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VOLUME 14

Edwina Keown and Carol Taaffe (eds)

IRISH MODERNISM

ORIGINS, CONTEXTS, PUBLICS



ireimagining land

IRISH MODERNISM: ORIGINS, CONTEXTS, PUBLICS

This is the first interdisciplinary volume to present a sustained examination of the emergence, reception and legacy of modernism in Ireland. Engaging with the ongoing re-evaluation of regional and national modernisms, the essays collected here reveal both the importance of modernism to Ireland, and that of Ireland to modernism. Central concerns of the book include definitions of and critical contexts for an Irish modernism, issues of production, reception and the marketplace, new dialogues between literature and the visual arts in Ireland, modernism and Catholicism, and Irish modernism's relationship with European and Anglo-American modernism. With contributions from established and emerging scholars in both Irish Studies and Modernist Studies, this collection introduces fresh perspectives on modern Irish culture that reflect new understandings of the contradictory and contested nature of modernism itself.

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PETER LANG

Irish Modernism

Reimagining Ireland

Volume 14

Edited by Dr Eamon Maher
Institute of Technology, Tallaght



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Introduction: Ireland and Modernism

In the early twentieth century, Ireland emerged as a significant crucible of literary modernism. However, while Irish modernist writers quickly won international acclaim, the broader impact of modernism on twentieth-century Irish culture has attracted relatively little attention. *Irish Modernism: Origins, Contexts, Publics* is the first interdisciplinary volume to present a sustained examination of the emergence, reception and legacy of modernism in Ireland. Engaging with the ongoing re-evaluation of regional and national modernisms, the essays collected here reveal not only the importance of modernism to Ireland, but also of Ireland to modernism. Central concerns throughout are definitions of and critical contexts for an Irish modernism, issues of production, reception and the marketplace, new dialogues between literature and the visual arts, modernism and Catholicism, and the relationship with European and Anglo-American modernism. With contributions from established and emerging scholars in both Irish Studies and Modernist Studies, this collection introduces fresh perspectives on modern Irish culture that reflect new understandings of the contradictory and contested nature of modernism itself.

In 1934, Samuel Beckett effectively drew the borderlines for generations of critics when he starkly divided the post-Revival literary scene between ‘antiquarians and others, the latter in the majority’.¹ The incompatibility of modernism and Ireland gradually became a critical staple, juxtaposing an enlightened internationalism with an insular and conservative nationalist culture.² This image did little service to either side – while denuding Irish

1 Samuel Beckett, ‘Recent Irish Poetry’, *Disjecta* (London: John Calder, 1983), 70.

2 The division tacitly underlies the editorial stance of Patricia Coughlan and Alex Davis (eds), *Modernism and Ireland: The Poetry of the 1930s* (Cork: Cork University Press,

modernists of the culture which informs their work, it also caricatured Ireland's complex cultural dynamics and posited a utopian image of modernism itself. Since 1991, when John Wilson Foster suggested the existence of 'a fitful native Modernism' in early twentieth-century Ireland (one visible in the congruence of Irish revivalism and modernism), the critical waters have become rather more muddled.³ With the emergence of the New Modernist Studies over the past decade and its re-evaluation of local, regional and national modernisms, Ireland has been transformed from a footnote in the modernist canon to something of an exemplary case. Admittedly, the dominance of nationalism and revivalism in early twentieth-century Irish culture would seem to cast it as a natural antagonist to the cult of the modern. But as many of these essays demonstrate, the reality of the Irish situation is rather more complex – even more so considering recent scholarship that inextricably links the development of international modernism to the emergence of the modern nation-state.⁴ A consideration of modernism and cultural nationalism as analogous responses to modernity is revisited in the essays that open this collection, which in various ways test the critical borders of 'Irish modernism' itself. It is a concept revisited and revised throughout the volume, in essays that point to the manner in which Irish writers and artists sought to reconcile the intellectual worlds of international modernism, Catholicism and Irish nationalism.

Despite the presence of Yeats, Joyce and Beckett in the international canon, for too long the relationship of modernism to Irish culture was conceived simply in terms of conflict. It is an opposition that reflects more accurately the critical debates of their own time than it does any absolute

1995). They argue that Irish modernist poets suffered neglect due to the greater ease of the Irish critical establishment with work that could be 'more readily accommodated under the rubric of a more literal and self-proclaimed Irishness', 7–8.

3 John Wilson Foster, 'Irish Modernism', in *Colonial Consequences: Essays in Irish Literature and Culture* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1991), 45.

4 On modernism and Ireland see introduction to Alex Davis and Lee M. Jenkins (eds), *Locations of Literary Modernism: Region and Nation in British and American Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and Tim Armstrong, *Modernism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

distinctions in radicalism and conservatism, the cosmopolitan and the national, modernity and tradition. In 1936, one Irish observer saw the options presented by contemporary critics in the starkest terms: 'Ireland stands at the crossroads. Guides beckon her to differing ways. One invites her to the land of cosmopolitan culture. The other to hidden Ireland.'⁵ But in retrospect these distinctions seem less clear-cut and the cross-currents in Irish culture more complex; in the historical view, the pattern is less fruitfully seen as one of conflict than of interdependence. The subtitle for this collection, 'Origins, Contexts, Publics', reflects its aim to recover a sense of the cultural complexity of this period, while taking into account the influence of critical and cultural reception in the development of an Irish modernism. The essays collected here, reflecting a broad range of critical approaches and viewpoints, draw on a variety of informing contexts in which to read the work of the modern period. What many have in common is a historicist focus, one that creates a material basis for a fresh exploration of modernism in Ireland from the Revival to the 1950s, when a new wave of 'modernisation' in Irish society can be said to begin.⁶

These essays are arranged in four sections which are loosely chronological, but which more particularly situate Irish modernism in terms of origins and canon formation, national and international contexts, religion and Irish intellectual culture, and the modernisation of Irish society from the 1950s onwards. The opening section, 'Irish Modernism: Origins and Contexts', tests the critical and cultural borders of Irish modernism itself. It begins in 1913 with the Dublin of the Lockout, a city sharing in all the social and political upheavals of its time. Jean-Michel Rabaté's essay weaves together W.B. Yeats, Ezra Pound and Rabindranath Tagore in a tale of the birth of modernism which vividly illustrates the globalised culture of modernity. What he reveals is a productive combination of forces that brought about a first wave of modernism in which the concern for an autonomy of art

5 James Devane, 'Is an Irish Culture Possible?', *Ireland To-day*, 1:5 (October 1936), 21.

6 For excellent discussions of modernity and modernisation in Ireland see Joe Cleary, *Outrageous Fortune: Capital and Culture in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Field Day, 2007).

never excluded ethical or political concerns – a view of modernism in which late colonial Ireland might be seen to occupy an ‘exemplary status’. This colonial context again comes to the fore in essays by Jim Shanahan and Anne Markey. Shanahan revisits the contested origins of the Irish modernist novel which he locates not in nineteenth-century aestheticism, but in the temporal idiosyncracies of the Irish historical novel. Addressing Frank Mathew’s *The Wood of the Brambles* (1896), a surreal account of the 1798 Rebellion which confounded contemporary critics, he demonstrates the importance of critical re-appraisals in uncovering the roots of an Irish modernist sensibility. A similar challenge to established critical boundaries is visible in Markey’s reconsideration of the relationship between revivalism and modernism. In a study of the publishing careers of James Joyce and Patrick Pearse – one which pivots on the Dublin firm of Maunsell & Co. and the modernist connections of Pearse’s translator, Joseph Campbell – she identifies an intriguing historical nexus of ‘the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish literary revivals and the emergence of modernist writing’.

‘Border Crossings: Ireland and Europe’ more fully explores the literary traffic between Ireland and continental Europe in the early twentieth century. Michael McAteer begins by examining the influence of German Expressionism on W.B. Yeats and modern Irish theatre. Returning to the scene of the First World War, long a part of the occluded history of modern Ireland, his essay argues that the Expressionist legacy in the work of Irish playwrights points to the complex relation of nationhood and the avant-garde in twentieth-century Irish drama. Legacies of a different kind are at play in Robert Baines’s analysis of the early reception of James Joyce in Ireland and France. A reading of Valéry Larbaud’s seminal lecture on *Ulysses* (and its effects in creating the ‘Irish Joyce’ and the ‘French Joyce’) reveals it to be a ‘site of multiple conflicts and allegiances’, a significant moment of cultural interaction rather than of critical division. Karen E. Brown follows with a study that similarly locates the poet and critic Thomas MacGreevy at a crossroads between Ireland and Europe. Highlighting the interplay between his modernist poetics and the contemporary visual arts, in particular the work of Jack B. Yeats, she argues that his work effectively forges a relationship between nationalist ideologies and modernist aesthetics. Eamonn Hughes closes this section with a consideration of the European

intellectual contexts informing the work of Flann O'Brien. With reference to key essays by T.S. Eliot and Walter Benjamin, he demonstrates how *At Swim-Two-Birds* engages with contemporary debates on authority, tradition, and the ownership and control of culture.

The essays in the section 'Catholic Modernism in Ireland' more specifically consider the intellectual intersections between international modernism and Catholic cultural discourse in mid-twentieth-century Ireland. Rhiannon Moss opens by addressing Thomas MacGreevy's apparently conflicting identities as European modernist and Catholic nationalist. Placing MacGreevy's criticism in the context both of Eliot's Catholic modernist aesthetic and of cultural debates in the Irish Catholic press, she illustrates his attempt to formulate a version of modernism which could be 'distinctively Catholic and distinctively Irish'. It is a very different version of Catholic modernism which emerges from Jennika Baines's reading of Flann O'Brien's *At Swim-Two-Birds*, one that bears similarities to the European absurd. Yet in the senseless and persistent suffering of the mad king Sweeny, she argues that O'Brien ultimately reinforces orthodox religious doctrines of punishment and eternity. For James Matthew Wilson, the intellectual Catholicism of Denis Devlin's meditative poem, *The Heavenly Foreigner*, was to invite a new cultural investment in literary modernism in 1960s Ireland. Published in a deluxe critical edition by the Dolmen Press in 1968, with its author quickly dubbed 'Ireland's Eliot', Devlin's re-packaged poem promised an aura of cultural sophistication – and a non-sectarian, cosmopolitan image of Catholicism – which chimed with the modernising Ireland of Seán Lemass. It was a publishing event, Wilson argues, which 'tells us much about the changing fortunes of modernist literature in Ireland'.

The final section, 'Evolving Irish Modernism: Literature, Visual Arts, Architecture', moves into an era of late (or 'deferred') modernism in Ireland, with the more visible emergence of modernist work in the public arena and a growing engagement with the discourse of modernisation. Róisín Kennedy opens by examining the critical debate generated by the exhibitions, publications and self-promotion of the White Stag Group in Emergency Dublin. Exploring the effect of their arrival in the city, a place relatively isolated in cultural terms, her essay reveals their legacy in generating a critical public for an evolving native modernism. Ellen Rowley offers

an examination of the institutional support for modernism a decade later, addressing the ecclesiastical architecture of 1950s Dublin. Exploring Irish architectural discourse in this 'lost decade', she identifies an uncertain and transitional modernism bridging the gap between revivalist traditionalism and the corporate internationalism of the 1960s. Edwina Keown's closing essay similarly focuses on promise and uncertainty in the turn to internationalism in the 1950s, a development which presaged the decisive cultural and political shifts of the Lemass era. She reads Elizabeth Bowen's *A World of Love* as a splintered modernist allegory of contemporary Ireland – at a crossroads between past and future, the national and the international – an Ireland caught between the hackneyed decay of the Big House and the uncharted promise of the Shannon Development Scheme.

PART I

Irish Modernism: Origins and Contexts

JEAN-MICHEL RABATÉ

Dublin, 1913: Irish Modernism and International Modernism

No sooner had I finished my book on 1913, *The Cradle of Modernism*, than myriads of files, issues and place-names cropped up in a veritable deluge of little facts dating from this one year; all the facts that I had forgotten to include were brought to me. I had no doubt that if I wanted to present a cultural chronicle of the emergence of novelty in 1913, I could not avoid selecting, which meant eliminating countries, authors and topics. For instance, when I saw the 2007 publication of Amy Dockser Marcus's excellent *Jerusalem 1913: The Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*, I regretted not having devoted at least a few paragraphs to the birth of Zionism and to the lineaments of a clash in Palestine between two communities, both of which saw in a new nationalism the only response to the dictatorial but crumbling rule of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, this would have brought more grist to my mill, my major contention being that it was in 1913 that the world as we know it now was being ushered in. Thus, like a demented empiricist, I kept on collecting countless new data discovered after the publication, such as my encounter with George Loane Tucker's 1913 film *Traffic in Souls*. Set in New York, this film, one of the first American feature-length films (uncharacteristically, it lasts ninety minutes), sets out to expose the scandal of white slave traffic. The villain is an evil pimp, Trubus, who hides behind charity organisations while ruling over his denizens and prostitutes via technology. Trubus hides microphones everywhere and even disposes of a super slate that instantly delivers handwritten messages to his minions. Accordingly, he is defeated by technology when the heroes manage to record incriminating conversations on wax cylinders. This was not science fiction, however, since the invention of the portable Belinograph, the ancestor of today's fax machine, also dates from 1913.

However I can confess that among my numerous omissions, there was one that I made quite deliberately. I thought that this was for want of space first of all. It was the chapter that I would have entitled 'Dublin 1913'. Was it because I had been impressed by the bulk of Pádraig Yeates's *Lockout: Dublin 1913*, whose 668 pages seemed hard to digest and condense in a few lines, or because I had opted earlier for a treatment of W.B. Yeats in connection with Ezra Pound? I had seen all too briefly the beautiful chapters on the Hugh Lane controversy and on the campaign of 'Save the Dublin kiddies' in Lucy McDiarmid's excellent *The Irish Art of Controversy* (2005). These dealt with important issues; I needed more time to process and integrate them in my general problematic, that is, my set of methodological questions. Whatever the main reason for my current hesitation, here is now a sketch of the chapter that is missing from my book.

I have to explain what I mean by my 'problematic'. The plan was simple enough: the idea was to encompass the culture of an entire year in a strict historical framework while highlighting the features that we tend to associate with modernity. This led me to understand that 'modernism', or the cult of the modern in all its forms, was inseparable from an early globalisation; the latter term suggested that technology, imperialism and nationalism would play a determining role in the modernisation of everyday life, but that this combination finally brought about the conditions of the outbreak of the First World War. Such a convergence of factors presupposes an earlier date for the emergence of globalisation than that commonly held, to the point that for some it may sound like an anachronism. Yet I believe that there is no anachronism in seeing globalisation as already present in 1913. It is true that, following Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri and many others, we conceive a late modernity entirely reshaped by globalised empires, dominated right now by an American axis, soon to be replaced by an Asian one.

Indeed, this has crucial relevance for the Irish situation at the time of its painful awakening and subsequent liberation from British imperialism. Critics have expressed scepticism about the alleged novelty of the phenomenon of globalisation, and Doug Henwood has provocatively pointed out that globalisation existed at least one century earlier, but under British domination. One might argue indeed that the world was more unified under British rule than in the second half of the twentieth century. In that

case, Ireland would acquire an exemplary status, it would point to the first instance of decolonisation. To investigate these factors without falling too much into the wisdom of hindsight, I turned to a contemporary book written by Morton Fullerton. Fullerton noticed clearly that a unification of the world was taking place. A cosmopolitan intellectual and one-time lover and then close friend of the American novelist Edith Wharton, Fullerton published *Problems of Power* in 1913. In this prescient book, he sees a world war looming and attempts to find solutions that might avoid it.

Only an American could understand so well the complex tangle of rancours, jealousies, unstable alliances and proliferating aspirations that made central Europe such a power keg. Count Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian minister for foreign affairs had described in April 1912 a new 'world-situation' generated by the alliance between England, France, Italy and Russia on the one hand, and Austria, Germany and Japan on the other. These alliances testified to an increasingly interconnected world as they all looked to Asia and Africa and brought about new 'zones of friction'.¹ The international treaties had generated an international 'dove-tailing'² of the nations of the world. Fullerton insisted upon a new economic 'dove-tailing' and gave the example of the Dardanelles Straits, which were closed for a few months in 1912 by the Turks during the Balkan war. Tons of Russian grain were to rot in the Black Sea; England, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece lost 20,000 pounds a day. Lord Lansdowne announced that it was intolerable to let a limited conflict strangle the trading interests of the whole world and thus the trading community forced the warring parties to reach a truce.³ The view of the modern world sketched enacts with a vengeance the description famously given by Marx and Engels in their prophetic *Communist Manifesto* (1848): 'The need for a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere. The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market

1 Morton Fullerton, *Problems of Power* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1913), 6.

2 Ibid., 62.

3 Ibid., 7–8.

given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country.⁴ Of course, they also saw a future ‘world-literature’ as the outcome of such a process, in which the ‘old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency’ would be replaced by mutual interdependence.⁵ Those who doubted that there was any such world-literature must have been shocked by the choice of Tagore as the recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. It was the first time that a non-European was granted this distinction, and Yeats had a lot to do with it, as we will see.

The year 1913 was also when the American company AT&T pledged that universal phone service would be available in all rural areas, when the portable phonograph was manufactured and when radio broadcasts were recorded on cylinders that gave fairly accurate renderings of political speeches. One can date from 1913 the moment when today’s global world came of age, in the current intermeshing between technological inventions, flows of international capital and the re-awakening of particularist claims, whether religious or national or both, that saw in war the only solution to their predicament.

Fullerton observed an upsurge of nationalisms everywhere: ‘The twentieth century tendency will almost uniformly be found to be towards a greater “national” activity.’⁶ What seems diminishing, he notes, is the ancient ‘passion for the planet’ that still dominated in intellectual and political circles a quarter of century earlier. He perceived clearly that the reawakening of nationalism was a reaction to the encroachment of global capitalism, a point that was brought home forcibly to the Dublin workers in August 1913. For Fullerton, one solution lay in the awareness that the United States had become a world power,⁷ which entailed that it would be unable to avoid being engulfed in a general conflagration, but which may have compensated for some defects of the older British domination. If, as he saw it, the geographical centre of gravity had shifted from the

4 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, in Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 224–5.

5 Ibid.

6 Fullerton, *Problems of Power*, 9.

7 Ibid., 23.

Mediterranean world to the Caribbean world,⁸ the United States could not dismiss its responsibility facing emerging nations. The military and industrial rise of Japan, victorious over Russia in 1905, announced changes in the Asian world while Russia seemed closer to collapse like the Ottoman Empire.

Fullerton quotes the text of the *Internationale* and Karl Marx,⁹ and describes the mounting tide of social unrest, workers' strikes and the new credit granted to the 'general strike' as not socialist, yet his vision of history, determined both by 'money' and 'public opinion'¹⁰ is not incompatible with the main lessons of Marx and Engels. He is not blind to the combination of those two forces as he sees them merging in Germany: 'Germany is a parvenu Power and full of Pangermans who want to "make history," and not merely to "make money"'.¹¹ He also observes that in October 1912, the mills in Gary, Indiana, had to close because 2,750 workers of Slavic origins decided all at once to join the crusade of the Balkan states against the Turks.¹²

Indeed, the Irish situation appeared to Marx and Engels as an interesting exception. They had advocated nationalism as an acceptable solution for Ireland in spite of their internationalist drift. Marx wrote to Kugelmann in April 1868 that 'The Irish question predominates here just now.'¹³ He then analyses the overthrow of the church that the English had established in Ireland as a bulwark to landlordism. In December 1869, writing to Engels who was then preparing a monumental history of Ireland never to be completed, Marx stated that it was vital that the International Council of the Workers should discuss the Irish question: 'For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy ... Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite.

8 Ibid., 310.

9 Ibid., 196–7.

10 Ibid., 195.

11 Ibid., 210.

12 Ibid., 201, note 1.

13 Quoted in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), 151.

The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.¹⁴ One year before Marx's death, but just about the time of James Joyce's birth, Engels wrote to Kautsky that he held 'the view that two nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles. They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic.'¹⁵

Engels remained unaware that a literary genius had just been born, a writer who did his best to link back the nationalistic urges of his country to international standards of culture, much as his role-model, Ibsen, had done for his native Norway. Besides, at the time, Engels had no patience with the anarchist deviation of armed nationalism or direct action as advocated by the Fenians. He condemned terrorist coups such as the Phoenix Park assassination of 1882: 'Thus the "heroic deed" in Phoenix Park appears if not as pure stupidity, then at least as pure Bakuninist, bragging, purposeless "*propagande par le fait*".'¹⁶ In the same letter, he urges Eduard Bernstein 'never [to] praise a single Irishman – a politician – unreservedly, and never identify yourself with him before he is dead' since 'Celtic blood and the customary exploitation of the peasant make Irish politicians very responsible to corruption'. Engels quotes O'Connell's acceptance of bribes and the famous rejoinder of one of the Land League leaders who was responding to the reproach that he had sold his country: 'Yes, and I was damned glad to have a country to sell.'

Yet, on the whole, Anglo-American as well as Irish modernism refused the collectivist drift of Marxists, futurists and unanimists in the name of individualism. One can apply to the ideology of the modern in the arts the paradox outlined by Morton Fullerton: individualism flares back most when it is threatened, exactly as nationalism returns under the repression either of the old empires such as the Austro-Hungarian double monarchy

14 Ibid., 382.

15 7 February 1882. Ibid., 432.

16 Ibid., 436.

or of the new economic uniformisation of the world at the hands of international financiers. In this framework, modernist globalisation is not a recent factor associated with late capitalism but an older trend linked to the development of European and American imperialisms at the end of the nineteenth century. This development reached a climax when the competitive logic of international capital and the explosion of newly unleashed nationalisms led to a universal war. The world-wide web of the internet found its real birth certificate in the general rush to a world-wide war that took place so spontaneously in 1914.

It is nevertheless undeniable that in this global drift, Ireland was somewhat left behind, and that the main difference between Belfast and Dublin was the lack of a consistently organised industrial working class in the Irish capital. Yet, one can say that 1913 marks the beginning of the 'Irish revolution', as Joost Augusteijn and his collaborators depict it, or at least opens a revolutionary decade leading to independence.¹⁷ What is really striking when one peruses the thick volume of *Lockout: Dublin 1913* is that Irish society was extremely stratified, with the upper class living mostly in the rich suburbs and thus barely affected by the transport workers' strike, but the ferocious and indiscriminate repression by British constables made most Dubliners aware of a new solidarity. Class divisions were not overcome overnight to be sure, but a common indignation against the might of the British Empire served as ideological cohesion. It was the shock of barely escaping police truncheons on 31 August 1913 (the Irish Labour movement's 'Bloody Sunday') that led Sean O'Casey to take a definitively socialist view of Irish politics. Thus Jim Larkin, Maud Gonne, Arthur Griffith, Constance Markievicz, James Connolly and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington were united in a struggle against the British despite important political disagreements.

Let us rehearse a few well-known facts. While Ulster resisted the possibility of Home Rule by creating the Ulster Volunteer Force in January 1913 (organised from the Ulster Volunteers), social unrest was brewing in Dublin, and the well-organised Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was

17 Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The Irish Revolution 1913–1923* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

being radicalised by its general secretary, Jim Larkin. Very much aware of the danger of sectarian violence in Ulster, Larkin was ready to retaliate, and his rhetoric had an insurrectional tone. Larkin believed in the general strike as a mass weapon, and he announced a 'lockout' on 26 August, just at the beginning of the Horse Show week. His speech was typically incendiary: 'It is not a strike, it is a lockout of the men, who have been tyrannically treated by a most unscrupulous scoundrel.' Larkin was attacking William Murphy, who was president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and served on the board of the Transport authority, who had promised that he would break the strike. But Larkin was also telling his troops to emulate Carson's Ulster armed volunteers: 'If Sir Edward Carson is right in telling the men of Ulster to form a Provisional Government in Belfast, I think I must be right too in telling you to form a Provisional Government in Dublin. But whether you form a Provisional Government or not, you will require arms, for Aberdeen has promised Murphy not only police but the soldiers; and my advice to you is to be round the doors and corners, and whenever one of our men is shot, shoot two of theirs.'¹⁸

The lockout was not very successful at first with just a few lines blocked, but then Connolly was arrested as the socialist leader while Larkin went into hiding. He was discovered near City Hall; the police charged everywhere in the city centre, beating up bystanders including women and children; two men who happened to pass by were killed by drunken constables. The obvious use of excessive force by the police created widespread outrage and was denounced in international newspapers. For the first time, one could witness that there was no distinction to be made between the rioting slums and the affluent Anglo-Irish bourgeoisie. Even though Griffith hated Larkin for being too 'British' (that is, connected with English trade unions) and too socialist (Keir Hardie had come to talk at a rally at Larkin's invitation), he could not reject the popular movement of protest, and even a pacifist like AE expressed solidarity with the strikers in the *Irish Homestead*.

18 Quoted in Pádraig Yeates, *Lockout: Dublin 1913* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2000), 20–1.