with the figure of the ‘leader overseas’. In Irish history, the Wild Geese are nationalist Irish soldiers who were evicted from Ireland following the Treaty of Limerick. From exile, they set the seal for a long lasting tradition of Irish nationalism. They were followed by Irishmen intent on serving the Jacobite cause by members of the United Irishmen in the 1790s; by Young Irelanders after the failure of the 1848 rebellion; and by IRB and the Fenian Exiles like James Stephen and John O’Leary, notably after the Fenian Uprising in 1867 (Gibson 64-65). “The Wild Geese” writes Andrew Gibson:

fled to the strongholds of Catholic Europe, from which they could continue to oppose the conqueror in less immediate ways than had been the case in Ireland. They looked back almost obsessively to an Ireland to which they knew they were unlikely to return. In both respects, Joyce took after them political exile also bred a preoccupation with the figure of the ‘leader overseas’ or the ‘lost leader’ (Gibson 65)

Thus, from exile, James Joyce, like the Wild Geese, dedicated himself to free his homeland, Ireland. However, the only device that was left for him was art: writing.

At the end of Joyce’s *A Portrait*, we have Stephen Dedalus standing by himself, alone like a spiritual leader. He was leaving Ireland “to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race.” The phrase “the smithy of my soul” reflects Stephen/Joyce’s intention to create an art which is based on his own individual consciousness; whereas, the reference to “the uncreated conscience of my race” suggests his commitment to create a voice and conscience for his own community. The final diary entry, with its references to “old father” and “old artificer” reinforces Stephen’s twofold mission. He invokes his “old father”, which can be read as Ireland itself in order to acknowledge his debt to his past. Then, he invokes the “old artificer”, the Daedalus, to emphasize his role as an artist. It is through his art that Stephen will use his individuality to create a conscience for his community. As he wandered through Italy, Austria, Switzerland and France, he continued to write about the Dublin of his youth. The idea of the ‘uncreated Ireland’ awaits its realization.

Joyce was one of the leading opponents of Revivalists’ practices in Ireland. Yet, his urge to invent a New Ireland in his writing puts him in the same place as the Revivalists. An investigation into Joyce’ and the Revivalists’ aims has revealed that they both seek to invent or “write” a ‘New

Ireland'. They both set themselves the task of reconstructing an imaginary nation from within a colonial context. Thus, "the idea of Ireland provides powerful incentive for regarding him [Joyce] as a Revivalist" (Castle 174)

The major device employed by the Revivalists to assemble a whole nation under a unified emblem was the revival of the autochthonous 'Irish peasant'. Their endeavour came basically as a reaction to English negative stereotypical representations of 'the Irish portrait' in English literature. The 'Irish portrait' in English literature has gone through many phases: from the Paddy, to the subhuman, and finally the Negro and the Caliban:

The gradual but unmistakable transformation of Paddy, the stereotypical Irish Celt of the mid-nineteenth century, from a drunken and relatively harmless peasant into a dangerous ape-man or simianized agitator reflected a significant shift in the attitudes of some Victorians about the differences between not only Englishmen and Irishmen, but also between human beings and apes. (Hirsch 1119)

The principal goal of the Revivalists was to give birth to a new portrait of the Irish Peasant by first demystifying colonial stereotypes and then portraying the peasant as a noble, honest, and a victimized farmer. Revivalists idealized the peasant and defined it as the essence of a pure Irish culture. As opposed to the modern industrial and commercial British spirit, the Irish peasant is supernatural and imaginative. In the process, however, the traditional Irish peasant had the Revivalists to locate themselves within an indigenous Irish literary and historical context. It resulted in an Irish literature whose discourse was primitivist and unrealistic. Most popular portraits of Irish peasants that were given birth were Yeats 'spiritualized fisherman' and Synge's 'wandering tramp' (1119-1120), and both of them were unable to grasp the present realities of Irish life:

The works of Synge and Yeats, the growing discrepancy between the actual Ireland these writers live in and the ideal Ireland they craved led them to develop the figure of the wandering peasant, the tramp, the itinerant, representative or repository of an Irishness so pure it cannot abide any realistic Irish setting. (Gillespie 91)

Joyce sees the 'rural peasant' as a national embarrassment (92) He feels that the "peasants are of some other class, some lower order of creatures, and a certain primitiveness and ominousness is suggested" (Thornton 148) Disappointed with both (colonial and revivalist) portrayals of the Irish peasant, Joyce's conception of the Irish peasant is held as a counter hegemonic discourse to both colonial and Revivalists' representations. By so doing, Joyce fights on a double front and aimed at a double liberation for his homeland. He strives to liberate Ireland from the British and the Irish themselves. This fight makes him more Irish than the so acclaimed nationalists and Revivalists, themselves.

The 'rural peasant' in Joyce's works serves us to show the irrelevance of the peasantry to a modern Ireland. The 'rural peasant' is almost always depicted as static (Gillespie 91) He is kneeling in church like Stephen's Uncle Charles praying desperately to God. He is disillusioned like Joyce's/Stephen's father who can cope with present realities no more (as Stephen travelled with his father to Cork). Most of all, Joyce's 'rural peasant' is submissive and subservient. Joyce/Stephen cannot accept the blind servile faith in Ireland and the Catholic Church of Davin and Cranly:

Try to be one of us, repeated Davin. In heart you are an Irishman but your pride is too powerful . . . a man's country comes first, Ireland first, Stevie.

Do you know what Ireland is? asked Stephen with cold violence. Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow. (Joyce 202)

Joyce's autobiographical novel presents not one portrait but many portraits of different 'Irish peasants'. The aim behind is "to offer an antidote to these divisions by allowing individuals to explore their own sense of identity and how it conflicts or conforms to accepted standards, national, or otherwise" (Lynch 2). In fact, the diversity of individual stories in Joyce's autobiography is a characteristic that can be extended to cover almost all Irish autobiographies. In her extensive study on Irish autobiographies, Claire Lynch demonstrates how:

Irish history and Irish culture have contributed to the creation of a distinctive style of autobiography particularly in the representation of communities where the author is concerned not only with an individual narrative, but also multiple selves and others. (2-3)

Joyce would have none of those peasant representations. For him, the Irish peasant as "constructed by literary revivalists and cultural nationalists was static, 'senile', mysterious, and threatening character." (Gillespie 92)

Joyce's peasant is crafty and intellectual, young and alert, explicable and exoteric. Joyce's intellectual peasant strives to create a national literature:

by engaging in an imminent critique of Revivalism in which colonial and anthropological discourses are appropriated and criticized in a more sustained and consistent fashion than either Yeats and Synge were able to accomplish. (Castle 175)

The 'intellectual peasant' in Joyce's *A Portrait* is represented by Stephen Dedalus, Joyce's alter ego. Stephen is presented as admirable, crafty, intellectual, and even heroic by the author. The original draft of *A Portrait* was called *Stephen Hero*.

Stephen is a hero who breaks through the restrictions of family, church, and nation to shape his own destiny according to his inner lights. He overcomes the limitations of his culture and

environment, and soars into a higher realm. Stephen is also a hero who commits himself into a double-fight of liberation without weapon. His lonely weapon was his writing.

Stephen is a pursuer of knowledge. He is an intellectual who shows outstanding knowledge and handling of local and European literature, language, and culture (the count of Monte Cristo, and the myth of the Daedalus). Knowledge allows Stephen to take part into daring discussions with colonial and Irish authorities (Stephen's discussion with the Dean of studies). Stephen is daring in the sense that he engaged himself fully into risky situations (The affair he had with a whore at the end of the second chapter).

"The difficulty of literature is not to write, but to write what you mean". From exile, James Joyce dedicated both himself and his writing to the service of his community. In any case, Ireland and his countrymen were always at the centre of his artistic works, from *Dubliners* through *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and finally with *Finnegan's Wake*.

Joyce's method follows a constructive critical approach by offering valid and well-reasoned opinions and involving both positive and negative comments. By 'laying bare' the harmful effects of Irish social conventions, the Catholic Church, and Irish nationalism, on the construction of Irish identity, Joyce aimed, in the first place, at inviting the Irish to get one good look at themselves so as to be able to invent 'new souls'. Joyce presents a stark opposition towards Irish nationalist leaders and churchmen whose practices resulted in the construction of a primitive and submissive Irish identity. At the same time, Joyce/Dedalus acts as an Irish citizen when he reveals his dissatisfaction with the colonial institution. A telling example is the discussion Stephen had had with the Dean of studies in the fifth chapter of *A Portrait*.

While they were discussing about the art of starting a fire, the Dean mentioned a word "funnel". Stephen said that he never came across such word. Instead of "funnel", Stephen called it "tundish". From his part, the priest commented that the word "tundish" must be the Irish word for the English "funnel". This incident points to a turning attitude towards the priest from the part of Stephen. As time goes on, Stephen became less patient and stopped the conversation and commented with an air that reflects Stephen as a nationalist citizen:

—The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home, Christ, ale, master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language (Joyce 215)

For Joyce, the 'funnel/tundish' incident is far from being a simple one. It represents the long lasting clash of cultures that is at the heart of the Irish experience. The Dean is English, and embodies all the institutional power and prestige England has implanted all along its process of colonization in Ireland. In this case, the Dean is thus a representative of cultural domination.

By failing to understand Stephen's word, the Dean hints at the linguistic and cultural division between England and Ireland. The episode with the Dean shows Stephen the importance of creating his own language, as the English he has been using is not really his own. He realizes that English "will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay." He concluded with bitter feelings towards the Dean; "Damn the dean of studies and his funnel! What did he come here for to teach us his own language or to learn it from us? Damn him one way or the other." (286-287)

In *Joyce's Revenge*, Andrew Gibson widened our understanding about Joyce's nationalist philosophy as he investigated scrupulously Joyce's *Ulysses*. By placing the novel in a context of Anglo-Irish political and cultural relations from 1880 to 1920, Gibson argued that Joyce's *Ulysses* is indeed a great work of liberation that takes complex forms of revenge on the colonizer's culture. He also argued that *Ulysses* might have constituted a 'Fenian attack on English cultural values' (Gibson 7)

Perhaps, the comment made by Seamus Deane on James Joyce summarizes well Joyce's nationalist endeavours when he said that:

[Joyce] was the one who most kept faith with the idea of reviving Irish Culture; whereas Yeats did indeed give up to some extent the deliberate creation of a kind of Holy City in the imagination and replace it with images of enduring heroism and not so durable authority. Joyce from his part remained faithful to the idea, the original conception of the Revival. (Castle 174)

4) The "Heroic-Missionary" prototype of Joyce's exile:

Joyce went into exile to fulfil a mission. He went in an attempt to free the 'old man' and the people of Ireland. He left his family and homeland in order to liberate them. In this case, his departure is rendered to the level of the 'heroic' exile. Joyce is identified with previous 'Gaelic' heroes following the Flight of the Earls and the Flight of the Wild Geese prototypes whose exiles were implemented in the belief that their exile is involuntary and unhappy. Their involuntary and unhappy exile was also lamented on the English malevolence towards the Irish. Their exiles:

... were memorialized, turned into potential saviours of Ireland, identified with Irish hopes for the future the redeemer from over the water would free Ireland from its bondage. Joyce certainly thought of his art as having a potentially redemptive function. (Gibson 65-66)

Furthermore, Joyce chose exile as a haven from which he would fulfil his redeeming mission through his aesthetic writing. By so doing, Joyce's exile, in many ways, epitomizes one of Ireland's most ancient Christian discourses of exile, the passion of exile in foreign lands whose basic notion of exile is a type of martyrdom and missionary. Andrew Gibson described Joyce as a "Moses-figure" (66), and Patrick Ward considered Joyce/Stephen as a "poet maudit, seer, prophet, and a priest of eternal imagination (Ward 235) In this case, Joyce's is considered as God's missionary to save his homeland, and its people. His missionary activity was held outside Ireland.

The coupling of the religious (martyr) and the secular (heroic) is at the heart of Irish heroic and mythological narrative of the discourse of exile. This kind of exile was considered as involuntary, unwilling, and tragic.

The "Heroic-missionary" exile prototype was not pain-free. Its conceptualizations were linked to love of place, family, and community. Joyce's long lapse of exile did not prevent him from home thoughts, suffering, and nostalgia. His writing was not only intended to criticize; it was also a means of repatriation. Joyce escaped from Ireland but he could not escape spiritually. He returned home and dwelt there in spirit. His mission was accompanied by the love of one's place of origin and the terrible outcomes of separation. Joyce's spiritual state epitomizes well Edward Said's definition of exile. Being an exile himself, Edward Said argues that exile is unbearable once truly experienced. The idea itself carries with it connotations of banishment and forced removal.

Edward Said's philosophy of exile revolves around the strong connections and feeling of love an exile holds for his native place and subsequently his inability to bear the idea of separation and removal. Being an exile himself, Edward Said describes how difficult for someone to be cut off from the nourishment of tradition, family, and geography i.e. home. He opens his essay with a definition of exile which has such relevance with the state of an involuntary exile:

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and his true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, there are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement. The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever. (Said 173)

In short, by leaving, Joyce/Stephen argues that 'desertion becomes devotion, and betrayal self sacrifice, as he goes to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race" (Ward 235)

Joyce's proclamation of independence at the end of *A Portrait* has been seen as a manifesto for the Western bourgeois artist at the end of the nineteenth and the early beginning of the twentieth century. Joyce's exile was part of an artistic discourse which necessitated the transcendence of the nets of nationality, language, and religion. However, home (Ireland) never gives way to his wishes. Joyce's aesthetic-redeeming mission is shaped by those very nets called Irish identity, Irish Catholic

Church, and Irish nationalism. He sounds loud and clear that he was going to free himself from the trap of Ireland, but to be, in fact, confined by it.

However, it would be very reductionist to consider James Joyce as solely a rebellious artist or a traditionalist; a European or an Irish, and universal, or local. He is all of them (Gillespie 87)

James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus is paradoxical. He claims freedom, but he is confined. He claims non serviam, but he is a servant. He claims individuality, but he is always rendered to communality. He is in Patrick Ward's word "a self-constructed hero of consciousness, subject and object, author and text, Irish and European, singular and plural" (Ward 235)

In *Irish Writers and Religion* (1992), Robert Welch was able to enlist features of Joyce/Stephen dialectical phrases:

I will not serve	I am a servant
Secularity	religion
Intellectual determinants	social determinants
Free will	indoctrination
Loneliness	community
Understanding	consolation
Denial	assent
Freedom	faith (Hirsch 122)

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Chapter three

Exile in Frank McCourt's Angela's Ashes

Section one: exile in Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes*

Introduction

Emigration has long been a fact of Irish life, and much Irish writing still took place outside Ireland. The enormous popular success of Irish American writer Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* (1996) perpetuated the view that exile was the only antidote to poverty, repression and endless rain. But in a shrinking world, the poetry still told of the sense of place, voice, and community, even from displaced locations. (Campbell 3)

Frank McCourt's memoir tells the harrowing story of McCourt's childhood in poverty-stricken Limerick. Like many serious Irish writings, *Angela's Ashes* is a story of misery, poverty, and hardship that pervades the life of the majority of Irish people and which culminates with the protagonist leaving his country. In short, it is a story that deals with exile.

After a long struggle in the lanes of Limerick, Frank is finally rewarded by landing on the American shores on the nineteenth of his birthday. Reasons for Frank's exile are worthier of acceptance than those reflected by James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. It is true that they both struggled to survive, but their lives in Ireland are incomparable in many ways. Frank has known fatal sicknesses and unbearable poverty; he has faced the deaths of close to heart siblings and his first lover. He has suffered from cruel social discrimination which denied him any attempt to intellectual progress. The story takes place in a highly religious society in which the dogmas of Roman Catholicism are taken for granted. The people of Limerick exhibit a narrow provincialism in which Protestants and anyone who comes from the North of Ireland are despised. At least James Joyce could eat, the McCourt family has suffered from a constant state of hunger; they could not get even the least nutritious ingredients like bread. For them, a smashed potato is luxurious. Their living conditions are those fit to animals not to human beings. Above all, his father abandoned them when Frank was only eleven years old. As he comes of age, Frank understands that life in Ireland means his gradual degradation; it provides him but destruction, deprivation, and death. He was obliged then, to see in exile a necessity. At the age of nineteen, Frank is able to gather money and leave Ireland for America, the land where he was born, the land he has always dreamt about, the Promised Land.

Yet, though sad, the effect of the story is not depressing. In *Angela's Ashes*, Frank McCourt challenges the usual. His method consists in presenting 'both sides of the story', his story in Limerick, Ireland. He combined, in a talented way, childhood innocence and humour, with a description of a degree of misery beyond anything that any readers, world wide, could imagine. The effect it creates on readers is one of excitement and gratitude.

Unlike Joyce's *A Portrait*, *Angela's Ashes* lacks the accusatory and resentful tone that hangs almost all over Joyce's works. It also repudiates any attempts at withdrawal, silence, and social

alienation that Joyce took as his lifelong weapons. Reading Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* gives the impression that Frank McCourt does not blame Ireland for his ills, nor regret his life there. On the contrary, he writes about Ireland with an air that suggests indebtedness, gratitude, and reconnaissance. This shows a remarkable shift in the way Irish writers have reflected on their experience of exile in a new global context. Exile in Irish writings is still considered as involuntary, but is not conceived as unhappy and unbearable.

Globalization helped Frank McCourt to see and reflect on his miserable childhood experience in Limerick, Ireland, under a new light. Globalization shortened distances and eased the pain engendered by a movement away from the centre, one's home, place, and origin:

Emigration ceased to have the finality of previous decades, as returning became financially viable and Irishness ceased to be restricted by location, so that by the end of the 20th century the Diaspora has assumed a permanent place in discussions of Irish identity, provoking a symbolic reunion of the global Irish family. (Lynch 139)

Globalization and Diasporic experiences spurred limits and meanings of Irishness in new directions. New concepts affected "cultural attitudes, lifestyle choices and arguably national identity, both emigration and the Celtic Tiger, had an inevitable influence on the production of Irish literature, in particular life writing." (143)

The influence of globalization is well felt on Irish writing. In the 1990s, a new mode of writing about the experience of exile and self-life writing had emerged, the memoir. In 1995, nearly two hundred memoirs were published. Commentators linked this phenomenon to; first, the huge widespread of "from-rags-to-riches-success stories"; second, to the growing vogue for confessional television programs and the "tell-it-all" new nature of popular culture that appeared in the United States of America. In "The Age of the Literary Memoir is Now", James Atlas reflects upon the openness that characterized the 1990s:

In an era when Oprah reigns supreme and 12-step programs have been adopted as the new mantra, it's perhaps only natural for literary confession to join the parade. We live in a time when the very notion of privacy, of a zone beyond the reach of public probing, has become an alien concept. (Gale Cengage 10)

And the Irish were no exception. Memoirs tripled from the 1940s to the 1990s (Lynch 143) Though difficult to distinguish between autobiographies and memoirs, memoirs are "essentially a record of one's participation in public events in which personal feelings and responses are recounted to explain, clarify, or perhaps justify actions in the external world" (140)

The main concern of the chapter is to highlight the change in the narration of the Irish experience of exile in a global world through self-life writing. The chapter will be divided into two sections.

In the first section, I shall first explore reasons behind Frank McCourt's exile. By so doing, I shall stress the continuity of the Irish tradition of exile in postcolonial Ireland, and to assert what is

mentioned in the above quotes, that 'exile is the only antidote'. The first section, entitled "Frank's predicament in Limerick: the continuity of 'The Tradition'" is, at the same time, a study of the historical background of De Valera's Ireland, and an investigation into inflexible social realities that smothered Frank's intellectual development and pushed him subsequently to see in exile a fate. What we concluded is that romantic nationalism inherited from 19th century Ireland was very much alive in post colonial Ireland, a fact that had done much harm for Ireland in a global world: alienation, poverty, and exile. The second section deals with Frank McCourt's new approach in the writing of both Ireland and his experience after the huge impact of exile and globalization which eased his pains as an involuntary exile. "Frank's new discourse about Ireland" consists of three sections. First of all, "Frank McCourt's rising from the Ashes" is about McCourt's positive portrayal of his experience in Ireland. Frank McCourt's experience in Ireland brought him to an early maturity, moral and physical, that helped him to survive in the USA. At the age of nineteen, Frank McCourt could gather money and travel to the United States of America. Frank McCourt, himself, acknowledged his indebtedness to Ireland for his survival and eventual success in America. "Frank's predicament in Ireland" and "Frank's McCourt's rising from the ashes" reflect well the dialectical tensions present in McCourt's writing, a characteristic proper to exilic writing. The second and third sections are an investigation into aspects that has made of *Angela's Ashes* a world wide success. The scheme of the American Dream of Frank McCourt's experience and humour are to be of primary concern. The amalgamation of two cultures, the diversity of the Irish culture and of the popularity of the American culture, has given birth to a remarkable piece of writing.

Section one: Frank's predicament in Limerick: the continuity of 'The Tradition'

a. De Valera's Ireland (Limerick):

Limerick has been, since the eighteenth century, a distinctly modern town, a place of departure, dislocation, change, a place that has enculturated itself to emigration. The imprint of this culture is on Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes: A Memoir of a Childhood*. (Robinson 10)

Limerick has been, since the eighteenth century a place of departure, emigration, dislocation, and change. It is a place that everyone must leave for Dublin, London, or America. Not just the McCourt family, the phenomenon of leaving can be associated with every Irish citizen in Limerick and even in Ireland itself. Malachy McCourt, Angela Sheehan, and the McCnamara represent but a small sample of the great wave of Irish emigrants which broke on American shores between 1856 and 1921. They represent those millions of Irish people who sought escape from Ireland. They were repelled by the impoverished agricultural, industrial, and social realities at home which engendered either alienation or emigration.

However, a large number still left reluctantly and sometimes bitterly, interpreting their departure as involuntary exile. Frank's father, for example, was obliged to leave Ireland to save his life from the Irish themselves though he was a former soldier in the IRA. Frank's mother Angela, on the other hand, was forced to leave Ireland because of her mother who considered her ineffective and useless in a world immersed in industrial change. The persistence of that traditional conception of exile reflects, in part, the important continuities in Irish Catholic society and culture especially in western Ireland which "was an almost schizophrenic society, where strikingly novel social processes and outlooks coexisted uneasily with others which remain obdurately conservative" (Miller 476) There were certainly many reasons for the "Western Peasant" to fear *emigration*. In comparison to Eastern Ireland, the Irish Westerners are more characterised by:

Their poverty and lack of marketable skills, their unfamiliarity with the demands of urban-industrial societies, often their illiteracy and imperfect or nonexistent command of English, all made them much poorer candidates for success abroad than their more sophisticated peers from eastern Ireland. (Miller 478)

This reality can in turn explain the inability of the McCourt's family to cope with the realities in the United States. Neither Malachy McCourt nor Angela Sheehan could fit in any kind of jobs.

The McCourt witnessed a miserable life in the United States of America. They had to face a lot of difficulties to survive as Frank's father was unable to sustain a permanent job. He always gets fired. Even when he does get a job, he spends the wages at the pub, and as a result Frank's mother,

Angela, has no money to buy food for their children. At a very young age, Frank McCourt describes his home:

The apartment is empty and I wander between the two rooms, the bedroom and the kitchen. My father is out looking for a job and my mother is at hospital with Malachy. I wish I had something to eat but there's nothing in the icebox but cabbage leaves floating in the melted ice. My father said never eat anything floating in water for the rot that might be in it. I fall asleep on my parent's bed and when my mother shakes me it's nearly dark. Your little brother is going to sleep a while. Nearly bit his tongue off. Stitches galore. Go into the other room. (Mccourt 12)

The Great Depression contributed greatly to the hardship of the McCourt's family in America.

The life of McCourt's family had been difficult in Depression Era New York. However, the hardship they encountered in their native land proved far greater. For Frank, Depression Era New York is still better than Ireland. Life in Ireland was far from being what Frank has expected. This is well felt in the way Frank McCourt opened up his memoir, "My father and mother should have stayed in New York where they met and married and where I was born" (Mccourt 1)

The Ireland which Frank moved to was an incarnation of death. It was an infinite fight for survival, a fight against poverty, hardship, deprivation, hunger, illness, social discrimination, Catholic constraints, and even the weather. We may, then, understand why Frank considered his survival in the Ireland (Limerick) of the 1930s a miracle. The story of Frank McCourt in the lanes of Limerick is indeed a story of a survivor, a story of endurance in a miserable Ireland. Since the very first page of Frank's memoir, a stereotypical image about Ireland is highlighted:

When I look back on my childhood I wonder how I survived at all. It was, of course, a miserable childhood: the happy childhood is worth your while. Worse than the ordinary miserable childhood is the miserable Irish childhood and worse yet is the miserable Irish Catholic childhood...

People everywhere brag and whimper about the woes of their early years, but nothing can compare with the Irish version: the poverty; the shiftless loquacious alcoholic father; the pious defeated mother moaning by the fire; pompous priests; bullying schoolmasters; the English and the terrible things they did for eight hundred long years.

Above all –we were wet.

Out in the Atlantic Ocean great sheets of rain gathered to drift slowly up the river Shannon and settle forever in Limerick. The rain dampened the city from the Feast of the Circumcision to New Year's Eve. It created a cacophony of hacking coughs, bronchial rattles, asthmatic wheezes, consumptive croaks. It turns noses into fountains, lungs into bacterial sponges. It provoked cures galore; to ease the catarrh you boiled onion in milk blackened with pepper; for the congested passages you made a paste of boiled flour and nettles, wrapped it in a rag, and slapped it, sizzling, on the chest. (1)

The historical background of McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* is associated with the name Eamon De Valera, the first president of the Irish Free State. More than any phase in Irish history, De Valera's presidency was highly opened to criticism, and even "to ridicule, depicted as unrealistic over-romanticised vision of comely maidens and dancing at the cross roads" (Dowling 37)

De Valera's presidential philosophy and programme emphasize a romantic 'rural Catholic Gaelic Ireland'. His discourse empowers similarity and repudiates difference. As opposed to England, Ireland is based on a highly spiritual Catholic religion, an established Irish language, and an Irish nationalism based on memorizing past heroes and legends in modern times. When analysing his speeches, a number of recurring themes are distinguished:

- Ireland is an ancient nation with a pedigree as good, if not better, than that of England. Antiquity provides numerous examples of a spiritual nation with an influence on the world stage that belied its size. Antique Ireland civilised Europe, modern Ireland can replicate this achievement. Catholicism is associated with the idea of spirituality. Catholicism is a crucial point of differentiation between Ireland and England, not only in terms of doctrine, but also in the fact that through Catholicism Ireland was tied to a broader global network from which England was excluded.
- Ireland is a Gaelic nation. From the mid nineteenth-century writings of Thomas Davis Irish nationalists considered the Irish language to be the surest defence against the nation's absorption into an English world. The language was also a bridge to past generations of Irish men and women.
- The past is used in a variety of contexts. It is the line of continuity that binds modern Ireland to the glorious past of the land of Saints and Scholars. It also presents an Ireland that was a united nation. Moreover, the past, presented as a story of oppression and persecution that persisted over seven and a half centuries, is a tangible difference between Ireland and England. This is a story of unparalleled brutality and of deliberate cultural destruction but also of heroic and unceasing struggle in the pursuit of justice and right. This leads onto the sub-theme of liberty, used particularly in speeches to American audiences where the tradition of American liberty is juxtaposed with the Irish struggle to strengthen Irish claims for support from American sources. (37-38)

However, there was a stark opposition between De Valera's theoretical ideals for Ireland and what was actually experienced by the Irish. The image of Ireland as "a home of a people living the life that God desires that should live" (38) is still unfulfilled. In "De Valera and the Creation of an Irish National Image", Michele Dowling summarizes well social realities prevalent during De Valera's presidency. She reports that:

This vision of Ireland stood in stark contrast to the Ireland that many of its citizens were accustomed to. High levels of poverty and under employment contributed to a continuous stream of emigration from the Irish country side. Inter-generational strife was not unknown as adult children waited to inherit the family farm. Disease too was rampant: Ireland continued to have some of the highest rates of TB in Europe. These rates only began to fall in the 1950s. However, the picture that de Valera painted, that Ireland which could be attained should the people of the island work together, was not intended to reflect the reality of Ireland in 1943. It aimed to provide a morale boost for the nation and to inspire the Irish people to work towards an ideal Ireland. (Dowling 38)

In short, De Valera's Ireland was backward looking, economically depressed; poverty was extreme and unemployment and emigration were high. Furthermore, a common cause of death in Limerick, and Ireland as a whole, was Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis was prevalent because living conditions were unsanitary and malnutrition was rife. Three of the seven McCourt children died of diseases caused by malnutrition and unsanitary living conditions. Frank himself, nearly died of typhoid fever at the age of ten. The McCourts had to deal with fleas, rats, flies, and lice. There was

only one lavatory for the whole lane of eleven families, and it was directly outside their door. “I had typhoid”, says Frank McCourt:

Yeah, because there was a lavatory that we all shared in this lane. All the families came and emptied their buckets. They used the bucket in the house, in the bedroom, for everything, and then emptied it into this lavatory. And it would overflow and there was waste, dirt, pee, piss, excrement everywhere. Flies, rats, everything coming to—were attracted to this lavatory. We could hear them coming. We’d say, “Oh, God, shut the door. Shut the door. Bonnie Sexton is coming with her bucket.” And she had the worst bucket in the lane. We became connoisseurs of the stink. So the flies would go in there, and they’d come in and they’d settle on the sugar bowl that we had. When we had jam, and I got typhoid fever out of it. And in those days they didn’t have the medicines, or if they had them they weren’t available to the likes of me. So I spent three and a half months in the hospital in the summer, which nearly killed me. (Qtd. in *Academy of Achievements* 5)

Adding to these is the special feeling of hatred for all that is English, Protestant, or Northerner. This antipathy is an ancient discourse empowered by De Valera’s practices. It goes as far back as the first English landing on Irish ground in the twelfth century. In the opening lines of his memoir, McCourt ascribes some of the sorrow he and his family had endured to the “English and the terrible things they did for eight hundred long years” (Mccourt 1).

England is identified with Protestantism. Adding to the conviction that Catholicism is God’s religion, the identification of Protestants with the English can also explain the Irish resentment of Protestants and Protestantism. Historically speaking, Protestantism was brought by forces of Oliver Cromwell in the seventeenth century who was followed by the Protestant army of William of Orange in 1690. Both tried to subjugate the Irish Catholics by establishing Protestantism as Ireland’s official religion. However, their efforts were useless because Catholicism was engraved within the Irish mind, psyche, and identity.

After a long struggle against English colonialism, most of Ireland won its Independence in 1922. Six remaining Northern counties remained under British rule, predominantly Protestant and English speaking. This is why anyone from the North of Ireland, even a good Catholic or an Irish nationalist like Malachy McCourt, Frank’s father, is regarded with suspicion. Thus, when Malachy McCourt stated that De Valera was the greatest man in the world, he sounded ironical.

Frank McCourt’s father Malachy came from the north. He is regarded as not really Irish because he is from the North, has a northern name, and does not look Catholic. Historically speaking, working-class Protestants were generally assumed to belong to families who had abandoned their Catholic faith in exchange of money or food offered by Protestant. These former Catholics were popularly known as “soupers” in reference to the decision they made by exchanging their religion for bowls of soup during the Great Famine. (Potts 291)

What Michele Dowling concluded on De Valera’s measures for a defectless Ireland is the inevitable conviction in the identification of the Irish race with pride. This identification, encapsulated the Irish for a long time:

A national image does not need to be real to be effective. It merely needs to offer a fixed image of self, a picture of what we like to imagine that self to be rather than what that self is. This is what de Valera offered the Irish people: an image of themselves that differentiated them from the English and allowed them to take pride in themselves as a people. (Dowling 37)

De Valera's Limerick was perhaps more miserable than the whole of Ireland. Since its publication, a special attention was given to the culture of Limerick in *Angela's Ashes*. O'Brien, for example, investigates the impact of every area of Irish social life in Limerick which is revealed as "inadequate, repressive, discriminatory, and essentially inhumane, there emerges an exhaustive view of a humiliating collective failure." (246) Fred Robinson concludes that the culture of Limerick emanates from two cultural attitudes which stand in opposition to each other:

One concerns a conviction of 'doom', and derives from 'colonialism, poverty, insularity, and the Roman Catholic church'. The other concerns 'a culture of the modern, of 'the way out', whereby Limerick is imbued 'with the idea and fact of passage'. (Qtd. in Levy 259-260)

It seems then that there is a conventional agreement that the plight of the majority of Limerick men, which culminates in leaving Ireland, stems from disapproval with the overall attitudes that constitute the essence of the Limerick culture. Frank's emigration, in this case, is "culturally coded, and his escape is "ironically assisted by values in the very culture which confines him." (Robinson 16)

b. Frank's predicament in Limerick: the continuity of 'The Tradition'

Limerick is dominated by a philosophy that both discourages individuality and encourages conformity. This philosophy is described in terms of universals where each category is determined by its pre-destined universals. "The miserable childhood", is presented as an example of a general type, and particularly, "The miserable Irish Catholic childhood". Every person is expressed in terms of those universals.

Consequently, individuality is reduced to commonality. The following formula; "the poverty; the shiftless loquacious alcoholic father; the pious defeated mother moaning by the fire; pompous priests; bullying schoolmasters; the English and the terrible things they did to us for eight hundred long years", apply for every body. In this context, to be an individual is to be determined by the same condition that everybody else must endure. One implication suggested here, in Limerick conformity is rewarded, change brings chaos.

Frank's struggle to free himself from the constraints of Limerick culture, which threatens his individuality, necessitates his gradual rejection of it-family, state, church- and then culminates in his decision to leave. Since his arrival in Limerick and Frank is dreaming to return to America. His dream turns into an obsession with each day spent in the lanes of Limerick.

Each day in the world of Limerick was a threat to Frank's well being, his identity, and his individuality. The plight of his family, the stigma of disgrace, the discrimination of church and state, and the degradation, altogether enhance his urgency to leave Limerick. Of course, the most obvious agent of disgrace is the prejudice that hangs all over Limerick. Frank McCourt writes:

If anyone in your family was the least way friendly to the English in the last eight hundred years it will be brought up and thrown in your face and you might as well move to Dublin where no one cares. (Mccourt 147)

Perhaps the clearest example of prejudice concerns Frank's maternal grandmother's animus against his father, who considers him a Protestant since originally, he is a Northerner. By virtue, Frank undergoes the same fate, because in his Grandmother's eyes, he is just like his father.

Out of prejudice, two victims Frank was already exposed to within his own family. Two prominent victims of the Limerick social, political, and religious abstract principles are; "the shiftless loquacious alcoholic father; the pious defeated mother moaning by the fire." Frankie and his brothers were raised up by irresponsible parents, who could not provide them life's basic essentials, but when it comes to drink or cigarettes, the parents always manage to get it. As Frank grows up, he could understand that his parent's resorting to drink and cigarettes is but an escape, a way to ease the pain they endured in the cruel world of Limerick.

Frank's father Malachy was born in the North of Ireland and fought with the Irish Republican Army against the British. After that, Malachy became a fugitive and emigrated to New York where he met Angela Sheehan and married her. After four years of hardship in America, the McCourt family returned to Ireland. Upon his arrival, Malachy was not given a penny for his services in the IRA. He felt betrayed. Then the family headed southward, to the much-talked about Limerick. Limerick is a highly conservative Catholic community, where Romantic nationalism inherited from the nineteenth century was still very much alive. Consequently, given the fact that he is from the North, Frank's father Malachy is always alienated from his surrounding.

Dad says he's glad to see the spirit of Christ alive in Limerick and they tell him they don't need the likes of him with his northern accent to be telling them about Christ and he should be ashamed of himself dragging a child around like that like a common beggar, a tinker, a knacker. (78)

Unable to fit within the Limerick world by virtue of his origins, Malachy is always denied a chance to get a decent job. If he does, he soon loses the money in pubs.

Beside his alienation and inability to get a job, Frank's father is in charge of a family of four children and a wife which he cannot support. Faced with these circumstances, Malachy McCourt has retreated to silent passivity, sentimental nationalism, and drink. Malachy's habit of drinking has become a chronic illness; each penny from the money Malachy does get goes straight to the pub. While his family suffers from hunger and his children from diseases caused by weakness and

malnutrition, Malachy drinks excessively and comes home late at night, wakes up the sleeping boys-Frank and his brother- with patriotic songs of Kevin Barry and Roddy McCorley, and yelling that they must be ready to die for Ireland.

Feeling useless, Frank's father leaves Ireland for England in the hope of working to send money for his family back in Limerick. He did not send a penny, unfortunately. Malachy McCourt, the drinking father, reappears in the pages of *Angela's Ashes* on two more occasions only after his departure.

Frank shows extreme ambivalence regarding his father; he shows deep love and resentment and feels pity for him and indictment. The irresponsibility of Frank's father leaves the family destitute and plunges his mother in a constant state of despair. The conflict is powerfully reflected in two passages. The first concerns Frank's attempt to pull his father away from a pub where he was drinking the family resources:

My heart is banging away in my chest and I don't know what to do because I know I'm raging inside like my mother by the fire and all I can think of doing is running in and giving him a good kick in the leg and running out again but I don't because we have the mornings by the fire when he tells me about Cuchulain and de Valera and Roosevelt and if he's there drunk and buying pints with the baby's money he has that look in his eyes Eugene had when he searched for Oliver and I might as well go home and tell my mother a lie that I never saw him couldn't find him. (209)

The second reflects this ambivalence:

I know when Dad does the bad thing. I know when he drinks the dole money and Mam is desperate and has to beg at the St. Vincent de Paul Society and ask for credit at Kathleen O'Connell's shop, but I don't want to back away from him and run to Mam. How can I do that when I'm up with him early every morning with the whole world asleep? (237)

This passage may also reveal that Malachy's drinking causes not only hunger, it forces the children to choose between their father and mother, Angela.

On the other hand, there is Angela McCourt, Frank's mother. Angela McCourt, formerly, Angela Sheehan grew up with her two siblings, Ab and Aggie Sheehan, in the slums of Limerick. Because she was useless in Limerick, in her mother's eyes, Angela was sent to New York. In New York, she met Malachy McCourt, and since then her life became a great mess: the constant poverty, the irresponsible husband, and the death of three of her children.

Angela's only priority is the wellbeing of her children. Upon their arrival in the North of Ireland, although Angela tells the sergeant's wife, at the station, that it feels good to be "back among our own" (54), she is clearly worried about her family in Ireland.

Just as Angela is dubious about coming home, Angela and Malachy's families are not looking forward to the McCourts' return either. The grandparents' refusal is mainly the result of worry. Malachy's mother does not have enough rooms or money to feed and house six people though they own a big house; and Angela's mother, a devout Catholic, feels pity, anger, and anxiety over her

daughter's condition. Angela has a 'Northern' drunk husband, no money, and four little children who know nothing about the priest.

Though caring and loving, Angela McCourt is passive. For the sake of their welfare, Angela sacrificed her dignity and class. In hostile Limerick, Angela begs and suffers humiliation from indifferent officials at the relief organizations, sceptical shopkeepers, and post-office clerks in order to lift the family up. On more than one occasion, she picked up coals from the street or begged for leftovers from churches. Both her husband and Frank could not bear these measures. Frank often reacts harshly and yells at his mother. For him, begging is a stigma of poverty, disgrace, shame, and a threat to his individuality in a world full of prejudice.

Angela is like that 'despairing survivor whose preoccupation is just to live, never thinking of a way out from where she is. She is enclosed in her world of stasis'. Even when she talks about America, she mentions it as the place where her lovely daughter Margaret died. She is doomed. The ashes she stares at smoking her woodbines are themselves an image of doom. It is this very resignation to enclosure in the world of Limerick, 'the doom' that Frank must overcome to prove his individuality. (Robinson 13-14)

Being the son of a northerner- Presbyterian-, poor, and coming from a secular world, Frank is not welcomed either. By virtue of his origins, Frank has to face mistreatment and discrimination from his family, society and church. He has too, to find an escape; otherwise, he would just be another victim of Limerick principles, a past-bound 'Malachy' or an enclosed 'Angela'.

Because he resembles his father, Frank's life is just another facet of his father's suffering. This was already made clear when Frank met his family. Actually, the strongest factor that led Frank to see in exile a great necessity is his extended family in Limerick. Never do they receive the McCourts with any love or affection. Aunt Aggie's pronouncement "Ye are nothing but trouble since ye came from America" (McCourt 62), sums up the general feeling. In almost all cases, the family members resent helping out the McCourts and if they do, they do it unwillingly.

Upon their return to Ireland, the McCourts first went to Frank's paternal family in the North of Ireland. Frank's relatives live in a nice home; they offer sausage and eggs because it is Easter Sunday. However, they feel no fondness, tenderness, or affection. Frankie compares his aunts to their neighbours in America as they "nod their heads but they don't hug us or smile." (47) The McCourts quickly send Malachy and his family away, saying, "No work here and, God knows, we don't have room in this house for six more people." (48)

It is just a similar fate Frank and his family face when meeting Frank's maternal relatives in Limerick. Angela's family is not welcoming either. This was well felt in the way Frankie first introduces his grandmother:

There she was on the platform, Grandma, with white hair, sour eyes, a black shawl, and no smile for my mother or any of us, even my brother, Malachy, who had the big smile and the sweet white teeth. (55)

The grandmother's financial status seems acceptable. She has enough money to live in a small clean home, cut thick slices of bread, set up her daughter's family in a furnished room, and pay for passage to and from America for relatives. However, when the boys turn to their grandmother when they needed help, her actions never demonstrated that she is giving because she wanted to; instead, she acted out of obligation. In Frank's first communion, she brought him new fancy clothes and prepares a luxurious dinner for him. Unfortunately, the party ended up with Frank throwing up the communion dinner. This incident outraged his grandmother. Because she is a fervent Catholic, she considers Frank's incident a sin in which he must confess.

Another relative the children meet for the first time is Aunt Aggie, Angela's sister. Like her mother, Aggie lives in a comparative luxury in her flat. She has no children of her own, but she is also unwilling to share any of her goods with the McCourts. "I don't know why we have to pay for Angela's mistakes," (75) she complains. She tells Frankie, whom she calls "scabby eyes," and his brothers more than once that "she can't stand the sight of us another minute." (284) Forced to take care of the boys while Angela is in the hospital, one day when Frankie's brother Malachy asks for a piece of bread, she hits him with a paper. Malachy does not come home from school the next day, and her only response is, "Well, I suppose he ran away. Good riddance." (285)

When he offered Frank shelter after his disagreement with his mother because of Laman Griffith, we expected that Frank's Uncle Abbott would be an exception. However, Abbott Sheehan forbids Frankie to turn on the light and threatens to keep track of the electric meter. He hides his food from Frankie. He even carries his bread in his pocket to safeguard it. In one instance, he eats fish and chips in front of the hungry child, all the while telling him there is no food in the house. After Abbott has gone to sleep, Frankie, extremely hungry, licks the newspaper.

As Frank grows older, he understands that it is only strangers that provide him affection. Uncle Pa, Aggie's husband, shows a great amount of affection for Frankie and his brothers as well. He feeds them ham sandwiches behind his wife's back. On more than one occasion, he takes on the role of the father. It is Uncle Pa who lays Eugene to his final rest in his coffin. It is Uncle Pa who buys Frankie his first pint to celebrate his sixteenth birthday saying "Tis what I'd do if I had a son." (391)

Frank McCourt looks for a father figure in other men who treat him kindly as well. When a railroad worker helps them out, Frankie wishes he had a father like the man in the signal tower who gives him sandwiches and cocoa. Another special relationship Frankie develops is with the neighbor Mr. Hannon, to whom he gave the feeling of a son.

Adding to Uncle Pa, Mr. Hannon, and the Priest, a barman along Classon Avenue fills the twins' bottles with milk. An Italian grocer in their Brooklyn neighbourhood gives the boys a bag of fruit. A shop lady in Limerick gives the children an onion for their sick brother. Minnie MacAdorey and

Mrs. Leibowitz feed the boys after Margaret's death; whereas, when appealed to, the Brooklyn cousins, the McNamara, refuse any responsibility. Instead, they arranged for the return of the McCourts to Ireland.

It is no surprise that Frankie dreams of moving elsewhere, where he can start a new life. He believes that the United States carries the promise of hope and better times, as he indicates by his choice of lines to open his memoir. Frank had to face obstacles already at the level of family, on the level of society, it was worse.

In their very first day at school, troubles were already awaiting Frank and his brother Malachy. Frank commented on the mentality operant at Leamy's School, a mentality of narrow mindedness; "There's no use saying anything in the schoolyard because there's always someone with an answer and there's nothing you can do but punch them in the nose" (165) When the boys at school find out that Frank grew up in New York, they taunt him and ask if he is a 'gangster' or a 'cowboy'. The conversation results in a fistfight:

The boys in Leamy's want to know why we talk like that. Are ye Yanks or what? And when we tell them we came from America they want to know, are you gangster or cowboys?

A big boy sticks his face up to mine. I'm asking ye a question, he says. Are ye gangsters or cowboys?

I tell him I don't know and when he pokes his fingers into my chest Malachy says, I'm a gangster, Frank's a cowboy. The big boy says, Your little brother is smart and you're a stupid Yank.

The boys round him are excited. Fight, they yell, fight, and he pushes me so hard I fall. I want to cry but the blackness comes over me the way it did with Freddie Libowitz and I rush at him, kicking and punching. I knock him down and try to grab his hair to bang his head on the ground but there's a sharp sting across the backs of my legs and I'm pulled away from him. (83)

Frank is innocent, he is punished though. In Ireland, Frank and his brothers were labelled as outsiders since their arrival because of class distinction and the Catholic dogmas operanting in Limerick. It is not surprising then that because of their American accent, the children are marked as Yanks and expected to conform to the stereotypes of a secular America as portrayed in movies. Because he is a stranger, brought up from the secular America, a Yank, Frank is severely punished:

Mr. Benson, the master, has me by the ear and he's whacking me across the legs. You little hooligan, he says. Is that the kind of behaviour you brought from America? Well, by God you'll behave yourself before I'm done with you.

He tells me hold out one hand and then the other and hits me with his stick once on each hand. Go home now, he says, and tell your mother what a bad boy you were. You're a bad Yank. Say after me, I'm a bad boy.

I'm a bad boy. Now say, I'm a bad yank.

I'm a bad Yank. (83-84)

Actually, Frank McCourt's incident is two-edged. On the one hand, it emphasizes the narrow mindedness of Limerick men which tend to judge a person from his origins and not his behaviour. A good person is known since his childhood by virtue of the background the parents have provided

i.e. if the children are born to and raised in a Catholic environment; they must be considered as good Catholics. If not, the children are doomed to pay for their parent's 'fault'. Though good Catholics as some might be, never will they be treated as such.

On the other hand, it epitomizes one of the basic beliefs of the myth of 'Holy Ireland' implanted by the Catholic Church since the 19th century and emphasized during De Valera's reign to empower the feeling of Irish nationalism, uniqueness, and pride in order to stop the successive waves of emigration. Ireland is spiritual, natural, and conservative as opposed to America, the modern, materialistic, and secular.

No wonder, positive images of Irish Americans in the Gaelic literature of the early years of the Gaelic Revival were virtually nonexistent. In a speech held on July 1903, the Gaelic writer Séamus O'Dubhghaill reveals harshly:

There's another group, people who think a great of themselves, but whom I don't have much respect for –the Puncàin- the Yankees. They come over here to us after spending a couple of years over there, they speak through their noses, and you would think with their hustle that they owned all of America and that the sun rose out of America's arse. Indeed it does not, and if it did, I'm afraid the sun's face would be none too clean. (O'Leary 253)

Teachers of Leamy's School are not different. The seven masters in Leamy's National School, each favouring his respective objects of hatred, are similarly famous for violent prejudice:

One master will hit if you don't know that Eamon de Valera is the greatest man that ever lived. Another master will hit you if you don't know that Michael Collins was the greatest man that ever lived.

Mr. Benson hates America and you have to remember to hate America or he'll hit you.

Mr. O'Dea hates England and you have to remember to hate England or he'll hit you.

If you ever say anything good about Oliver Cromwell they'll all hit you. (McCourt 85)

Above all, if you do not know the Christ and main basics of the Catholic religion, you will be considered an atheist, and being an atheist in Ireland is just like living in hell. After the establishment of the Irish Free State (1922), a system of education was put in place in order to continue promoting a national identity based on Catholic education. The Catholic Church and the government both shared mutual sympathies to educational projects. The following paragraph epitomizes well the policy held in departments of education in primary schools in 1926:

Of all the parts of a school curriculum Religious Instruction is by far the most important, as its subject matter, God's honour and service, includes the proper use of all man's faculties, and affords the most powerful inducements to their proper use. We assume, therefore, that Religious Instruction is a fundamental part of the school course. Though the time allotted to it as a specific subject is necessarily short, a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. The teacher, - while careful, in presence of children of different religious beliefs, not to touch on matters of controversy, - should constantly inculcate, in connection with secular subjects, the practice of charity, justice, truth, purity, patience, temperance, obedience to lawful authority,

and all the other moral virtues. In this way he will fulfill the primary duty of an educator, the moulding to perfect form of his pupils' character, habituating them to observe, in their relations with God and with their neighbour, the laws which God, both directly through the dictates of natural reason and through Revelation, and indirectly through the ordinance of lawful authority, imposes on mankind. (Williams 319)

Not only prejudice, poverty is, as well, at the core of all Frank's miseries. In fact, in Limerick, the influence of poverty exposes everyone it touches to the same experience of misery. For the majority of Limerick people, the worst aspect of poverty concerns not the lack of money; rather, it concerns shame and the humiliation, and class distinction which denies social development.

Frank McCourt is dwelling in a world ruled by a shaming gaze. This gaze subjects the person to such aspects as humiliation which results in negative self-consciousness. A leading representative example in the lanes of Limerick concerns the officials of the Confraternity: "they'll make sure you go to the Confraternity from this on out so they won't be disgraced and shamed entirely with the neighbours muttering behind their hands" (Mccourt 164) Thus, the worst impact of poverty for Frank concerns the social stigma attached to it: "The thought of the shame brings a pain in my heart and starts me sniffing" (233)

A relationship can be drawn here is that, the degree of shame and destitution are directly proportional to each other:

Bridey Harmon told Mam that Mrs. Meagher is in a constant state of shame over the rags they wear and so desperate she goes down to the Dispensary for the public assistance. Mom says that's the worst thing that could happen to any family. It's worse than going on the dole, it's worse than going to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, it's worse than begging on the streets with the tinkers and the knackers. It's the last thing you'd do to keep yourself out of the poor house and the children from the orphanage. (256)

This kind of shame is acutely felt. For, the poverty that provokes it exposes the individual to degrading and shameful exhibition, "It's a terrible thing to walk the world with the skin showing through the holes of our stockings" (256); and humiliating supplication, as when Frank discovers his mother near the Redemptorist church. In a small crowd, people outside the door of the priest's house were waiting to beg for any food left over from the priest's dinner:

This is worse than the dole, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Dispensary. It's the worst kind of shame, almost as bad as begging on the streets where the tinkers hold up their scabby children. (288)

In addition to the humiliation engendered by poverty, Frank encounters numerous reflections of his shame through pompous priests; bullying schoolmasters; the strictures of Sister Rita in the Fever Hospital, "Sister Rita stops us in the hall to tell me I'm a great disappointment to her, that she

expected me to be a good boy after what God has done for me ..." (223); the insults of his Aunt Aggie; and the callousness of Mrs O'Connell at the post office, "I don't know why Mrs O'Connell had to shame me before the whole world, and I don't think I'm too good for the post office or anything else" (397). As these examples suggest, Frank is doomed to live in a world animated by a shaming gaze who threatens to suppress his individuality.

Poverty makes of Frank an easy prey to religious authorities, as well. Frank is denied any chances for further educational development, not because he is inapt, rather because of class distinction. Firstly, in spite of his parent's great efforts to teach him Latin, make him clean, and mend his clothes, Frank is denied the rank of an altar boy by the Church.

The second incident occurred as Frank was in his last class grade. By the testimonial of Frank's favourite teacher at Leamy's School Mr. O'Halloran, Frank McCourt was a 'literary genius'. He was only nine years old when he made all Leamy's teachers amazed by his essay about "Jesus in Limerick". Writing for Frank is lifelong dream. In one of his interviews, he says:

I think I was always attracted to writing. I always wanted to write because for me it was magic to get a piece of paper and put words on it. As I'm always saying, to put together words that were never before put together by anybody. To take two words that were never joined together like a 'scintillating turnip'. I would put words together like that just to keep the language fresh. When I was nine or ten I was trying to write a detective novel, an English detective novel, set in London, which I had never seen. All I know about London was what I read in English detective novels. So I was always up to something like that, and writing little playlets that I'd make my brothers act in... In schools if they told me to write an essay of 150 words I'd write 500 words, so the masters said, "Stop, McCourt. Stop. That's enough. Stop." And then they might read it to the class and then, of course, I'd be teased again in the schoolyard. "For Jesus sake, McCourt, will you stop writing? We have to listen to it. (Qtd. in Academy of Achievement 2-3)

Mr. O'Halloran asked Angela to take care of Frank. Following Mr. O'Halloran advice, Angela took Frank to the Christian Brothers to inquire for further schooling, but the priest there slammed the door in the McCourt's faces telling them that there was no room for Frank. Once again, Frank is ultimately denied a place among the Christian Brothers not because of his qualification, but because of his social class belonging. Frank's mother blames the church, and concludes angrily:

'Tis a class distinction. They don't want boys from lanes on the altar. They don't want the ones with scabby knees and hair sticking up. Oh, no, they want the nice boys with hair oil and new shoes that have fathers with suits and ties and steady jobs. That's what it is and 'tis hard to hold on to the Faith with the snobbery that's in it. (Mccourt 167)

Frank's teacher Mr. O'Halloran, on the other hand, suggests that it is rather the state which is to be blamed in the first place. He is disgusted by this free and independent Ireland "that keeps a class system foisted on us by the English, that we are throwing our talented children in the dung heap." (338)

It is the Irish Catholic Church which perpetuates such class distinction through its educational system:

We go to school through lanes and back streets so that we won't meet the respectable boys who go to the Christian Brothers' School or the rich ones who go to the Jesuit school, Crescent College. The Christian Brothers' boys wear tweed jackets...We know they're the ones who will get jobs in the civil service and help the people who run the world...The Crescent College boys...will go to university, take over the family business, run the government, run the world. (316)

Because of his growing degrees of poverty, Frank begins to think of money as destiny. The repetition of the word "We know" suggests that Frank is beginning to believe that class distinction is carved in stone, and that if you are born poor you stay poor. In short, in Limerick, hard work will not change your fate.

The predicament of Frank in the lanes of Limerick, and hence motives behind his forceful departure, can be clarified. Life in Limerick for Frank means his gradual degradation. It is conditioned by such internal factors as enforced habits of repressions, irresponsibility, and shame; and by external factors as prejudice, poverty, humiliation, disgrace, and class distinction. Both categories played a major role in repressing Frank's development, educational and intellectual, pushing him to see in exile not an option but a fate. At the age of nineteen, Frank McCourt could gather enough money to book a ticket for the United States. He went never to come back.

After a long struggle, Frank is finally rewarded by landing on the American shores, his lifelong dream. By landing, he completes the circular frame of his emigration. He was born in America, New York; he grows up in Ireland, Limerick; and became a successful teacher and writer in America. The circular frame creates dialectic between Ireland and America, portraying the first as a place of trial and hardship, whereas the second is a place of hope, possibilities, and achievements. (Hendrick 4)

Despite the long catalogue of deprivation, hardship, and suffering, Frank McCourt wished he had stayed home, but he was obliged to, for the sake of himself and for the sake of his family, and because his life in Ireland means chaos. However, Frank knows already that separation is unbearable:

Surely I have stayed, taken the post office examination, climbed in the world. I could have brought in enough money for Michal and Alphie to go to school with proper shoes and bellies well filled. We could have moved from the lane to a street or even an avenue where houses have gardens. I should have taken that examination and Mam should never again have to empty the chamber pot of Mr. Sliney or anyone else.

It's too late now. I'm on the ship and there goes Ireland into the night and it's foolish to be standing on the deck looking back and thinking of my family and Limerick and Malachy and my father in England and even more foolish that songs are going through my head Roddy McCorley goes to die and Mam gasping Oh the days of the Kerry dancing with poor Mr. Clohessy hacking away in the bed and now I want Ireland back at least I had Mam and my brothers and Aunt Aggie bad as she was and Uncle Pa, standing me my first pint, and my bladder is near my eye and here's a priest standing by me on the deck and you can see he's curious.

He's a Limerickman but he has an American accent from his years in Los Angeles. He knows how it is to leave Ireland, did it himself and never got over it. You live in Los Angeles with sun and palm trees day in day out and you ask God if there's any chance he could give you one soft rainy Limerick day. (McCourt 420-421)

In *Tis*, *Angela's Ashes*' sequel, Frank McCourt tells the story of his American journey turning from an impoverished immigrant to a brilliant teacher and raconteur. He also acknowledges his indebtedness to his homeland for his success. The hardship, the misery, the poverty, the early responsibility all together provided the young Frank McCourt with a sense of endurance which brought him to an early maturity.

Exile helps McCourt to see his life in Ireland under a new light. It provided Frank McCourt a doubleness of vision with which he could rewrite his story and the history of Ireland with extreme objectivity. From exile, McCourt re-creates his world from a distance by presenting both sides of the story not imitated from within. *Angela's Ashes* chronicles a young man's liberation from a smothering Irish parochialism with an air of gratitude. This strategy, in turn, allows him to exploit without fully identifying with Irish stereotypes, "The Miserable Irish Childhood". An Irish author Éilís Ní Dhuibhne reflected on the impact of exile in creating a new typical Irish identity:

Exile [is] an advantage for a writer...emigration of any kind within Ireland or to the U.K or the U.S creates a doubleness of vision and perception that is useful to a writer. [I am] increasingly interested in this duality and ambiguity of my own personality which is typically Irish. (Reynolds, Reynolds, Saunders 13-14)

Section two: Frank's 'New' discourse on Ireland from America

Introduction

In my twenties, I didn't want to write about being poor. I had to overcome a lot of fear- overcome the shame...It couldn't have happened earlier because I didn't have any kind of balance. I didn't have maturity. Also, I think if I had written this book thirty years ago it would have been an indictment, a condemnation—humourless. (Qtd. in Mitchell 92)

Once in America, Frank McCourt was very poor, emotionally, psychologically, and physically. He did not have self-esteem because of what he came from. He had no education. Every body was telling him that "Oh, you have to have a high school diploma in this country" (Qtd. in Academy of Achievement 6) However, he had a sense of endurance. In Ireland, Frank could survive in an extreme misery that no one can ever imagine. It is true that he was not well educated, but he was mature. Within few years, he became one of the world's acclaimed authors.

Upon his arrival in America, McCourt worked at odd jobs including that of a houseman in a Baltimore hotel. He spent most of his free time in the New York Public Library, on 42nd Street in Manhattan, which he referred to in an interview as “his university” (Sharp 1016) When the Second World War broke out, McCourt joined the American Army.

After serving in the American army, Frank McCourt wanted to pursue his education. Although he had never attended high school, he persuaded the admission office of New York University to accept him as a student and pursue his education on the GI Bill; a bill that provides college or vocational education for returning World War Two veterans (p.1017) Upon his graduation, Frank McCourt could get a job as a high-school teacher first, in McKee Vocational High School; then, at Seward Park High School; and finally at Stuyvesant High School, which is described by McCourt as the Jewel in the Crown of the New York educational system. His experience as a teacher made him realize many things most of which is the double aspect of the story which influenced him in the writing of *Angela's Ashes*. He says:

I realized the impulse of the parents, how they want their kids to be secure and everything. I realized that, and I realized the romantic dreams of the kids, which were not romantic dreams of the kids, which were not romantic, they were real dreams, because I had them myself. How do you steer a middle course between the parents and the kids? You have to be careful that you don't turn kids against their parents or parents against their kids. So I had to organize this and try all the time to present both sides of the story. That was my main learning experience, and that's why I don't take any extreme. (Qtd. in Academy of Achievement 9)

When Frank McCourt decided to write about his early life in Ireland and the hardship he endured there before coming to America, he did not have the self-confidence or the knowledge. He did not know how to write or what to write. At the beginning, he resorted to imitation, most of which is James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man*. Then, he came across Gore Vidal's memoir, *Palimpsest*. Gore Vidal is an American author. Gore Vidal's notion on memoir is basically the way one remembers one's own life. In his memoir, he said that an autobiography “is the attempt to create the facts of your life—your memoir is the impression of your life. The facts are there, but then what impression did they leave”

(Qtd. in Mitchell 4)

Frank's life in Ireland is an interminable portrayal of hardship, deprivation, and suffering. Yet, there is no trace of bitterness, resentment, or even a sense of regret reflected in the narrative. Frank McCourt downplays the horror of living in Limerick by throwing the light on the positive side. By so doing, McCourt gives birth to a different discourse about Ireland and the Irish; it is what he called the other ‘side of the story’.

Frank reflects on the suffering, hardship, and deprivation not only as repressive factors, but also as constructive ones. These conditions play a major role in constructing Frank's mature identity. It

is this very hardship, deprivation, and suffering that makes Frank the man. Truthfully said, every aspect of Frank's life in miserable Limerick was beneficial. Despite difficult obstacles, Frankie grows intellectually, spiritually, and morally. The weapons he relies on however are not those of James Joyce; on the contrary, it is on interaction that he could survive and assert his individuality. We may say that the example of Frank fits well to the common saying: "Every time life knocks you down there is a motive behind it. Life wants to teach you something and wants you to understand it as soon as possible."

Frank's quest for individuality in an environment which had accustomed itself to dogmatic and orthodox beliefs was not obstacle-free. Every step forward was met with pain, sometimes despair, and guilt. In moment of depression, Frank could recover, not by his own independent thinking but by the help of 'exceptional' others. Though irresponsible, Frank's father has done much to enrich Frank's soul with imagination and hope. Other family members include (Frank's Uncle Pa), teachers (Mr. O'Halloran), and even priests (Father Gregory). By so doing, Frank introduces a different discourse in the writing of the Irish. In Limerick, there are bullying school masters, but there are also good hearted ones like Mr. O'Halloran. Similarly, there are arrogant priests, but there are helpful and comprehensive ones. There are cold emotionless relatives, but there are also loving uncles and neighbours as well.

Most serious Irish writings represent the protagonist's quest for individuality in no other way than a feeling of alienation; followed by a rebellion against the Church, social conventions, and nationalist beliefs; and culminates with a total break up and exile. Frank McCourt is no difference. Frank's growing sense of maturity was accompanied by a growing conviction that necessitates the break up with social conventions, standard beliefs, and the Catholic Church. However, though the intensity of Frank's decisions and acts, much of the comic effects of *Angela's Ashes* happen when religious dogmas, or social traditional beliefs get interpreted by a child's mind. Many scenes in *Angela's Ashes* are hilarious.

Humour has done much to alleviate Frank's trauma in Limerick. By critic's testimony, Frank's book is a testament of the restorative power of humour. As he said in an interview:

The way we lived, we have to turn every thing to humour. If you live in gloom all the time, it drains you. It's an energy matter, you have to keep lifting yourself. Humour was a resistance to gravity. We were all like characters out of Beckett, every thing was absurd. (Qtd. in *Academy of Achievement* 8)

Last but not least, Frank McCourt made of *Angela's Ashes* a widely acclaimed literary phenomenon. In a rich texture, he successfully manages to blend the diversity of the Irish culture with the popularity of the American culture. Most crucial in the American culture is the myth of the

American Dream. Frank's story of endurance and survival in lanes of Limerick follows well the myth of the American Dream.

a. Frank's individuality: Rising from the ashes

Because of his claimed ethos of dignity, Frank's father displaces onto others the responsibility of his family, the responsibility he refuses to bear. Frank's father "never carries anything, parcels, bags, packages. If you carry such things you lose your dignity" (McCourt 102) Being the eldest of the family, it is on Frank that the responsibility falls upon. Though the task seems impossible in a hostile world such as Limerick, Malachy's irresponsibility enables Frank's individuality to blossom earlier.

In his long journey to maturity, Frank had to get rid of his father's hollow code of dignity, "A man without a collar and tie is a man with no respect for himself" (102) Unlike his father, Frank succeeded to sustain his individuality by being a part of the adult world, working and earning money. He grows, matures, and understands the world in adult terms at a very early age.

Earning money is one of Frank's first coming of age experiences in the world of Limerick. Given the fact that poverty is rampant in Limerick, it is not surprising that the ability of providing money to feed a whole family marks a significant stage in Frank's maturity. Already at the age of eight, Frank gets his first job by helping his uncle delivering newspapers. At the age of eleven he helps his neighbour Mr. Hannon to deliver coal. This experience was remarkable. "I'm a man now", he kept saying. He then, starts to take on manly tasks such as lighting a fire in the morning or buying chips for his little brothers. The very act of putting a shilling in his pocket as a reward for his services makes him feel proud; he says proudly, "I'm not a child anymore" (298), even though he is teased by other boys and girls because of his dirty coal-blackened appearance. As time goes on, Frank wins their respect as he climbs up each day on Mr. Hannon's float "like any workingman".

Paydays take a special flavour. As Frank gives his mother the money he has earned, the scene gets intense, and Frank's mother breaks down in tears.

As Frank starts to gain money regularly, he made a crucial realization. Adding to the fact that he started providing a better quality of life for his brothers and mother, Frank McCourt was able not to think about food. Instead, Frank started to think about his future, goals, and dreams. He, then, started to think that he must save part of the money he earns in order to sail to America. Such accomplishments demonstrate amazing self-reliance and courage which are at the heart of any process of maturity.

It is well known that maturity is not solely about earning money or acting like a man. It is about an intellectual and spiritual growth, as well. Given the fact that the atmosphere of Limerick is saturated with narrow, dogmatic Catholicism and nationalistic myths of a pure and heroic Ireland, Frank and his family were always humiliated and discriminated because they came from a secular

world and Malachy McCourt came from the North. Much of Frank's intellectual and spiritual growth will involve a denial of those pillars of his upbringing, environment and heredity.

The nightmare of history is the first dimension Frank has to face. Since his childhood, Frank was exposed to one dimensional concept of history which always represents Ireland in the role of the victim, "the English and the terrible things they did to us for eight hundred years." The victim mentality is regarded by many postcolonial theorists as a consequence of colonization. Recently, when discussing post colonial identity in her book on Canadian Literature, *Survivals*, Margaret Atwood was able to list four main recurring victim positions. Most appropriate to Irish studies is:

To acknowledge that you are a victim, but to explain this as an act of Fate, the Will of God, the dictates of Biology (in the case of women, for instance), the necessity decreed by History, or Economics, or the Unconscious, or any other large general powerful idea. (Atwood 82)

McCourt's text implies that the persistent association of Ireland with victimisation resulted both in a distortion of the past and a neglect of responsibility in the present. Frank denies the role of the victim. He would then, seek scapegoats in order to get rid of the 'stigma' of victimhood that characterises most of Irish and his father in the first place. He would not be like his father and the majority of Irish people, docile, victims, or passive recipients. Frank recognises, step by step, that it is only by throwing off tradition- history, social conventions, and religion- that he can prove his individuality.

Frank has been hearing about Ireland and its history firstly from his drunken father who comes home singing patriotic songs about Irish martyrs and telling his children they must be ready to die for Ireland. He has also been hearing that the England is blamed for just about everything that has gone wrong in Irish history. A similar version of history Frank absorbed was during the years he spent at Leamy School. 'Irish is fine for patriots, English for traitors and informers', was the main policy the Catholic instructors implanted in those innocent little brains. Frank was told that whenever the Irish have been on the edge of winning a noble victory, they have either been betrayed by a traitor or an informer or even fallen within one of the English tricks. Frank unquestionably believed the political and religious indoctrination until he came first across English literature during his long sojourn in hospital, and later through the help of one exceptional teacher, Mr. O'Halloran.

At the age of eleven, Frank nearly died of typhoid. He spent three months at hospital the time he recovered. During his recovery in hospital, Frank comes in contact with English literature and develops a deep love for it. He reads Shakespeare and an English history book. Frank falls in love with the first line he reads of Shakespeare; he repeats again and again, "I do believe, induced by potent circumstances, that thou art mine enemy." (Mccourt 231)

Though Frank does not understand the meaning of the sentence, a link can be made between Frank and the political indoctrination he received at school. The Ireland/England relationship equals

cruelty, domination, and enmity. The result of this indoctrination is made apparent when Frank comes across the word ‘perfidy’ in a book of English history. The world is ambiguous to Frank, but he soon concludes that the word, since it is something the English have done, must be terrible. However, though written by an English man, Shakespeare’s lines feel “like having jewels in [Frank’s] mouth when [he] say[s] the words.” (222)

Back to school, after his recovery, Frank was exposed to a new version of Irish history. In a history lesson given by Mr. O’Halloran, the headmaster, Frank heard the phrase “atrocities on both sides” to describe an ancient battle between the Irish and the English. He was shocked by the audacity of the statement:

It’s a shock to everyone when he [O’Halloran] says, the battle of Kinsale in sixteen nought one was (...) a closed battle with cruelty and atrocities on both sides. Cruelty on both sides? The Irish side? How could that be? All the other masters told us the Irish fought nobly, they always fought the fair fight. (236)

Inpatient, Frank asked him for a further explanation and Mr O’Halloran confirmed the information. For once, the Irish have committed atrocities since they killed prisoners and were no better or worse than the English. It hence becomes one of the greatest revelations ever in Frank’s life:

Mr. O’Halloran can’t lie. He’s the headmaster. All those years we were told the Irish were always noble and they made brave speeches before the English hanged them. Now Hoppy O’Halloran is saying the Irish did bad things. Next he’ll be saying the English did good things. (236)

For Frank, Mr O’Halloran is an exception of all the teachers present at Leamy National School. Despite the harsh schooling, he encourages the boys and advises them to study and learn to make up their own minds. In most coming-of age stories, the role of the teacher has been proved to be of great necessity. Teachers are portrayed “as guides who help the spiritual development of the main character, thereby substituting emotionally unstable or distanced father.” (Hendriek 8)

Thus, in the absence of his father, Mr. O’Halloran can be seen as Frank’s guide-figure. He has taught him to be self-confident and to believe in himself. And it is Mr. O’Halloran who grants Frank the title “the literary genius” and reaffirms his intention to leave Ireland for America, “You must get out of this country [Ireland], boy. Go to America, McCourt. Do you hear me McCourt? I do, sir.” (McCourt 338) Frank takes Mr O’Halloran’s lessons to heart.

The influence of Mr. O’Halloran on the shaping of Frank’s life is immense. By his own avowal, in one of the interviews made by the Academy of Achievements with Frank McCourt in 1999, he commented on teachers who influenced or opened up possibilities for him. He says:

The last teacher I had was a man named O’Halloran. But he was the only one who offered words of encouragement, who told us we were distinct, unique individuals with a right to think for ourselves. And that was just before we left Leamy National School. And he told me, “My boy, you are a literary genius.” And you can imagine what I had to put up with the schoolyard with all the

others. "Hey, McCourt, you're a literary genius. Look at him. Look at the literary genius." But it wasn't negative. It was just teasing. But they respected him and they respected me for being picked out by Mr. O'Halloran. (Qtd. in Academy of Achievement 8)

Frank's feelings towards his father are very complex and ambiguous. On the one hand, he despises him for not being there where he and his family were in deed of him. On the other hand, he recognises the literary wealth he inherited from his father's stories, songs, and myths.

Malachy's best self comes out in his imagination. Because of his claimed involvement with the IRA, Frank's father, Malachy, had to leave Ireland. In America, the only images left to the fervent nationalist Malachy of his past and of the image of himself are those legendary myths as Cuchulain; the songs about Kevin Barry, the first Republican to be executed by the British since the leaders of the Easter Rising; and Roddy McCorley, a United Irishman and a participant in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Malachy often tells these stories in order to implanted in his children's souls the feeling of nationalism. Malachy McCourt was lucky to some extent. Frank, as the first born, grows found of the heroic Cuchulain.

Frank identifies greatly with Cuchulain, who is greater than "Hercules or Achilles ... King Arthur and all his knights." (Mccourt 13) Cuchulain is the archetype Irish hero and the icon of the nationalist spirit. He fought to the death against his enemies, and from him, Frankie draws much-needed strength. The repetition of the story of Cuchulain makes the impoverished boy Frank feel that Cuchulain and him have something in common. As Cuchulain rebels against authority to impose himself, so does Frank.

When the young Cuchulain decided to fight on the side of Ulster against Queen Maeve of Connacht, he ignored the advice given by his mother who told him that he was too young and inexperienced to fight. He went anyway. Cuchulain attains heroism by ignoring the adult wisdom, by ignoring rules. His story is about a young boy who breaks the rules of society to reach responsibility. Frank McCourt's story goes in much the same way. As he grows up, Frank learns that he must break with society, Church, and state for the sake of his freedom and individuality.

Following Frank's new approach about Irish history, comes the turn of the legendary stories of Irish national heroes which were imbued in him since his very early childhood particularly by his father. As McCourt and his family landed on Irish ground, he could instantly perceive the bitter reality. While riding on a bus in Dublin, Malachy McCourt wanted to show his son the statue of Cuchulain in the Dublin General Post Office and explained its symbolism. However, the driver who took them there seems to have a far more pragmatic approach:

The driver says he has no notion of who this Cuchulain was, (...) Now what in God's name is this all about? What's this fellow doin' with the long hair and the bird on his shoulder? And will you kindly tell me mister what this has to do with the men of the 1916? Dad says, Cuculain fought to the end like the men of the Easter Week. His enemies were afraid to go near him till they were sure he was dead and when the bird landed on him and drank his blood they knew. Well, says the

driver, 'tis a sad day for the men of Ireland when they need a bird to tell them a man is dead. I think we better go now or we'll be missing the train to Limerick. (54)

Life has moved on, and Cuchulain has faded away. It is a reality that Malachy McCourt cannot bear. These stories of nationality and identity become useless for Frank. As he comes of age, the ghost of Cuchulain seems exorcised from Frank's soul. At the latter part of the memoir, the Irish hero is no longer mentioned. This situation was lately emphasized as Frank discovers that his father has been lying to him about the way babies come to life. His father used to tell him that babies are brought by angels and put on the seventh step of the stairs. Now, Frank seems not to believe anything told to him in the past. He discovers by himself, which is a great sign of maturity.

With religion, the fight for freedom was too difficult. Religious indoctrination is not to be easily thrown off. As a boy, Frank lacks the intellectual maturity to question religion; he has accepted what he has been told without questioning, even though he does not understand anything from what he is being told. His mind is filled with religious platitudes he hears from people around him -his mother, grandmother, aunt- and from schools by both priests and teachers.

Catholic teaching sinks deeply into Frankie's mind, understood or not. It is a fact. His liberation from the confines of Catholicism is determined by his sexuality. In "Rising from the Ashes" 1997, Christopher Shannon concluded that *Angela's Ashes* says more about the criteria of "serious" Irish writing than about the book itself. He writes:

Serious Irish writing must involve a solitary hero coming to self-consciousness, throwing off the dead weight of tradition (especially Catholicism), and having sex happily ever after. (Shannon 25)

Most central to coming-of-age stories is the acquiring of sexual knowledge. As he reaches puberty, Frankie discovers the pleasure of masturbation. A short time after his first experience he and other boys as well, felt extremely guilty. Their states of guilt get worse when they received a harsh denunciation of self-abuse given to them by a priest:

Our Lady weeps over these abominations knowing that every time you interfere with yourself you nail to the cross her Beloved Son, that once more you hammer into His dear head the crown of thorns, that you reopen those ghastly wounds. (Mccourt 346)

Like Stephen Dedalus, Frankie feels guilty about his sinful acts for a while. He prays to the Virgin Mary and promises not to do it ever again. But, only a few months later, he climbs to the top of an old castle on a hill. There, "in full view of Ireland" he defiantly commits the same sin of masturbation. For Frankie, It is a moment of self-liberation. Now, he no longer seems to care. He is happy and free.

Things get different when he has his first experience of sex with a girl. Frank works as a telegram boy and meets Theresa Carmody. He is seduced from the first sight. They start to make love

regularly. The sexual relationship between Frank and Theresa is both lovely and difficult for Frank. The first time they have sex, he describes it this way: “my head is filled with sin and iodine and fear of consumption and the shilling tip and her green eyes and she’s on the sofa don’t stop or I’ll die and she’s crying and I’m crying.” (397) This description contains all of the complexity of Frank’s first sexual experience. It is a sin in the eyes of the Catholic Church, but the situation is irresistible, so complicated and emotional that they both cry.

Within few weeks of starting the sexual affair, Theresa dies of consumption. Frankie feels extremely guilty because he is completely aware that he has committed a sinful act. According to Catholic dogmas, love making out of wedlock or lust is one among the Seven Deadly Sins. Now, Frank believes that Theresa is now in hell and it is his fault. After Theresa’s death, Frank sinks into obsessive guilt. He is portrayed as lonely and alienated. His moral state worsened because his entire attempts to regain his state were met with failures. Frank soon recovers by the help of others.

Frank is saved by Father Gregory, an exceptional kind Franciscan priest to whom he confesses by telling, for the first time, his whole story. A healing process begins as the priest, who seems to possess more humanity than many of the other priests in *Angela’s Ashes*, ascertains him that Theresa is in heaven. The priest speech is enough for Frank, it is touching and convincing:

She is surely in heaven. She suffered like the martyrs in olden times and God knows that’s penance enough. You can be sure the sisters in the hospital didn’t let her die without a priest. (403)

Frank frees himself from guilt and learns that there is more than one way of interpreting the dogmas of Catholicism:

He tells me God forgives me and I must forgive myself, that God loves me and I must love myself for only when you love God in yourself can you love all God’s creatures. (403)

Frank’s spiritual growth grants him the opportunity to grow morally. Frank’s moral growth is reflected by several incidents that take place when he works as a telegram boy. Since the first day, Frank is warned not to do favours for anyone. He is told that his job consists of delivering the telegram and leaving. On the contrary however, Frankie is moved by the plight of many of the people he encounters on his road. Every day is a new experience for him. He feels compassion for Mrs. Getrude Daly, an old woman who is starving and very ill. He feels sympathy also for a poor veteran of the Boer War who can hardly walk and lives in a freezing house. The plight of a woman named Mrs. Spillane, who is attempting to raise her two children in direst poverty. Frank is so moved that he agrees to do favours for them, even though he knows that if he is caught he will certainly lose his job. However, the spiritual and moral growth he has attained, prepared him to raise challenges, to defy authority, and to obey his conscience.

These experiences are significant because, up to that point, the suffering of others has not seemed to affect Frank. But now, the presence of poverty and suffering raise questions within him. He keeps asking himself; ‘What are you supposed to do? Frank’s actions are considered as moral imperatives to help others. The position Frank achieves is great in his process of maturity. Its greatness lays in the fact that it is a position Frank has reached by himself.

Frank grows more conscious of class differences. He sounds bitter when he says, “If you waited for tips from priests or nuns you’d die on their doorstep.” (368) On the other hand, he sympathises with the woman who points out the hypocrisy of those priests and nuns, who drink wine and eat ham and eggs.

In sum, despite hardship and suffering, Frank has developed survival skills. He has learnt how to be independent and how to earn a living. He has developed the ability to think for himself and has discovered a sympathy and compassion for others. Most importantly, he learns that he must shake himself in order to avoid the fate of his father by rejecting the role of the victim, and the role of the passive receiver of Irish stereotypes. All these qualities will stand him in good stead as he achieves his long held ambition of emigrating to America, the land of promise.

Because of his ability to surmount the obstacles and especially shame, McCourt’s book is cited as a triumph. It is what George O’Brien describes as McCourt’s securing the authorial “last word”:

The most common reaction by the countless readers of *Angela’s Ashes* is one of amazement and a vague kind of gratitude on finding the bathos, and even the pathos, of the bad old days of exclusion and deprivation irradiated by the wit, charm, spiritedness, and resilience with which McCourt talks back across the years. Finally, he gets to have the last word, although in doing so he also shows, perhaps unwittingly, the complicated and, from a certain point of view, dubious form that securing the last word can take. (O’Brien 236)

b. Humour:

In spite of the hard circumstances, many episodes of *Angela’s Ashes* are hilarious. One might well question how McCourt come through life with such little bitterness. One of several remarkable characteristics of this memoir is the humour that persists in spite of great sadness and hardship.

In one of the interviews made by the Academy of Achievements, Washington D.C, Frank McCourt was asked about the importance of humour and compassion in his story. He replied:

I think if you talk to anybody who has come out of adverse circumstances they’ll tell you that humor keeps you going. That’s the way it was in the lanes and slums of Limerick. As poor as people were, they sang, they told their stories, and they laughed...

And then we would imitate the teachers...you’d always find me up on a chair giving a sermon and my mother would say, “would you get down eedjit!” But sometimes she would sit there looking and laughing.

We’d come home from school imitating the school masters. We’d imitate policemen, bureaucrats giving out the welfare dole at the dispensary. We imitated and made fun of everybody and even ourselves. We’d tease each other. I remember laughing in a way in Ireland that I’ve never laughed since.

...We were satisfied with a slice of bread and jam. That's it we didn't know it, but humor was one of the things that was keeping us going.
I've heard that even in the concentration camps they would put on little playlets in these huts, mimicking the guards and so on. If you don't have it, if you don't have that particular chemical, you're dead. (Qtd. in Academy of Achievement 3)

Humour in *Angela's Ashes* is every where, in moments of depressions and happiness, as well. In literature, humour is used as a means to take an emotional break from the intensity of the drama. Humour or comic relief interrupts or follows immediately a scene of great excitement. Humour helps also in memorizing. For, the most memorable scenes are those provided for comic relief.

It is Jonathan Swift's writings which are believed to be the major source of influence on Frank McCourt's style. Asked once why he had chosen the 30th of November as the official date of publication, McCourt answered, "it's the birthday of Jonathan Swift, one of my idols." Jonathan Swift is one of the most famous Anglo-Irish satirist writers. He is well known for his satire and humoristic, ironic, and sarcastic pamphlets. He is also known for being a master of the Juvenalian satire, a bitter and ironic criticism of contemporary persons and institutions that is filled with personal invective, angry moral indignation, and pessimism. Swift is remembered for works such as: *Gulliver's Travels*, "A Modest Proposal", *A Journal to Stella*, *Drapier's Letters*, *The Battle of the Books*, *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity*, and *A Tale of a Tub*.

From McCourt himself, we know that he has read *A Modest Proposal* while a young boy. "A Modest Proposal", stands for "A Modest Proposal For Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country, and for Making Them Beneficial to the Publick". It is a Juvenalian satirical essay written and published anonymously by Swift in 1729.

In this essay, Swift, though born of English parents, mocks the authority of British officials who were abusing Irish Catholics. He believed that the English were exploiting and oppressing the Irish. In *A Modest Proposal*, Swift suggests ironically that one way to ease England's troubles with the Irish Catholic is by selling Irish children as food for rich English gentlemen and ladies. Not only the English, the Irish, themselves, are also satirized by Swift for their submissive nature:

Swift satirizes the English landlords with outrageous humor, proposing that Irish infants be sold as food at age one, when they are plump and healthy, to give the Irish a new source of income and the English a new food product to bolster their economy and eliminate a social problem. He says his proposal, if adopted, would also result in a reduction in the number of Catholics in Ireland, since most Irish infants—almost all of whom were baptized Catholic—would end up in stews and other dishes instead of growing up to go to Catholic churches. Here, he is satirizing the prejudice of Protestants toward Catholics.
.....Swift also satirizes the Irish themselves in his essay, for too many of them had accepted abuse stoically rather than taking action on their own behalf. ("*A Modest Proposal*")

Frank McCourt's descriptions of the Irish, the English and Irish poverty are reminiscent of those found in "A Modest Proposal". This is apparent in the very opening lines of *Angela's Ashes* when

Frank McCourt states “the English and the terrible things they did to us for eight hundred long years” (Mccourt 1)

Recent influences on McCourt’s work in the field of poverty are “George Orwell and James Baldwin, writers whose bleak description of poverty inspired McCourt to tell his own story.” (Sharp 1018)

The use of humour alleviates the pain of Frank McCourt engendered by the hardships of poverty. In *Angela’s Ashes*, McCourt is able to use comic relief to great benefit: when his family is faced with more death, when the rent is not paid, when his father has drunk the dole money, and when sewage has turned their home into a cesspool. The resulting atmosphere is one of pathos and humour. The reader, consequently, does not know whether to weep or roar.

The strategy McCourt uses to introduce comic relief is not through invention; rather, he does this by becoming a child, interpreting incidents, and writing the scenes through a child’s eyes. Thus, when Frank claims “I wonder if there’s anyone in the world who would like us to live” (Mccourt 124), we are rather more likely to laugh at and with Frank at the same time, and not to focus on the circumstances of the situation (Frank’s oppressive treatment by his alcoholic father and teachers).

Though its intensity, the topic of ‘English vs. Irish’ takes on comic proportions as it is told from the point of view of Frank. For example, in the first night the McCourt spent in Limerick, they were given a mattress full of fleas. As they were beating the mattress to get the fleas out, Frank’s uncle Pa Keating reported that it was the English who brought the fleas to Ireland for the purpose of driving the ‘innocent’ Irish out of their homes.

Crucial to Frank McCourt’s comic representation are religious dogmas. Frank grows up, for example, with the idea that everyone who is not Catholic is doomed. When he sees a group of Protestant going to church, he feels sorry for them, especially the girls. He knows they are doomed and he wants to save them, “Protestant girls come with me to the True Church. You’ll be saved and you won’t have the doom.” (65) As if ‘the doom’ is something that one can catch.

The tone of the book, then, is often humorous. It is only rarely angry, even though Frank might have a lot to be angry about. Humour, it seems, confers physical as well as psychic benefits.

c. Frank and the American Dream: *Angela’s Ashes* and globalization

c. 1. The American Dream:

There are two elements in this story that in part account for its great appeal. One is its cousinage with all of those stories, fictional and journalistic, that have emerged from the collapse of traditional religious and political authority in Ireland...The other element is American, and the current American vogue for stories of victimage—and of upbeat recovery from that condition. Frank McCourt’s memoir

combines these in such a potent manner that it could hardly avoid popularity. (Mitchell 4)

The story of the young Frank as he surmounts his sufferings and forges anew successfully maps well the trajectories of the myth of the American Dream. The American Dream is one of the basic touchstones in the American ideology. At the core, the American Dream is a national ethos in which freedom means prosperity and success. The expression “the American Dream” was first coined by James Truslow Adams, an American writer and historian, in his outstanding *Epic of America* (1933). In *Epic of America*, Adams used the expression “The American Dream” to embody the idea that with enough hard work and luck, anybody could achieve what he wanted in life regardless of origins, class, or social belonging:

The American Dream is that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, also too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position. (Truslow 415)

Because of its popularity, historians seldom question the American Dream’s origin, history, or meaning. In an attempt to explain the myth of the American Dream, Jim Cullen explores deeply the meaning of the American Dream, or rather the several American Dreams that have shaped the American identity back from the Pilgrims to the present. His findings are recorded in his outstanding *The American Dream: A Short History of and Idea that Shaped a Nation* (2003). In his long study, Cullen discovers that the American Dream is in fact the accumulation of six American dreams. He entitles them: “Dream of Good life: The Puritan Enterprise”, “Dream Charter: the Declaration of Independence”, “Dream of Good life: Upward Mobility”, “King of America: The Dream of Equality”, “Detached houses: The Dream of Home Ownership”, and finally “Dream of the Good life: The Coast”.

Crucial to Cullen realization while investigating the American Dream, is that the United States, unlike other nations, defines itself not on blood, religion, language, geography, or history; but on a set of ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and consolidated in the Constitution. At the core of these ideals lies the concept of the American Dream, a concept that has proven to be both elastic and durable for years. (Cullen 6)

From all the constituents of the American Dream, Cullen finds that the version of the American Dream that dominates our own time-what Cullen calls “the Dream of the Coast”- is the most to be associated with the American Dream. “The Dream of the Coast” is the dream of personal fulfilment,

of fame and fortune that are achieved without efforts. It finds its most subtle expression and celebration in the culture of Hollywood movies:

This is also a dream of personal fulfilment, albeit of a very different kind than that of the Puritans or Abraham Lincoln. Like the others, its roots go back to the origins of American life, from the so-called adventures seeking sudden fortunes on the plantations of Virginia to the speculators mining their prospects in western cities like Las Vegas. But nowhere does this dream come more vividly into focus than in the culture of Hollywood—a semi-mythic place where, unlike of the Dream of Upward Mobility, fame and fortune were all the more compelling if achieved without obvious effort. This is the most alluring and insidious of American Dreams, and one that seems to have become predominant at the start of the twenty-first century. (9)

The 1930s and 1940s marked the Golden Age of American movies. Three major film genres were dominating Hollywood, the Western, the Gangster, and the Musical. The emergence of these kinds of movies came as a reaction to the political turmoil, economic problems, and the atmosphere of uncertainty prevailing the 1930s and 1940s America following the Great Depression.

These film genres are centred round telling a story about the way a self-made hero, usually poor, who could make his own way in life by rebelling against a corrupted authority and by making great amounts of money in a short time, effortless, but illegally. However, the hero's illegal manipulations do not generally harm people. In short, these movies set the belief that making money does not need much effort and that sometimes it can happen thanks to luck. (Bergman 16) Besides, they expand an image of America as a heaven.

By performing illegal acts, the hero is usually portrayed as an outlaw, but a harmless outlaw. In order to make his life more exciting, the movies are often imbued with adventures that mostly appeal to young adolescents. Writers and editors do so by adding a touch of comedy. These last two elements complete the concept of the American Dream transmitted through Hollywood films: the American Dream is an amalgamation of heroic life, easy-coming money, adventure, and fun.

c. 2 Frank and the American Dream:

As Frank was growing, he became cinema-addicted. He used to skip school and dance classes for the sake of watching American Hollywood films. It is from Hollywood films that Frank becomes acquainted with the image of America as the land of opportunity, the land of rugged individualism, the land where everybody can live happily ever after.

Frank's addiction to American movies makes him obsessed by the idea of emigration. For Frank, the America of Hollywood films provides him aspects that Ireland has denied him. First, America provides him opportunity, "You can do anything in America, it's the land of opportunity" (McCourt 236), Frank says. Second, It is described as a land where people are "bedecked in glitterin jewelry... smothered in fancy fur", where everyone "has big white smiles, electric lights, and

“nothing else to do but sing and dance”. Third, in America, Frank seems to find what he really lacks in Limerick, the freedom of expressing one’s ideas, feelings, and emotions. In Limerick, Frank notices that people do not talk to each other and imagines if he were in America he could say he loves his Dad, the way they do in the films. Whereas, in Limerick he cannot because people there would, for sure, make fun of him. Instead, he is allowed to say “I love God and babies and horses that win”.

Undeniably, movies play an important role in shaping an individual’s thoughts, ideas, and behaviour; especially when it is the only source of inspiration like the case of Frank McCourt. Because movies are the closest replica of a life with all its splendour and excitement, young adolescents are more prone to believe in them. They try to identify themselves with each hero they come across. Sometimes, they imitate them blindly. At that time, Frank was no exception.

In its early years, cinema was regarded as a thoroughly secular pastime which threatened to corrupt its youthful viewers. Yet, McCourt continually suggests that movie heroes are worthier “of worship than the priests and saints he has been taught to idolize”.

Because of the similarities of living conditions, Frank in poverty-stricken limerick and the heroes of the films in Depression Era, Frank believes that he can surmount his poverty using the same means American movie heroes have relied on. Thus, throughout *Angela’s Ashes*, McCourt’s effort to rise above circumstances and establish his own identity in miserable Limerick involves a quest for a hero, first through Cuchulain, and finally, by the secular heroes of American films.

Most popular films in Frank’s adolescence times are *Riders of the Purple Sage*, *Public Enemy*, *Rose Marie*, *Yankee Doodle*, *The Human Comedy*, and *Going my Way*. Frank McCourt identifies greatly with the heroes of those films.

From the Western, the young Frank has watched *Riders of the Purple Sage*, and a cowboy film with George O’Brien. In his attempts to study the ways in which Irish writers have employed Western films, Luke Gibbon in *Transformation in Irish Culture* (1996), describes the American Westerns as,

a hymn to individualism, a celebration of self-interest and personal liberty evoked in visual terms by the limitless expanse of the great plains and the vast open prairies...quintessentially the expression of the restless individualism which lies at the heart of the American dream. (Gibbon 26)

In Western films, the Frontier is occupied by cowboys. The cowboy character is usually strong, silent, reserved, and self-confident. Basically, the cowboy leaves home at an early age and learns by himself how to make a living. He is a self made man, typically as the role of George O’Brien in *Riders of the Purple Sage*. The cowboy’s allegiance is not primarily to any social institution, but to himself. He is a reckless person who ignores potential risks. The parallelism is amazing in McCourt’s *Angela’s Ashes* and other Irish writing as they tend to revolt against authority.

Such ‘cowboy’ ethos is essential to the young Frank McCourt. Throughout *Angela’s Ashes*, we have been accustomed to see Frank a victim of various authorities: the church, the state, and the St. Vincent de Paul charitable institution. Being the supreme power, it is the Church that mostly hurts the young Frank. Already since their arrival in Limerick, Frank and his brother Malachy were labelled “little savages” because of their inability to recognize a priest. As Frank grows, the Church’s refusal to accept him grows further as it denies him the rank as an altar boy and further schooling. Frank realizes that all his efforts to be a good Catholic in the eyes of the Limerick society are hard won and useless. Frank, then, reflects daringly that he would much rather be like his Uncle Pa, “not giving a fiddler’s fart about what anyone thinks... and where better to acquire role models for this aspiration than from cowboys, endlessly depicted riding off into the sunset, away from the pressures of community living?” (Mccourt 149)

Though aware of the plight of the McCourt family, people of Limerick refuse to help Frank and his family by the least things such as coal. In moments of extreme depression such as hunger or illness, Frank, being responsible in the absence of his father, resorts to illegal ways to lift the family up. When his mother was ill, Frank steals milk, and lemonade. When his brothers feel hungry, he steals bread, chips and fish. When he grows older, he steals coal from people’s back gardens. As he comes home, he tells his brothers the story. The most desperate moments become the most cheerful as his brothers laugh at Frank’s adventurous stories calling him “an outlaw”. For, his acts are sinful in the eyes of the Church, and illegal in terms of law.

Calling Frank “an outlaw” coincides, in fact, with the emergence of a new kind of film genre during the 1930s, the Gangster films. Gangster heroes have “poisonous effects on the young” (Bergman 3) *The Public Enemy* (1931), starring Cagney was one of the most attractive Hollywood gangster films. The film tells the story of two brothers who come to manhood in a tough Irish neighbourhood. One of them stays straight; the other one, Tom Power, resorts to illegal ways to make his way up through the gangster world to achieve popularity, success, and wealth. Tom Power is “a cocky, fast-talking, nasty, and brutal criminal/bootlegger” (Dirks)

As he was a kid, Cagney films provide Frank with suspect role models. Of *The Public Enemy*, he writes, “James Cagney was a public enemy and when they shot him they wrapped him in bandages and threw him in the door, shocking his poor old Irish mother, and that was the end of my First Communion Day” (Mccourt 145) Like the Cagney character, Frank has been treated like a public enemy by his grandmother, who has just dragged him through the streets because he has thrown up his first communion i.e., he has thrown up God

At the time McCourt would have been watching, Cagney was an irresistible character. So irresistible are Cagney films, and so poor is Frank. Frank starts to come out with smart tricks in order to get into cinema. He was already acting Cagney. Once, Frank asks his friend to pretend he is extremely ill once they reach the cinema’s doorsteps. While people around were taking care of his fake ill friend, he could sneak into cinema. The funniest incident however, is when Frank was paid

to take dance class, but instead he went to cinema. At week-ends, when his parents ask him to perform one of the choreographies he has learned, he comes up with imaginary choreographies and like fools his parents believe him and sometimes reward him.

For Frank and the other boys, Cagney is a hero because he prefers to accept death as a gangster rather than the poor life of his brother. Though an outlaw, Cagney's life is full of excitement and glamour that even wealthy people lack. Besides, his illegal acts do not harm innocent people. In short, Cagney is wealthy, attractive, and his life is exciting; even though he is living in the Depression Era.

Because they almost share the same living conditions, Frank starts to believe that he can be like Cagney. In *Angela's Ashes*, the young McCourt keeps saying that he knows that some day he will be rich. However, because he lives in poverty-stricken Limerick, he knows well that hard work will not change his life, will not suffice, and will not help him to reach his dream. Consequently, just like Cagney, he employs certain methods most of which are against the law to achieve his goals, or his ultimate goal, to go to America.

In order to book for America, Frank starts to sell ads for birth control banned by the Irish government. This incident happened as Frank was working for Mr. McCaffery at Easons Ltd. Delivering the Protestant newspaper *The Irish Times*. His co-workers Peter and Eamon spend most of the day running into the bathroom to masturbate over pictures of women in the magazines.

One day, the government has declared an article about contraception published in the *John O'London's Weekly* magazine unfit for the Irish people to read. Having heard about it, Eamon, a friend of Frank, starts to tear those pages to sell them. He also informs Frank that he can make a fortune with these pictures. On his friend's advice, Frank tears some of these pages to sell them later. Many wealthy people in Limerick approach Frank and ask if he has any copies of the article. At the end, Frank could earn nine pounds selling the contraband sheet. He puts eight pounds aside for his fare for America, pays off Peter so he will not tell McCaffery, and buys his family a big dinner.

At the age of fourteen, Frank became a telegram delivery boy. Frank used to deliver a telegram to an old woman named Mrs. Brigid Finucane. Mrs. Brigid Finucane is a loan-shark. In the process of helping her, and himself by implication, Frank becomes an outlaw. First, he agrees to write bullying letters to blackmail friends and family members. Because he is 'a literary genius', Frank uses very difficult and obscure words which intimidates the debtors into paying out of fear. Surprisingly, some of the recipients of the letters are Frank's friends and neighbours. One day, after reading a sample of Frank's letters, his mother, Angela, says that whoever is writing the letters "should be boiled in oil" (390). However, Frank does not seem to bother himself with other people's suffering because he has a goal to reach. He is no longer that image of the loving and forgiving priest Francis of Assise, as his first name suggests. He justifies his behaviour to himself by thinking of how badly he wants to get to America.

From being Mrs. Finucane's accomplice, Frank's sinks lower into being a thief. Mrs. Finucane died on the eve of Frank's nineteenth birthday. After her death, Frank takes seventeen pounds from her purse and forty of the hundred pounds in her trunk just enough to book a passage on a ship to America. After that, he throws her ledger into the River Shannon so that no more impoverished debtors will have to pay the money back. By so doing, Frank establishes himself as the Robin Hood of the lanes of Limerick. Now, Frank is a hero and wealthy.

Other American secular heroes that Frank seems to be found of to are Joseph Louis Barrow, better known as Joe Louis. Joe was the world heavyweight boxing champion from 1937 to 1949. (Wikipedia) He became the first African American to achieve the status of a nationwide hero in the United States, though he came from a poor family and from a discriminating society. Frank admires Joe Louis because both of them share the same living conditions. Frank says, "I'll tell him my troubles and he'll understand because he comes from a poor family." (McCourt 344)

Besides, Joe Louis was very influential on Frank because he offers Frank hope. Joe is the type of man who is brave enough to control his destiny, rather than passively accepting the fate dictated by Church, state, and society. Frank McCourt imagines learning how to avenge himself from Laman Griffin, who has made the entire McCourt family his captive victims: "He'll show me how to build up my muscles, how to hold my hands and use my feet", (344) "or if I had a stamp I could write to Joe Louis and say, Dear Joe, is there any chance you could tell me where you got your powerful shoulders even though you were poor?" (357)

Frank spends three years working at Eason and working for Mrs. Finucane. In a short time, he has enough cash to book a passage to America. To highlight Frank's process of individual success, Frank McCourt, the writer, focuses solely on the life and the process of maturation of Frank. For example, he encounters boys who feel no shame about their own sexual impulses, he learns about birth control, he steals from an old woman and feels perfectly justified, he sleeps with a married woman and feels but elation.

In the process, McCourt gradually rejects the religion of Ireland in favour of the civic religion of the United States. McCourt's response is "to sacralise the secular attending movies with religious zeal, worshipping American movie stars, aspiring to be Fred Astaire, preferring a nice priest like Spencer Tracy to the Christian Brothers." (Potts 292) Frank's rejection of religion is made apparent as he gets drunk and ends up having sex with a woman under the disapproving eyes of a priest.

In 1949, Frank sails on board of the Irish Oak ship. By leaving Ireland, the first half of his American Dream comes true. This is well felt in the conclusion of *Angela's Ashes*, which is presented in a dream sequence:

I'm on deck the dawn we sail into New York. I'm sure I'm in a film, that it will end and lights will come up in the Lyric Cinema. . . . Rich Americans in top hats white ties and tails must be going home to bed with the gorgeous women with white teeth. The rest are going to work in warm comfortable offices and no one has a care in the world. (McCourt 422)

Few pages later, we see him having his first sex experience in America where he seems free and happy.

The final chapter ends with a simple statement of agreement, “’Tis” (426) a colloquial contraction for “it is”, in a chapter by itself. “’Tis” emphasizes how Frank agrees that America is a great country. It ends the “epic of woe” with a glimpse of hope. America promises this. Despite his encounter with prejudice upon his arrival in America, in *Angela’s Ashes* sequel *TIS*, McCourt recounts how he is able to achieve the other half of his dream: getting an education, pursuing a career he enjoys, and finally writing *Angela’s Ashes* as a start. Asked once about the meaning of the American Dream, Frank McCourt answers; “My dream has been fulfilled: to have come to this country [America], to have taught...and publishing the book (*Angela’s Ashes*). What more can a man ask for? ...This is it. For me it’s beyond the American Dream.” (Qtd. in “Crime Pays”) Frank McCourt’s journey from poverty-stricken emigrant to literary star was epic and wholly American.

In America, Frank McCourt acquires the essence of the American Dream and creatively adjusts it within an Irish cultural context to forge a new meaning to the stereotypical “Irish Catholic miserable childhood” in a global world. In America, he was able to blend between two fascinating cultures, American and Irish. From Ireland, he was loaded with great amounts of linguistic raw materials. The gift of storytelling he acquired from listening to his father’s boundless repertoire of nationalist stories, folktales, and songs which occupy an important place in Irish culture; Ireland’s several narrative traditions; the Gaelic oral tradition and the British literary traditions especially Shakespeare; and Irish fictional and journalistic stories which have emerged from religious and political authority. From America, he learned the essence of the American freedom and success through tell-it-all programs and from rags-to riches-success stories. Mixing both traditions, give birth to an amazing literary piece of work; scientifically put, a mutation, which could not avoid popularity.

Frank McCourt’s new narrative approach about Ireland, exile, and self-life writing reinterprets the national tragedy and a history of a nation into an alternative national narrative meant to be a remedy against exclusionist identity policies. He creates a new meaning of Irishness characterized by tolerance and pluralism. His new approach attests to both the creativity and originality of the Irish writer, and the popularity of Irish literature which they have always deservedly occupied on an international scale and for a long time:

This fascinating narrative part of Irish history led me into America history. And what I needed to feel, I suppose, I needed to feel comfortable some where-because I didn’t know for a long time where I belonged. You think well, what the hell, Limerick, I grew up in Limerick. And that, in many ways, was a miserable place, but it was very rich place, in many ways because we were on the streets all the time. We never talked about what we watched on television; we talked about what we did in the streets. We made up our own games. We were adventurous. And there was one

word we never heard in Limerick, or in Ireland in general, and that was 'boredom'. Nobody was ever bored, we made up our own stories. And may be this is the source, one of the sources of this eloquent, poetic, and lyrical race, 'The Irish'. (Wyndham 43)

Not only in the field of literature, the emergence of Irish culture is well felt in diverse fields as music, dance, and movie production, as well. Frank McCourt, all along, U2 (an Irish rock band from Dublin), "Lord of Dance" and "Riverdance" (Irish dance musicals) give birth to a new kind of Irish nationalism. They have created a fascinating and fashionable image about Ireland and Irishness:

America seems to have a fascination with all things Irish; witness the present craze for the touring Irish musicals "Lord of Dance" and "Riverdance". Such stage Irishness has entered the popular imagination before, but as if to prove how mainstream this most recent transformation of the Celtic Twilight has become...Another example of this fascination with Irish culture arises in the popularity of Frank McCourt's novel *Angela's Ashes*, a book (however factual) reinforces the discourse of the repressed, poor and Catholic stereotypes of Irish culture. Further evidence of America's Irish obsession is found in three television programs..."Costello, about a South Boston waitress and her Irish American family; "Trinity", about an Irish American family with the stereotypical Irish-American roles (police officer, priest, drunk); and "To Have and To Hold", about a young Irish American couple and their families. The examples listed here do not begin to catalogue the importance of Ireland plays in the American imagination, but they do point to that importance being predicated on stereotypes of Irish nationality. One reason for this fascination, of course, stems from the large number of Americans who can claim Irish descent, and the distance that Americans have from the actual Irish forces the stereotypes to function in a place of a more accurate understanding of Irish culture. (Brannon 35-36)

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General Conclusion

The Irish literary tradition is strongly related to the condition of exile. Exile has been the driving impulse of Ireland's most luminous and vigorous writers on an international scale. In his essay on "Contemporary Irish Fiction", George O'Brien claims that "it seems only a slight exaggeration to say that without exile there would be no contemporary Irish fiction." (Qtd. in Mac Einri) Irish literature, then, should be seen as extending beyond the island of Ireland.

Prior to the twentieth century, however, the Irish literary tradition was marked by silence on the subject of exile. In any case, Irish exiles' departure was considered purely deliberate. They left Ireland with their own volition, and James Joyce and Frank McCourt are no exception. At the end of their autobiographical novels, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Angela's Ashes*, respectively, they sound loud and clear that have to leave.

Joyce's and McCourt's utter avowal about leaving Ireland misled many critics and historians alike. In Patrick Ward's view, the myth of the Irish literary figure in 'voluntary exile' needs to be dismantled for several crucial reasons. First and foremost, it over determines our reading even of those writers who actually engage with the subject. Second, in Amy Kaminky's words, the term 'Voluntary Exile' is an 'oxymoron' that masks the cruelty of the subject itself. For this reason, the term 'exile' needs to be broadened to include other concepts closely related to exile such as displacement, banishment, and expatriation, and it is a thematic that needs to be explored in the Gaelic tradition and in English-language forms. (242)

Studying James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* helps to clarify the basic principles underlying Irish literature, or more appropriately Irish studies, most of which is the concept of exile as both 'involuntary and unhappy'. Drawing on Edward Said's experience-based research on the state of the exile, Hegel's notion of the interpenetration of opposites that characterizes exilic writing, and Kerby Miller's persuasive historical study of "exile" and its inevitable impact on Irish literature; we have been able to challenge the well-established belief that James Joyce and Frank McCourt were voluntary exiles just because they have claimed so at the end of their autobiographical novels. Much of the themes analyzed in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* are highly associated with themes reflected in the literature of banished exiles: the quest for identity or home through writing, self life story or autobiographical writing as the text of the oppressed, and the paradoxical emotions an exile holds for his homeland and culture.

More than any other era in Irish history, Post-Famine Ireland had witnessed huge waves of Irish emigrants. Not because of English colonialism, but because of an Irish mentality which emerged out of nationalists' and churchmen practices. The resulting mentality was full of constraints as it was based on rigid and inflexible nationalist and Catholic beliefs. Much of the language and practices of leading Irish nationalists, fervent churchmen, and traditionalist literary figures advocate

communality and conventionality, despise individuality, and inhibit innovation. Any kind of deviation from established standard beliefs results inevitably in total alienation, physical or spiritual.

To reflect on their life stories and to expose the harms endured while dwelling in Ireland, Joyce and McCourt, and many other creative Irish writers, relied on specific kinds of writing which directly speak about their experiences notably autobiographies and memoirs. Both terms describe an author-written work based on his or her own life experiences. Alienated physically and spiritually, then, it is in writing that Joyce, McCourt, and many other Irish writers could find a welcoming home. By so doing, Irish writers helped in the creation of an Irish tradition of autobiographical writing. The continuity of the Irish tradition of life story in the twentieth century “suggests the enduring appeal of autobiography for Irish writers” (Lynch 4)

Because they are dwelling in a strange environment, exile, the quest for identity is the Irish writers’ central preoccupation. In Irish autobiographies, the quest for identity is closely associated with the quest for a home and the quest for individuality. Irish writers reflect on their quest for identity by writing books where the protagonist displays great annoyance towards authoritarian institutions, the Catholic Church, Irish nationalism, and social conventions, which results in a gradual alienation then rebellion and exile. By so doing, Irish exiles reveal reasons behind their departure. They portray the Irish environment as highly repressive and anti-intellectual leaving no option for Irish intellectual but rebellion and exile.

In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Angela’s Ashes*, both authors portray Irish authoritarian institutions as a hindrance towards their development and the development of Ireland. Though from different eras, both of James Joyce and Frank McCourt came to greater sense of each institution as an oppressive and inhibitive force. Their quest for identity and eventual exile share many similarities far from being a mere coincidence or influence. Joyce’s and McCourt’s exile also testifies to the continuity of the preoccupation with the issue of exile in a post colonial Ireland. In fact, it is not James Joyce or Frank McCourt or the majority of Irish writers who choose to alienate themselves from Ireland; rather, it is Ireland which alienates itself. Studying motives behind James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus’ and Frank McCourt’s exile in *A Portrait* and *Angela’s Ashes* has shown that Ireland has not known how to cultivate Irish writers. The limitations imposed by poverty, nationalism, provincialism, parochialism, Irish Catholicism, and censorship have all militated against that freedom of spirit and expression that freedom of self-realization and individuality which was the goal of many young Irish writers.

From exile, Irish exiles dedicated themselves to narrate their life experience in Ireland and create a work of art. The most suitable artistic frame they relied on is the *Bildungsroman*. Irish autobiographies trace the physical, spiritual, and intellectual development of a young man from a miserable childhood to successful manhood in a dreary background. From a miserable childhood, to

a fully experienced and troubled adolescence, James Joyce/Stephen Dedalus and Frank McCourt/Frank McCourt could reach their goals.

Though the same goal, Dedalus and McCourt relied on different approaches. While Stephen Dedalus took silence and alienation as his lifelong weapons, Frank McCourt's original method consisted in social interaction, utter opposition, and hard work. In *A Portrait*, Stephen Dedalus was always portrayed as lonely and aloof. And Frank McCourt was always portrayed as friendly, sociable, and a concerned person. Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* offers not another 'Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man', but a fascinating and straightforward 'Portrait of the Young Man as a Young Man' (Shannon 23). The life of Frank McCourt was full of obstacles and fully experienced, and his success was hard won and deserved.

Joyce and McCourt were obliged to leave Ireland. They were physically abroad, but spiritually, they never left home because exile failed to diminish their concern with Ireland and its linguistic and cultural traditions. Edward Said's notion of exile is based on the strong connection an exile holds for his homeland. Exiles write from what Edward Said has called that 'unhealable rift' between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home (Said 173). Joyce wrote from that rift and sought to fill it in his writing by constantly recreating his home in prose. For him, the words of Theodore Adorno: 'for a man who no longer has a homeland, writing becomes a place to live' (87), resonates well.

Represented differently, Ireland remained Joyce's and McCourt's subject matter. Joyce could not immune himself from nationalist, religious, and revivalist discourses prevalent at that time. In an attempt to rewrite or invent a 'New Ireland', he identifies with nationalist traditionalists projects. The device he used is the intellectual peasant. Joyce's intellectual peasant is more daring into criticising and blaming authoritarian institutions responsible for Ireland's failure to improve and subsequently for Irish writers' forceful departure: the English colonialist practices, the Church's inflexible rules, and nationalists' practices.

Furthermore, when he chose to fulfil his mission from exile, Joyce identified greatly with Gaelic heroic figures who sought Ireland's liberation from exile. Exile empowers the feeling of nationalism and Joyce was no difference. Fully aware by the feelings of suffering caused by the state of exile, Joyce set himself the dual task of liberating his homeland from both the English and the Irish themselves.

The prototype of Joyce's exile draws also on Ireland's most ancient religious discourses about exile, the missionary exile. Joyce's exile is considered to be fulfilling a divine mission. He is just like those early "exiles for Christ" whose departure from homeland was in the service of God then Ireland. This kind of exile was full of suffering and longing as reflected in myths, legends, and

sagas of Ireland's early oral tradition. Thus, when it was said that James Joyce is more nationalist than the Irish nationalists, it is very much true.

Joyce's relationship towards Ireland is one of belonging and non belonging. It is a love- hate relationship. In short, Joyce's relation to Ireland is ambivalent.

Though he criticized harshly the Irish, Joyce left for the sake of his own people. He left to serve his country and his Irish fellow countrymen. Though he repudiates Catholicism, his artistic style is greatly shaped by his catholic upbringing. And though he loathes Irish nationalist practices, he shows that he is more nationalist than those who claimed so. In this case, Joyce places both himself and his art in the service of his country.

Criticism is not necessarily negative. Criticism can also be meant to improve some areas that need improving i.e. constructive. Constructive criticism should be a reasoned and unemotional response in an effort to teach. In order to liberate Ireland and the Irish, Joyce's tone usually sounds accusatory, resentful, and sometimes bitter.

Joyce fled Ireland to free himself from the nets of Ireland. Yet, his being out of his country accentuated his being Irishness. His Irish sources formed the core of everything he wrote. His imagination was, as he told one of his friends, a process of "continuous renegotiation" of his selfhood in relation to his past." (Qtd. in McCourt 60)

Human beings are different by nature. It follows then, that their responses towards particular circumstances in exile tend to differ greatly. Exiles tend to respond to banishment and life in exile according to the nature of their exile and to particular reasons as well. These reasons are dependent on the personal, social, and cultural resources of the exile himself/herself; for instance, the availability of a culture and/or literature of exile through which the exile may interpret his /her lot. (Boss, Nordin, Olinder 18)

Unlike Joyce's 'resentful and accusatory tone' Joyce in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Frank McCourt relied on a more interesting approach in the narration of his Irish experience from exile, a 'bittersweet' approach. Frank McCourt's story is "bitter" at first glance; it is another stereotypical "miserable Irish Catholic childhood". However, as the story events unfold, the story becomes interesting, exciting, full of humour and adventure, and attractive i.e. 'sweet'.

The backwardness that has characterized the Irish identity for a long time has slowly disappeared in a global world. This is mainly due to such developments as increasing urbanization, the secularization of Irish society towards a more open pluralistic society, the emergence of new meanings of emigration as distances shortened, the development of contacts and flows between different societies and cultures, and most of all, thanks to the role of the Irish Diaspora in Europe, America, Australia and elsewhere. With approximately seven million Irish exiles and emigrants

immersed by new innovations, traditional concepts of Irishness, prejudice and hate have been deconstructed, re-fashioned and re-designed to accommodate the prescriptions of a global world. Thanks to Irish remarkable contemporary writers like Frank McCourt, Ireland attained incredible popularity. Writers who had once been dispossessed, lost, and forgotten exiles contributed in the construction of a new fashionable 'imaginative Irish nation' thereby paving the way to the emergence of a new Irish cultural identity, and hence new Irish nationalism.

The new Irish identity consists in what Richard Kearny advocates in his outstanding *Across the Frontiers: Ireland and the 1990s*, a dynamic Irish cultural identity which develops in an exploratory dialogue with other cultures. Irish cultural history reads like a "litany of intellectual migrations which have established extensive associations between Ireland and the wider world." (24) Seen in this new light, Irish identity is now no longer a strictly geographical category relating to, in Joyce's words, "an isle twice removed from the mainland." (Hogan 73)

Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* reflects well Richard Kearny's concept. Dwelling in America for thirty years helped McCourt to revisit his painful past with an extreme levity. His exile in America softened his traumatic experience in Ireland. This practice sums up McCourt's autobiographical method. He rejects anger in favour of wit and skilfully avoids succumbing to sarcasm. This strategy, in turn, allows him to exploit without fully identifying with Irish stereotypes, "The Miserable Irish Childhood".

From a poor Irish emigrant, Frank McCourt becomes one of the world's most acclaimed authors. Similarly, from "a simple story of Irish childhood", *Angela's Ashes* becomes one of the most highly acclaimed nonfiction works of this decade. Almost all reviewers praised the book generously. Writing for the *New York Times*, Michiko Kakutani praised McCourt's skill as a storyteller:

Mccourt... waited more than four decades to tell the story of his childhood, and it's been well worth the wait. With *Angela's Ashes*, he has used the storytelling gifts he inherited from his father to write a book that redeems the pain of his early years with wit and compassion and grace. (Qtd. In Gale Cengage 11)

In *Newsweek*, Malcolm Jones Jr. Comment was equally positive ; "It is only the best storyteller who can so beguile his readers that he leaves them wanting more when he's done. With *Angela's Ashes*, McCourt proves himself one of the very best." (Qtd. Gale Cengage 11) And in *Time*, John Elson commented on McCourt's humour which leaves a deeper impression 'Like an unpredicted glimmer of midwinter sunshine, cheerfulness keeps breaking into this tale of Celtic woe.' (Qtd. In Gale Cengage 11)

Angela's Ashes tremendous success is due to its multiple values of a story that is imbued with a new concept of nationalism, to bring order out of chaos, and humour. It is also due to McCourt's credential in challenging the usual, in making opposites cohabit with each other, in what he once termed presenting both sides of the story. By so doing, the book contained little of the resentment or

bitterness that a reader might expect to find in the memoir of a man who had endured an unbearable poverty and deprivation in his early years. Looking back on Ireland from abroad allowed Frank McCourt, and James Joyce before him, as well as many other writers to forge a vision of Irish culture as a blending between national and international idioms:

This mixing of the 'foreign with the familiar', to borrow Joyce's phrase is witnessed in most art forms. In the music of Irish groups such as the Chieftains, Van Morrison, The Pogues or U2; in the films of Irish directors such as Jordan, Murphy, Quinn, Comerford and O'Connor; the writings of Irish authors such as Heaney, Banville, Durcan, Ni Dhomnail and Bolger; and the visual art of an emerging generation which includes Ballagh, Coleman, Elanna O'Kelly and Dorothy Cross. (Kearney 22-23)

Exile, distance, and comfort could not diminish McCourt's concern with his homeland. In an interview, Frank McCourt reflects on the centrality of the concept of Irishness by saying:

I had to deal with this powerful question, What's Irish? Eventhough I had arrived eight or nine years earlier, spent my time working on the docks and in hotels, being in the United States Army in Germany for two years, training dogs and chasing Frauleins, and drinking beer-the Irish question didn't come up that that much. But now, this question comes out. (Wyndham 40)

Irish history and culture awarded:

Popularity and imports to [Ireland's] literature and culture on an international scale, and autobiographical texts and *Bildungsroman* novels that engaged directly with this process became particularly prevalent. The establishment of an autobiographical tradition brought with it expectations of how Irish identity could be represented in writing and in particular how the individual could be shown within the context of Irish history. More importantly, through these forms of writing authors began to view their own conception of Irishness not only as something which would be represented in writing, but also a something which should. (Lynch 4)

During Mary Robinson's presidency, the new Irish generation of writers became "rhetorically remembered back into national belonging: they were translated into membership of a cultural nation existing on a level above politics and territory." (Boss, Nordin, Olinder 43) Reflecting on the significance of Irish Diaspora for contemporary Irish identity in her speech to both houses of the Oireachtas (Parliament) in 1995, Mary Robinson said:

In places as far apart as Calcutta and Toronto, on a number of visits, to Britain and the United States, in cities in Tanzania and Hungary and Australia, I have met young people from throughout the island of Ireland who felt they had no choice but emigrate. I have also met men and women who may never have seen this island but whose identity with it is part of their own self definition. [...] In each country visited I have met Irish communities, often far-flung places, and listened to stories of men and women whose pride and affection for Ireland has neither deserted them nor deterred them from dedicating their loyalty and energies to other countries and cultures [...] Through this office, I have been a witness to these stories these people and places have to tell. The more I know of these stories the more it seems to me an added richness of our heritage that Irishness is simply territorial. In fact, Irishness as a concept seems to me at its strongest when it reaches out to every one on this island and shows itself capable of honouring and listening to those

whose sense of identity, and whose cultural values, may be more British than Irish. It can be strengthened and again if we turn with open minds and hearts to the array of people outside Ireland for whom this island is a place of origin. After all, emigration is not just a chronicle of sorrow and regret. It is also a powerful story of contribution and adaptation. In fact, I have become more convinced each year that this great narrative of dispossession leave-taking, has become –with a certain amount of historic irony- one of the treasures of our society. If that is so then our relation with the diaspora beyond our shores is one which can instruct our society in the values of diversity, tolerance, and fair-mindedness. (Robinson)

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Résumé

Les écrivains irlandais, James Joyce et Frank McCourt, ont longtemps été considérés comme «exilés volontaires». A partir d'une approche différente, le présent travail de recherche est une tentative de faire valoir que le thème de l'exil dans *Portrait de l'artiste en jeune homme* (1916) de James Joyce et dans *Les Cendres d'Angela* (1996) de Frank McCourt est, avant tout, «involontaire et malheureux », et culturellement codé. L'étude est abordée sous deux angles: historique (Kerby A. Miller) et littéraire (Edward Said et Hegel). S'appuyant sur la théorie de Miller, nous ferons valoir que l'émigration irlandaise a toujours été considérée comme exil involontaire et malheureux. En outre, le concept est profondément enraciné dans l'histoire irlandaise, dans sa culture, et en particulier la culture catholique. Il remonte aussi loin que le début de l'ère Chrétien en Irlande. L'exil involontaire et malheureux atteint des degrés insupportables dans l'Irlande de l'après-famine. Il s'est aggravé en Irlande postcoloniale en raison de pratiques inflexibles du gouvernement irlandais. L'Irlande gaélique, avec ses trois piliers, que sont le catholicisme, le nationalisme et le conformisme, a beaucoup fait pour envenimer la vie de Joyce, McCourt, et celle de la majorité des écrivains irlandais. Chacune de ces institutions exige l'obéissance absolue, et toute déviation conduit directement à l'exil, physique ou spirituel. En étudiant *Portrait de l'artiste en jeune homme* (1916) de Joyce et *Les Cendres d'Angela* (1996) de McCourt, nous allons également mettre l'accent sur la continuité de l'exil comme un thème littéraire en Irlande postcoloniale et ce jusqu'aux années 1950. Joyce / Dedalus et McCourt / McCourt partagent de nombreuses similitudes (processus de maturation, les raisons du départ, et le destin) qui sont loin d'être de simples coïncidences. Sur un autre plan, mais reliés, nous allons également mettre en lumière les aspects positifs de la condition de l'exil. La théorie d'Edward Said stipule que l'exil involontaire et le nationalisme défensif sont directement et mutuellement proportionnels. Said a fait valoir que l'exil habilite le sentiment d'appartenance et le nationalisme. En effet, l'exilé acquiert une nouvelle vision qui lui permet de mieux voir l'histoire de son pays. A partir de leur exil, Joyce et McCourt se sont consacrés à inventer une "Nouvelle Irlande" en rappelant l'éclat de la culture irlandaise à travers leurs autobiographies. *Portrait de l'artiste en jeune homme* et *Les Cendres d'Angela* sont pleins de mythes, de légendes irlandaises, des chansons et de beauté naturelle qui font de la lecture un processus intéressant. En étudiant les aspects positifs dans *Portrait de l'artiste en jeune homme* et *Les Cendres d'Angela*, nous mettons en évidence la caractéristique centrale de l'écriture exilique, la dialectique. La relation de Joyce / Dedalus et McCourt avec l'Irlande, reflétée dans leurs romans autobiographiques, est une relation d'amour-haine et une relation douce-amère. Les autres caractéristiques exiliques littéraires qui peuvent être mentionnées à ce niveau comprennent: le genre autobiographie tant que texte de l'opprimé, la quête d'un toit, et l'histoire irlandaise et le catholicisme irlandais comme conditions préalables à la compréhension de la littérature Irlandaise. Comme conclusion, conçu différemment de l'exil, Joyce et McCourt ont réussi à créer une nouvelle image de l'Irlande grâce à leur écriture.

Mots clés: les études irlandaises; la tradition irlandaise de l'exil ; l'Irlande, l'exil, et le nationalisme ; l'Irlande, l'exil et les autobiographies / mémoires ; l'Irlande, l'exil et la mondialisation; James Joyce et Frank McCourt.

خلاصة

منذ فترة طويلة اعتبر الأديبان الأيرلنديان ، جيمس جويس، وفرانك ماكورت، "منفيين طوعاً". باتباع نهج مختلف، هذه الدراسة هي محاولة اثبات أن موضوع المنفى في *لوحة للفنان عندما كان شاباً* (1916) لجيمس جويس و *رماد أنجيلا* (1996) لفرانك ماكورت هو أولاً وقبل كل شيء، "غير طوعي و تعيس"، ومرمز ثقافياً. تناولت هذه الدراسة من منظورين: تاريخي (كيربي ميلر)، والأدبية (إدوارد سعيد وهيغل). أثبتت نظرية ميلر أن الهجرة الأيرلندية ليست كغيرها وإنما هي "منفى قسري وغير سعيد وعلاوة على ذلك فإن هذا المفهوم متجذر بعمق في التاريخ الأيرلندي، الثقافة الأيرلندية، والثقافة الكاثوليكية الأيرلندية بشكل خاص حيث تعود أصوله إلى أيرلندا المسيحية القديمة. المنفى "غير الطوعي، والتعيس بلغ درجة لا تطاق في مرحلة ما بعد مجاعة أيرلندا وازدادت سوءاً في مرحلة أيرلندا ما بعد الاستعمار بسبب ممارسات الحكومة الأيرلندية الصارمة. أيرلندا الغيلية بأركانها الثلاثة: الكاثوليكية، القومية، والأعراف والاجتماعية خلقت الكثير من الصعوبات لجويس، ماكورت و معظم الكتاب الأيرلنديين. وضعت هذه المؤسسات قوانين مطلقة وأي نوع من أنواع الانحرافات يؤدي مباشرة إلى المنفى المادي أو معنوي. فمن خلال دراسة *لوحة للفنان عندما كان شاباً* (1916) و *رماد أنجيلا* (1996)، ونحن نؤكد أيضاً على استمرارية "مفهوم المنفى كمصير وموضوع أدبي في مرحلة أيرلندا ما بعد الاستعمار وحتى 1950. كلا من جويس /ديدالس و ماكورت / ماكورت يتقاسمان العديد من أوجه التشابه (عملية النضج، الأسباب الكامنة وراء الرحيل، والمصير) بعيداً عن كونها مجرد مصادفة. و من جهة أخرى، نحاول إلقاء الضوء على الجوانب الإيجابية لحالة المنفى. نظرية إدوارد سعيد القائمة على خبرته، تنص على أن "المنفى القسري" و "القومية الدفاعية" يتناسبان طردياً مع بعضها البعض. على الرغم من أنه يبدو غريباً عند التحدث عن مزايا المنفى في قوله بأن المنفى يقوي الشعور بالانتماء والقومية. المنفى يكتسب "عيون جديدة" تساعد على فهم تاريخ بلاده. من المنفى كرس جويس و ماكورت نفسيهما في بناء صورة جديدة لأيرلندا عن طريق مدح الثقافة الأيرلندية من خلال كتابتهما. *لوحة للفنان عندما كان شاباً* و *رماد أنجيلا* مليئتان بالأساطير الأيرلندية، الأغاني، وجمال الطبيعة التي تجعل من عملية القراءة جذابة ومغرية. من خلال دراسة الجوانب الإيجابية في *لوحة للفنان عندما كان شاباً* و *رماد أنجيلا*، سنحاول تسليط الضوء على السمة الرئيسية للكتابة في المنفى: الكتابة الجدلية. علاقة جويس /ديدالس و ماكورت / ماكورت مع أيرلندا هي علاقة حب و كراهية، حلوة ومررة. الخصائص الأدبية للكتابة في المنفى التي يمكن ذكرها في هذا المستوى: السيرة الذاتية هي وسيلة للتعبير عن المظلومين، السعي من أجل الوطن، والتاريخ الأيرلندي و الكاثوليكية الأيرلندية هما شرطان أساسيان لفهم الأدب الأيرلندي. كنتيجة لهذه الدراسة، من المنفى، نجح جويس و ماكورت في خلق صورة عصرية عن أيرلندا من خلال كتاباتهم.

