

LEARNING UNDER EMPIRES: THE EDUCATION
OF STEPHEN DEDALUS

by

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DEDICATION

To Chelsea, whose support and patient made this possible.

To my parents, who are always supportive and ready to help.

To Braila, who inspires me every day.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Description
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<i>RS</i>	The <i>Ratio Studiorum</i> of 1599
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I. INTRODUCTION

James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* depicts the formal education of Stephen Dedalus from primary school to university. Stephen begins his education at Clongowes Woods, a Jesuit boarding school. When the family can no longer afford the tuition, he endures a brief hiatus from school before attending Belvedere, a Jesuit day school in Dublin. After Belvedere, Stephen goes to the University College Dublin, a Catholic university under Jesuit leadership. In the period of Stephen's education, from around 1888 to 1902, the Irish education system, including the private Jesuit institutions that Stephen attends, was under the influence of the British empire. Immediately preceding Stephen's enrolment in Clongowes, the Irish Jesuit education system underwent a major shift toward producing British civil servants in addition to loyal Jesuits, and in this period, the British influence in the Irish Jesuit education system grew considerably. As a Jesuit pupil and British subject, these two systems of authority, both of which Stephen resists conforming to, shape his formal education and experiences throughout his adolescence. When Stephen challenges them and resists conforming, conflicts erupt. The confrontations Stephen experiences are so potent in his mind that, by the end of the novel, he resolves to exiling himself to escape the oppressive religious and political atmosphere of Ireland. This thesis explores the ways in which Stephen's formal education and formative experiences shape him as an artist. This exploration will navigate Stephen's complex and evolving relationship with his educators and local communities as he reckons his experiences with the knowledge acquired through his Jesuit education.

When Stephen first appears at Clongowes, he demonstrates a lack of nuance in his social views, placing a tremendous amount of trust in people of authority, especially Catholic clergy members, and believing there to be *one* right answer to questions that arise. However, Stephen's trust in single answers wanes as his knowledge deepens through interactions with others. By the time Stephen attends Belvedere, the ebbing of his interest in following the Catholic Church's rules had begun. After winning thirty-three pounds through the payment-by-result system, Stephen visits a brothel and pays for his first sexual encounter, an experience with reaching moral implications that he analyses at length. In a moment of introspection in the math lesson that follows, Stephen alludes to a diverse cast of works recently incorporated into the Jesuits' curriculum that include several revolutionary thinkers like Galileo whom the Jesuits previously persecuted as a heretic. At university, Stephen rejects his "fatherland" and church and calls it a "revolt," defending his exodus against the concerns of his friends. In the process of becoming educated, Stephen's naivete and trust in the Catholic Church and Ireland develop into a skepticism and disaffection with Ireland by the novel's close.

A healthy catalogue of scholarship focuses on both Joyce's and Stephen's education. For example, Sandra Tropp's "Mathematics and Heresy in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*" focuses on the influences of heretical mathematicians in *Portrait*. However, there is a gap in the literature analyzing the effects that the developing state of both Jesuit and Irish education systems have on Stephen's experiences. Irish Jesuit education and the Irish education system overall experienced a tumultuous century, but the scholarship concerned with Stephen's education tends to focus on the traditional Jesuit education system rather than the modernized, industrial one of the late 19th

Century. This oversight precludes key areas of Joyce's criticism of these systems and aspects of Stephen's education. A great deal of Stephen's rebellion toward the church and Ireland relates to his resistance toward the Jesuit education he receives and its colonial bent. Understanding the evolution within the education systems not only enriches Joyce's text but also helps readers better understand Stephen's motivations and artistic development.

In this thesis, I examine the influence that Stephen's contemporary Jesuit education has on his artistic development. The first chapter explores the nineteenth century Irish and Jesuit education systems, tracking the development of the two systems through the time of Stephen's attendance. I start by contextualizing the historic Act of Union of 1800 and its influence on Irish education. Then, I move on to a discussion of the inception of a new Irish national education system and the tribulations it underwent leading up to Stephen's enrollment in school. Finally, I move on to the Jesuits' education system, briefly discussing its history and modernization. This chapter relies on John Coolahan's *Irish Education: History and Structure* to flesh out the development of the Irish education scene throughout the 19th Century with a focus on the ways in which the national Irish education system influenced the development of the Jesuit education system in Ireland. Additionally, the *Ratio Studiorum of 1599* and T. Corcoran's *The Clongowes Record: 1814 to 1932* illuminate the Jesuit education system's move from illicit lessons in the streets to elite institutions supporting the British empire. To clarify the effects of this process on Stephen, I briefly highlight his positions in these institutions and his responses to them.

In Chapter II, I discuss Stephen's formal education by looking at three lessons, two mathematics lessons in *Portrait* and a history lesson in *Ulysses*. In *Portrait*, the character of Stephen Dedalus serves as "a part-loving, part-ironic portrait" of Joyce "as a (very) young man" (*Portrait* xlii).¹ Stephen's journey through formal schooling mimics Joyce's except for a brief period outside of the Jesuit school system at a Christian Brothers school which is replaced in *Portrait* with an educational hiatus. This exclusion from Stephen's education focuses his outcome on his exclusively Jesuit education. In this chapter, I analyze Stephen's resistance to Jesuit pedagogy and curricula in three lessons spanning his time in the classroom, from the first class presented in *Portrait* to his time as an educator in *Ulysses*. My analysis of these areas focuses on Stephen's reaction to the math lessons of *Portrait*, including the curriculum and pedagogies. I draw from the scholarship of Amir Alexander, who studies Jesuit contributions to the field of mathematics, and Sandra Tropp, who analyses Joyce's use of mathematics, to explore Stephen's response in these lessons. Building upon this scholarship, I will show how the math lessons in *Portrait* demonstrate the British empire's modernizing influence on Stephen's mathematics education. Through these moments of Stephen's formal education, Joyce explores the multifaceted late-nineteenth-century Jesuit education system in Ireland, manifesting the conflicted foundations of Stephen's thought processes and knowledge.

The third chapter of this thesis focuses on Stephen's experiential education—outside of the classroom proper—and the influence it has on his relationships with authority figures like his family and educators. Drawing from Richard Pearce's

¹ Citations of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* refer to Seamus Deane's edition unless otherwise noted.

scholarship on the cultural significance of “Lilly Dale,” I start by looking at the first indications of Stephen’s artistic inclinations in his rendition of two short songs in the opening of *Portrait*, and I explore the artistic atmosphere of Stephen’s homelife before he begins his formal education. Then, I move on to the social conflicts that lead up to Stephen’s sickness and stay in Clongowes’ infirmary. After considering Stephen’s brush with death, I examine the infamous Christmas dinner scene in which his family debates Irish national politics, and I consider its influence on Stephen’s social perspective moving forward. Finally, I will explore the physical punishment Stephen endures by the hand of the prefect of studies at Clongowes. Through these experiences, I show how Stephen turns from an agreeable student to a skeptic rebel who rejects conformity to political and religious authority.

II. THE SHAPING OF STEPHEN'S NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRISH JESUIT EDUCATION

By the time Stephen Dedalus wanders the historic halls of Clongowes Woods College in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Ireland's education systems had undergone nearly a century of drastic reform and had entered a new, relatively stable period. It was in this transitional period that the Jesuits established their own education system in Ireland and garnered a reputation as elite educators, attracting socially ambitious parents such as Simon Dedalus, Stephen's father. This chapter studies the evolution of the historic policies governing the education systems in Ireland, situating Stephen within his historical context and setting the stage for a deeper study of his Jesuit education in chapter two. This history of Irish education reveals how British ambitions for Irish colonial assimilation influenced the Jesuit education system and Stephen's experiences in the classroom. This exploration of the education systems will clarify what it is that Stephen, a rebellious intellectual, is pushing back against in the later chapters.

The Development and Modernization of Ireland's Education System

Over the course of the long-nineteenth century, a series of commissions issued reports on the state of Ireland's education systems, occasionally inspiring legislation and other decrees to address the system's problems. Until 1878, the Jesuit education system operated independently of the national education system. After the Intermediate Education Act of 1878, the Jesuit education system adopted a curriculum that aligned with the materials covered by competitive examinations instituted and administered by a mixed denominational board of nonpaid commissioners, much like the board in charge of the national education system. By the time Stephen enters the Jesuit system a decade later

in 1888, the Irish national education system had a significant influence on the curriculum taught at private Jesuit schools. Another prominent piece of legislation that directly shapes Stephen's education traces back to the Act of Union of 1800. Although this act radically altered the political structure of Ireland's government and Irish society in general, it also led to the inception of the national education system, which expanded access to education and created a relatively stable and consistent set of standards for it.

Following the Irish Rebellion of 1798, two legislative acts known collectively as the Act of Union of 1800 dissolved Ireland's parliament and "united" England and Ireland under the full authority of the parliament in Westminster. This legislation changed the entire political structure of Ireland and, to a lesser extent, England. John Coolahan, an expert in Irish education, summarizes the effects of these acts on the education of Irish children. He observes, "The Act of Union of 1800, which brought Ireland under the direct control of the government and parliament at Westminster, sought to bind Ireland more closely to Britain through a policy of cultural assimilation" (3). The act passed in the Irish parliament with help from Catholic leadership through an understanding with Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Charles Cornwallis, that Catholic emancipation would be a part of this new union, a point Stephen's father brings up against Dante and her advocacy for clericalism in the Christmas dinner argument (*Portrait* 286-287). Liberation for the Catholic majority finally succeeded after nearly three decades of perseverance with the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. This legislation—spearheaded by Daniel O'Connell, The Liberator—reduced the Protestant oppression of Catholics in the United Kingdom, and under this new form of foreign governance, the state's role in education grew exponentially.

The Act of Union of 1800, though passed almost a century before the events of *Portrait*, dominated the political and social landscape of late-nineteenth-century Ireland. Although Stephen receives a private Jesuit education and, therefore, is somewhat removed from the national school system, the acts that shaped it still bear a litany of effects on Stephen's education. The precursors of the Act of Union were a series of acts to assuage the Irish Catholic populace. The Relief Acts of 1778, 1782, 1792, and 1793 each repealed parts of the penal laws that shaped Catholic society and culture for the last 100 years: the most immediately relevant changes being the removal of some of the restrictions for Catholics purchasing land, attending and operating schools, voting, and being eligible to hold most civil and military offices. The repeal of parts of these restrictions enabled a surge of Catholic children to receive an education, drastically altering the educational opportunities for Ireland's Catholic population. This easing of restrictions not only led to the start of educational programs that influenced the national education system but also reduced the barriers precluding Irish Catholics from entering the British civil services.

The Irish national education system followed on the heels of Catholic Emancipation in 1831. John Coolahan observes that Chief Secretary of Ireland, Lord Stanley, founded the system by appropriating the funds previously allocated to voluntary education societies such as the Kildare Place Society. The system operated by funneling the appropriated funds through a board of seven mixed denominational commissioners appointed by Stanley known as the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (CNEI), which was comprised of three Protestants, two Catholics, and two Presbyterians (Coolahan 11-12). Though Catholics far exceeded the other denominations in population,

they were allocated a minority of positions in this body (Coolahan 17). Coolahan notes, “The CNEI held the important powers of distributing funds and approving schemes, of setting out rules and regulations, of controlling the curriculum, of publishing and sanctioning textbooks, of suspending teachers and removing managers” (13-14). These commissioners shifted and concentrated the center of powers over education from the local level to the state level. Coolahan argues that Stanley’s national education system adopted many principles from the “religiously neutral” Kildare Place Society, which Catholics had opposed since the 1820s on proselytizing and discriminatory grounds (11-12). Simply put, Stanley adopted several problematic structures from a contentious and failed predecessor as core tenets of the national system, which unsurprisingly failed. Perhaps the most important principle adopted was the mixed denominational education scheme, a key area of contention for the Kildare Place Society.

Before the national education system, Ireland had sporadic and decentralized schooling options with little to no oversight or standardization.² By 1824 some 11,000 schools, supported by individuals and volunteer societies, catered to roughly half a million students (Coolahan 9). Around 9,000 of these schools were hedge schools,³ which required tuition fees (Coolahan 10). Although many hedge schools and other unofficial schools had a positive reputation for intellectual rigor, the unregulated system did not meet the growing needs of Ireland (Coolahan 8-9). Within a few decades, those 9000

² The onus for Ireland’s underdeveloped school system was due to British colonization, which dismantled Ireland’s renowned bardic and monastic education systems in the 16th Century. For the former three centuries, the English outlawed and persecuted Catholic education since the Tudor reconquest of Ireland.

³ Hidden from public view, the Hedge School operated secretly. These schools emerged after the dissolution of the Bardic and Monastic school in the seventeenth century and grew in popularity until the 1820s. The schools operated outside of the law and a physical building often protected only by a hedge or the remoteness of its location, at least in their early years when law enforcement was at its strictest. These schools were typically financed by the students or the local Catholic clergy and ran by a single schoolmaster who taught an array of subjects. See Dowling 1, 11, 54, 153.

hedge schools were gone, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the national education system essentially reached every Catholic child raised in Ireland regardless of the education system attended.

As previously indicated, the national education system was not the first issuance of public aid from Westminster for educational purposes in Ireland. The British had been manipulating Irish education for centuries, trying to persuade the Irish to assimilate and adopt British customs. One of the final examples of manipulating Irish education before the Act of Union occurred in 1795. The British government funded a national seminary at Saint Patrick's College to help insulate future priests from the revolutionary influences of continental Europe, simultaneously supporting Irish education and the pacification of the Irish, a scheme echoed with Irish educators under the national school system (O'Donoghue and Harford 320). Coolahan argues that the national school system had a similar overall goal, noting, "In the context of post-Union politics the government felt that the schools could serve politicizing and socializing goals, cultivating attitudes of political loyalty and cultural assimilation. The danger of separate school systems operating without official supervision needed to be countered" (4). As with the 1795 example, British support for education in Ireland was based on the goal of assimilating the Irish and quelling dissent before it could turn into rebellion. Around the turn of the century, the significant change in England's colonial approach to Irish Catholic education was a shift from a punitive prohibition toward assimilation through economic motivation.

As with Irish students, Irish educators also experienced sweeping reforms as a result of the national education system and its policies. Susan Parkes notes,

The education of teachers was one of the main objects of the...(CNEI)...Both of the previous parliamentary reports on the state of education in Ireland, that of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in 1812 and that of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry in 1825, had emphasised the urgent need for a supply of trained schoolteachers to lead a system of national education. (45)

This “urgent need” stemmed in part from having few prerequisites or standards for most educators and no real system or institutions for nondenominational or mixed denominational education training. Following Lord Stanley’s direction, the *model school* was the institution developed to formally train teachers, and in 1838, the first model school opened in Dublin. These schools “were strictly conducted on the mixed denominational principle,” which resulted in mounting Catholic opposition until 1863 when the Catholic hierarchy banned its congregants’ attendance (Coolahan 23). Since the national system existed in large part to educate the Catholic population, this interdiction was a problem. In addition to the issue of Catholic nonparticipation, between 1868-1870, the Powis Commission—a two-year inquiry into Irish primary education—found layers of dissatisfaction in both the national education system and its alternatives. The inquiry revealed that, in the national system, only 34% of the teaching force had formal training, and of those, the “quality and duration of the courses provided” were an issue that manifested in the pupils (Coolahan 32). Predictably, the report also found that the progress of the students of these undertrained educators was “very much less than it ought to be” (Coolahan 25). Because of this commission’s findings, the fundamentals of teacher education began to shift toward “a pre-service model of full-time courses in both the theory and practice of education,” replacing the “apprenticeship-style training”

system on which the model schools were reliant (Parkes 75). Within a decade, the district model schools closed, and restrictions on support for denominational teacher training were lifted and shifted toward denominational colleges. Additionally, the financial and managerial systems for teachers underwent a complete overhaul (Coolahan 26-27). These mounting pressures to appease Catholic leadership and “create” an acceptable institution to train Catholic educators led to the founding of University College, Stephen’s future university, in 1882, and a Jesuit take over in 1883. After nearly three decades of England refusing to grant the Catholic University a royal charter and recognize its degrees, the newly revitalized University College in partnership with the Royal University became capable of awarding recognizable degrees and fellowships through the University Education (Ireland) Act 1879.

The most impactful student and teacher reform implemented under the recommendations of the Powis commission was the appropriation of an accountability mechanism tied to teacher funding, which sought to improve student outcomes in certain subject areas known as the payment-by-result system (Coolahan 27). This payment-by-result scheme partially financed teachers through an examination process “whereby inspectors examined the proficiency of all eligible students, that is, of those students who attended school on a minimum number of days, in the subjects of Arithmetic, Reading and Writing... From this, a significant proportion of a teacher’s salary was to be based on the results obtained by students in these examinations” (Brown, McNamara, and O’Hara 365). This system of funding shifted more of the onus of its success onto individual teachers at the same time it created the illusion of overly dramatic improvements (Coolahan 29). Coolahan argues,

The system of examining did not encourage probing for comprehension or grasp of principles, and mechanical proficiency sufficed for passing and payment purposes...The percentage success rates in all the obligatory subjects showed impressive increases over the period, in all probability owing to genuinely higher standards, but also influenced by the growing familiarity of teachers and pupils with the unchanged courses and the nature of the obstacles to be surmounted. (29)

In addition to the effects outlined above, this system created a pathway for a more direct influence on curriculum as funding was now directly tied to sanctioned subjects.

However, as a means of improving the quality and availability of intermediary education, the Intermediate Education Act of 1878—perhaps the most direct, major post-union Act to influence Joyce’s (and fictional Stephen’s) education—followed the payment-by-result scheme, adopting several of its core aspects. Coolahan notes, “the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 permitted the state to give indirect funding to denominational secondary schools by establishing an examination board which dispersed funds to school managers on the basis of the success rates of their students at the public examinations” (53). This Act brought indirect state funding to Catholic Schools through a similar testing mechanism introduced in the payment-by-result system, and through financial control, Irish education was oriented toward linguistic and cultural assimilation in both the denominational and national school systems. In other words, Stephen’s Jesuit educators in *Portrait* would have been compelled to teach a curriculum designed to assimilate Irish Catholic children, like Stephen, into British society. This process, as exemplified through the acts briefly covered above, created a system that encouraged and entrenched a

narrowing of curricula permissible to the British colonial power through funding and other incentives.

The Development of Late-Nineteenth-Century Jesuit Education in Ireland

While the entirety of Stephen's primary and secondary education was within the private, Jesuit education system, his time at UCD was not, though it was run by Jesuits. By the nineteenth century, the Jesuits were running a private education system that spanned the world. Each school followed the principles of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which insured a congruity with the local culture through flexibility and respect for local customs while simultaneously establishing a level of consistency between institutions. The Jesuits in Ireland were no different, though their rise to prominence as the elite Catholic educators in Ireland was achieved by a uniquely empire conducive ethos that prioritized and facilitated entrance into the British empire's civil services. The Irish Jesuits produced civil-service-ready pupils by developing a narrow and particularly English cultural and British civil-servant oriented curriculum. The resulting narrow career paths developed by Jesuit leaders in Ireland were met with resistance particularly by artists like Stephen who rejected these pressures to conform. Desiring to be free of limitation, Stephen demonstrates his resistance to the very concept of assimilation when he rejects the call to become a Jesuit priest.

In addition to the rapidly evolving nineteenth-century Irish education system, the Jesuit education system was in the process of rebirth, and as the nineteenth century progressed, it evolved to accommodate more modern, imperial demands. Though the Jesuits began educating systematically almost 300 hundred years prior to the establishment of the Irish National Education System, the Jesuits—or Society of Jesus—

underwent a process of rebuilding after decades of suppression by the Catholic Church and England. Prior to this era, under the leadership of St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the Jesuits “provided the first rigorous educational ‘system’ in the Western world from the 1540s onwards. By 1773 more than 700 Jesuit colleges and universities, educating some 250,000 students worldwide, constituted the largest educational network in existence up to that time” (Whitehead 109). But, in 1773—after decades of mounting political pressures— “the Holy See issued the breve *Dominus ac redemptor*, which suppressed the Society of Jesus” (Shore 2), devastating its infrastructure and education system, which required urgent interventions by various nations “to try and fill the educational vacuum created by the closure [of]... the largest educational network in existence” (Whitehead 115). It was not until the political consequences of the Napoleonic Wars that Pope Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus in 1814, after forty years of suppression. These decades took a serious toll on the society. As Jonathan Wright notes, “The period between global suppression (1773) and universal restoration (1814) had a profound impact on the 19th-century Society of Jesus” (729), and though the Jesuits could return to educating, they first had to rebuild their landholdings, facilities, and ranks of trained educators. It was at this unique crossroads that both the Irish and Jesuits found themselves in the nineteenth century, developing their educational infrastructures and practices. This revolutionary educational period marked the nineteenth century, revealing one of the more chaotic and progressive manifestations that characterize this period of sweeping societal and cultural change in Ireland.

The founders of the Society of Jesus codified their education system primarily through the *Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, ensuring the continuation of education’s

prominence in the society as well as systematizing it. The Ratio Studiorum, commonly abbreviated *RS*, retained its prominence as the guiding doctrine for the Jesuit system of education well into the 20th Century, including Stephen's years of formal education, which I will discuss at length in chapter 2. Claude N. Pavur notes, the *RS* details "the structure, contents, governance, and practices of *studia Societatis*, stating the rules for every office and for all the major procedures." These standardized structures and pedagogical methods were the foundations of the Jesuit system and are evident throughout Stephen's formal education. Allan Farrell notes that the "principal areas contained in the Ratio Studiorum" are administration, curriculum, method, and discipline (x). The first principal area of the *RS* lays out and defines the administrative hierarchy, duties, and functions within the Jesuit education system. This hierarchical system is satirically preserved in *Portrait* when Stephen goes to the rector at Clongowes about an unjust "pandy" from the prefects of studies (*Portrait* 59). The rector largely disregards Stephen's plight and promises to talk with the prefect of studies to ensure that he does not unjustly hit Stephen again. Joyce leans into this ridiculing of Stephen as this section has a mock-heroic style. Additionally, the corporal punishment imposed upon Stephen presents another principal area of the *RS*, discipline, provided for by "fixing for the students norms of conduct, regularity and good order" (Farrell x). Lastly, the *RS* includes a baseline pedagogy and curriculum—which privileged theology, philosophy, and the humanities—as well as the sequence and gradation to facilitate a mastery of the subjects (Farrell x). Stephen's experience at Clongowes illustrates the structure laid out in the *RS* that Jesuit educational institutions were to follow, exemplifying a number of the traditional aspect of Stephen's education that the Jesuits had continued to provide.

Although the *RS* is a prominent aspect of Stephen's Jesuit education, the document allowed for some flexibility. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the Irish Jesuits took full advantage of this flexibility, adapting and modernizing the education that they curated. The variance that Stephen experiences emerged around 1886 when Tullabeg and Clongowes amalgamated (O'Neill 100). A situation with downstream consequences for Stephen, as Bruce Bradley notes, Fr Daly, the prefect of studies that beats Stephen, was appointed to his position around the time Stephen arrived at Clongowes "to make sure the amalgamation with Tullabeg worked" (6). The evolution of the Jesuit education system in Ireland was possible in part because the *RS* was treated more "as an ever-present ideal rather than as an immutable set of laws" (Pavur). As the Irish Jesuits modernized and reformed the Jesuit education system, it becomes less clear what areas of the traditional Jesuit education system were omitted. T. Corcoran avoids much of this debate when he affirms the primacy of the *RS* at Clongowes while acknowledging the significant influence of the Intermediate Education system. Corcoran observes, "Under this code [the *RS*], then, all studies were directed at Clongowes, down to the adoption of the Intermediate System in 1878-1879. Even after that date the administrative principles and regulations remained unaltered; only the matter, and not the form, of the courses of study was necessarily modified" (85). As Corcoran argues, the Intermediate Education system had a noticeable effect on the school's curricula but not its pedagogy, indicating that though the curricula shifted the pedagogy and structure of the school remained faithful to the *RS*. This is partially consistent with Joyce's portrayal of Stephen's education though it is an incomplete picture of the education that Stephen

receives at Clongowes. However, *Portrait* does testify to the presence of a great deal of the curricula from the *RS*.

In general, the Jesuit missions in Ireland had a tradition of skirting prohibitions such as the inclusion of elementary education. Although prohibited by the preeminent founder of the Society of Jesus, St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), Jesuits in Ireland recorded the inclusion of elementary education as far back as the 1650s (Corcoran 26-27). The Jesuits continued their education mission throughout the prohibition of catholic education in Ireland and while suppressed within the Catholic Church. By the time Stephen began his formal education in the late 1880s and early 1890s, elementary education had become a well-defined aspect of Clongowes Wood College and the Jesuit system more broadly (Farrell 116). This inclusion was not radical among Jesuits, and Ignatius agreed with the valuation of such an education by proponents of elementary education. He understood the value in elementary education but still prohibited it out of necessity, arguing that the Jesuits were without the resources to provide an elementary education and were to focus on primary and secondary education. In Ireland, elementary education was the primary focus of the newly established national education system, and the Jesuits at Clongowes implemented elementary education at the school's inception in 1814. In addition, the preparatory school Tullabeg was established following in 1818. The Irish Jesuit education system valued elementary education from its inception and would go on to include a great deal more than the *RS* envisioned, much of which is on displayed or referenced in *Portrait*.

In the wake of the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and University Education (Ireland) Act 1879, the Irish Jesuits' education system established a pipeline into the

British empire's civil services with assimilation as a key component. In post-suppression Ireland, the Society of Jesus was in a precarious position. As a recently restored society within the Catholic Church, in 1814, the outlook for the Jesuits in Ireland was uncertain. According to Brian Jackson, the society was plagued by scrutiny from within the Catholic Church as well as the ruling English Protestants, in addition to the legal barriers left over from the previous centuries like obscure archaic laws. Jackson notes, "Against this backdrop of official hostility and technical proscription, it is not surprising that when the Jesuits returned to Ireland, they proceeded with a degree of caution and sought to maintain a relatively discreet and decorous public profile." However, this caution turned toward assimilation over the decades as "the principal activity of the Society in Ireland was the provision of education (and specifically expensive private education for the sons of an emerging and socially ambitious Irish Catholic professional class). In short, the Jesuits in Ireland were primarily engaged in producing generations of middle-ranking bureaucrats and administrators to manage, in the first instant, the British imperial project" (Jackson). The external pressures, namely the British empire, pushing the Jesuit education system toward a civil-service-oriented system were rather direct in their ambitions, but the Jesuit system was insulated from such direct changes, unlike the national system. In addition to the external drivers, the Jesuit system required internal drivers as well.

The prominent Jesuit William Delany was a major force behind the Jesuit education system's shift toward filling the needs of the British empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. The policies he employed to modernize the Jesuit education system in Ireland bore a direct impact on both Stephen's and Joyce's educational

experience. Ciaran O'Neill characterizes Delany's integration scheme as a "reduction of differences" between the English elite and the Irish Catholic elite as a means to produce British civil servants (102). O'Neill argues that by Delany directing the Jesuit education system to imitate its English counterpart he addressed a demand for students with an "ability to mimic the appearance and customs of the English upper-classes...for those Catholic Irish who wished to exploit the opportunities afforded them through Union in the expanding British Empire" (102). Delany began shifting Jesuit education locally as Rector of Tullabeg after arriving as a master from Clongowes in 1860, turning the preparatory feeder school into an institution that rivaled the prestige of Clongowes over the next two decades (O'Neill 104, 108-109). During these years, he implemented dramatic physical and policy changes at Tullabeg, a feeder school to Clongowes, shortly before the schools merged in 1886, introducing "university-level education at his own school in the midlands in order to demonstrate the necessity for a degree-awarding Catholic University of high standing in Ireland" (O'Neill 105). Additionally, Delany began imitating elite English public schools by "carefully and deliberately" ensuring that the "right" organized sports, meaning sports proper for an English middle-class boy, were played at Tullabeg such as soccer and cricket, both of which appear in sections of *Portrait* (O'Neill 107).

In addition to actively shifting Tullabeg's priorities, Delany was instrumental in linking the Jesuit education system to the national school system. O'Neill argues, Delany was "centrally involved in the campaign to increase funding and visibility for Catholic schools in Ireland through lobbying for the Intermediate Education Act (Ireland) passed in 1878," noting one of his formal pupils even claimed that Delany was a co-author of the

act (105). This act, as O'Neill notes, resulted in a "flood of money into Catholic education," a secondary effect to Delany's true aims "to simply dominate the annually published results list for most prizes in any given discipline...and allow his order to take home the bragging rights in an annual national competition, while providing his order with valuable and largely free publicity" (105). While a student at Belvedere, Stephen contributes to this form of Jesuit domination, receiving "thirty and three pounds" as prize money for his "exhibition and essay" in the intermediate exams (*Portrait* 102). Notably, Stephen uses a portion of this prize money to pay for sex, the consequences of which are explored in Chapter II.

In the 1870s, Delany shifted his focus to establishing a university-level institute for Catholics in Ireland. Jackson notes that Delany "exerted considerable influence over the shaping of the University Education (Ireland) Act 1879 that established the Royal University of Ireland," an examination and degree awarding body, which paved the way for a reorganized and revitalized University College. "Under a Jesuit management team in 1883," Delany was positioned to gain control over University College, which became the premier institute of third-level Catholic education in Ireland (Jackson). As University College's president, Delany not only met a young James Joyce but also tried to censor his reading of an essay "Drama and Life" (Ellmann 70-71). In a dramatic retelling of the encounter, Joyce preserves his argument with Delany in *Stephen Hero*, where Delany derides Stephen's theory for its representation of "the sum-total of modern unrest and modern freethinking" (91). In *Portrait*, Delany's appearance is comparatively inconsequential and fleeting, existing at the periphery of Stephen's reading as only a presence at the reading he attempted to censor and a passerby directly following.

The system of education that Delany implemented kept students such as Stephen under pressure to assimilate and serve either the building of the British empire or the Jesuits in their mission to educate and serve the church, and it is in this sort of environment that Stephen is formally educated. From within the Jesuit system, Delany used his position and influence to shape the education system that molded the artist that Stephen becomes in *Portrait*, creating a hybrid system that was a part traditional education and part modern colonial education. Traditional and modern culture are two major aspects of cultural identity that Stephen struggles with as he attempts to understand his cultural identity and himself as an artist, or as he poetically puts it, “to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race” (*Portrait* 276).

III. EDUCATED FOR EMPIRES: THE MISEDUCATION OF THE “REVEREND STEPHEN DEDALUS, S.J.”

Stephen Dedalus is influenced by two vying empires throughout his education, the British empire and what Amir Alexander calls the Jesuits’ “empire of learning” (68). He even considers joining the Jesuits prior to attending university. However, when questioned by the director of studies at Belvedere College about a future vocation as a Jesuit priest, Stephen pictures the prospect of becoming “The Reverend Stephen Dedalus, S.J.” as joyless and a threat “to end for ever, in time and in eternity, his freedom” (*Portrait* 174-175). Although momentarily drawn to the vocation to attain “secret knowledge and secret power,” Stephen refuses “the calls to the religious life,” retaining his status as an outsider and continuing to rebel against illiberal constraints that he associates with the religious life (170, 172). This momentous rejection of the priesthood, which later expands to include the Catholic Church and Ireland, develops from Stephen’s resistance to conform, a tendency that emerges in Stephen’s first appearance on the pitch at Clongowes as he reluctantly participates in a football game. He avoids engaging in the action by situating himself at the margin of his “line,” physically keeping to “the fringe” (*Portrait* 4). While “feigning to run now and then” on the periphery of the game, Stephen recalls a chat with Nasty Roche in which Roche questioned his name and father’s profession (4). The memory reinforces Stephen’s status as an outsider externally, sealing his marginalized position from the outside as well as from the inside at the outset of his education. Persisting on the fringes throughout his studies, Stephen resists assimilation to both the British and Jesuit empires by leveraging the various aspects aligned with each empire’s education against the other. Joyce localizes Stephen’s resistance, as Sheldon

Brivic argues, in “the languages of the Church and the British Empire,” which Joyce uses “to attack both institutions” (701). Further examinations of Joyce’s language in formal educational coursework reveal the aspects of Stephen’s education that enable this attack, empowering him to critically assess and challenge these systems of knowledge.

Expounding these aspects of Stephen’s education clarifies the systems that he is resisting and the ways in which they enable him to do so. To clarify these aspects that trigger Stephen’s resistance, this chapter looks at both the pedagogy and allusive language within formal lessons, investigating the influences they have on the shape and content of his thoughts.

Reframing Resistance: Celticizing British History and Countering the New Origin Story

In chapter 1, I discussed the importance of the *Ratio Studiorum* and its influence on the education system in which Stephen participates. In this section, I will show how Joyce presents and challenges the *RS*-aligned aspects of Stephen’s Jesuit education in *Portrait*. Early in *Portrait*, Joyce captures a moment of Stephen’s classroom education. This lesson exemplifies the curriculum shift away from the classical, humanities-centered *Ratio Studiorum* based education to the more modernized education⁴ that rose to prominence in Ireland through the nineteenth century. The *RS*’s cornerstone subjects include Latin, history, literature, philosophy, and, most prominently, theology. Nevertheless, mathematics is briefly mentioned in the *RS* and is accordingly treated more as a supplementary subject containing only three “ideals,” the most specific and substantial of which calls for explaining “the elements of Euclid to the students of

⁴ The modern education here meaning an education that includes the vernacular language, expanded math courses, science, regional (British) history.

physics” (Farrell 46). Despite this scant regard, Jesuit mathematicians such as Descartes pioneered entire fields of mathematical study and, throughout the early-modern period, the Jesuits were renowned for their knowledge of Euclidean Geometry. However, the Jesuits understood there to be two disparate types of mathematics: the problem-solving mathematics, which supplemented and bolstered the order and clarity of their accepted philosophy and theology, and the problem-creating and chaos-sowing mathematics, which undermined their philosophy and theology. Over time, growing vocational demands and academic influence pressured the Jesuits to relent and expand their accepted mathematics and “natural sciences” curriculums, giving them a “proper place when they proved to be of permanent value” (Farrell iii). In Ireland, these pressures were later compounded by Jesuit leaders like William Delany who prioritized requisites that facilitated entrance into civil services such as math and science. This prioritization was later intensified and institutionalized in the Intermediate Education Act of 1878, when mathematics became one of the seven subject areas that provided result fees, though, not as great as those from English or the Classics as results were weighted differently across subjects (Coolahan 63). Throughout the nineteenth century, the expansion of math and science courses, especially those founded on theories and concepts previously opposed by the Jesuits, exemplified the growing prominence of the fields and English influence in the Jesuit education system. Additionally, it was in this period that the Catholic Church began lifting bans on seminal scientific and mathematical theories such as those of Galileo Galilei and Nicolaus Copernicus.

The first formal lesson in *Portrait* is one of elementary math or, as Joyce puts it, “the hour of sums” (8), but history and pedagogy overshadow the arithmetic. The extent

of the mathematical content of this section begins and concludes with this paragraph: “It was the hour of sums. Father Arnall wrote a hard sum on the board and then said: ‘Now then, who will win? Go ahead, York! Go ahead, Lancaster!’” (8). The external information here is sparse for any lesson. There are two sides named York and Lancaster racing to solve an equation that Fr Arnall has written on the board. Stephen’s internal reaction follows this external information, clarifying that *he* is in the midst of a competition to solve a *hard* equation—which he is *not* good at—against his rival for top of the class. Joyce refers to the equation consistently as a sum. Notably, this term introduces an economic association into the lesson, which played a major role in the proliferation of both elementary education and mathematics. Stephen’s principal reaction in this section is not to the arithmetic but to Father Arnall’s pedagogical techniques. Joyce writes, “Stephen tried his best but the sum was too hard and he felt confused” (8). This single sentence comprises Stephen’s engagement with the arithmetic of the lesson, though there is one other brief attempt to solve a following equation with a similar result.

After trying and failing to solve the equation, Stephen’s attention turns to the roses on his and the boy’s jacket and the competition that pits them against one another. On the surface, the white rose pinned to Stephen’s jacket, signifies him as a representative of the House of York and the red rose pinned to Jack Lawton, Stephen’s rival for “first place in Elements” (9), positions him on the side of the House of Lancaster in this mock War of the Roses. The House of York lost the War of the Roses, and Stephen’s fate is the same. Aware of the consequences Ireland faced as a result of its support for the House of York and cognizant of his weakness in mathematics, Stephen fights in vain for Ireland as he “tried his best so that York might not lose” (8). In the

moment, Stephen's identity is attached to an English royal house, but he refocuses this identity through his Irishness in a small but poignant act of subversion, reframing the War of the Roses through an Irish perspective. On the other hand, the red rose aligns Stephen's opponent, Jack Lawton, with the British empire and England. The etymological roots of the Lawton surname reinforce this alignment as it comes from an old English toponym for a parish in Cheshire, one of the major Lancastrian areas. Here, Joyce subverts the Jesuit scheme to assimilate Irish students by alluding to the Irishness of English history, emphasizing the Irish support for York and showing Stephen's wave of motivation to try in the face of imminent defeat so that Ireland might not lose. This use of English history is an example of a shift away from the traditional curriculum put forth by the *RS*. Stephen rejects this British encroachment by reframing it through an Irish perspective.

Contrary to the changes in the Irish Jesuit education system, competition was a hallmark pedagogical technique in the *RS*. Competition was so entrenched in Jesuit pedagogy that a section four times longer than that of mathematics was dedicated to regulating prizes for competitions. Stephen reacts to the competitive pedagogical technique in two distinct ways. The first, as noted above, relates to the form of the competition, an English-centered historic situation, while the second relates to the motivational function. Stephen feels his face turn red as he thinks about "all the bets about who would get first place in Elements, Jack Lawton or he" (9). Stephen's red face and fluttering badge indicate an anxiety tied to anticipation and failure, another momentary and unsuccessful motivator for Stephen. This lesson relies on competition, introducing stakes into the learning process. Additionally, historicizing the teams forges

an English collective memory on the students, prompting the Irish Catholic children to associate and identify with English cultural roots.

However, both techniques end up disrupting Stephen's focus from the mathematics curriculum. Instead of inspiring his sense of Englishness, Stephen experiences anxiety and distress, causing him to dissociate from the lesson. As his mind drifts to the colors of the roses and then to the colors of the prize ribbons, he finally settles on the imagery of the green rose from the end of his variation of "Lilly Dale," the minstrel song Stephen sings at the start of the novel. The song presents an alternate form of passed knowledge—a form of oral education shared by peers and in the community—harking back to ancient Irish bardic traditions such as the *filí*, elite poets responsible for their clan's history, lore, and divination. This indigenous Irish education is contrary to one that pits peers against one another and opens Stephen up to the idea of an education that is more inclusive, thought-provoking, and effective than the competitive, institutional agenda of his Jesuit school. These ideals later emerge in Stephen's history lesson in *Ulysses*, discussed later in this chapter. Stephen's thoughts also echo a desire for a worldly education, a sentiment he develops later in *Portrait* when he decides that he will not join the Jesuit order. Instead, he announces, "His destiny was to be elusive of social or religious orders. The wisdom of the priest's appeal did not touch him to the quick. 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" (175). Uncoincidentally, the roots of this revelation are present in Stephen's first formal lesson, suggesting the hypercompetitive Jesuit school system contributes to his feelings of impotence as it inflames his anxieties of being shamed or humiliated.

Values and Equations: Unfolding Stephen's Later Math Education in Context

After leaving Clongowes, Stephen attends Belvedere College—a secondary Jesuit day school for boys. While at Belvedere, Stephen receives further training in mathematics, which Joyce captures in the text. As the lesson unfolds, the section becomes increasingly complex, as layers of meaning build primarily from Stephen's daydreaming amid the process of solving equations. Additionally, allusive language and imagery further compound the section's complexity, which will be discussed at length in the following paragraphs. The lesson opens with Stephen contemplating his carnal appetites. While staring out of the classroom window around dusk, he feels "his belly crave for its food" (109). After daydreaming about the contents of the coming meal, Stephen's mind wanders back down a "devious course" in "the squalid quarter of the brothels," reliving his first sexual experience described earlier in the text (109). A sudden shift from the prater of "whores...coming out of their houses making ready for the night" to the equations before him displays his attempt to refocus his mind (109). However, this refocusing is only partly successful. Stephen's preoccupation with his sexual urges continues to influence his mind as he shifts his focus to his math work, mixing his carnal contemplations with the procedural order of solving math problems.

Allusions to works and intellectuals endorsed by the *RS* emerge as key elements of Stephen's thoughts following his focal pivot to math, demonstrating his internalization of these areas of the Jesuits' traditional curriculum. The initial math problem is first equated with a peacock's "widening tail" that is both "eyed and starred," leading Stephen's mind to recall "a distant music" that evokes "the words of Shelley's fragment upon the moon" (110). The peacock, also referred to as Juno's bird in the ancient Roman

world, is a common figure associated with romance and physical intimacy, appearing throughout the works of western writers such as Ovid, one of Joyce's primary influences. In book one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Mercury lulls Argus to sleep with music before decapitating him. Juno takes Argus's one hundred extinguished eyes and places them on her bird's tail, filling its feathers with stary gems. In addition to the peacock, Juno, as a prominent deity and member of the Capitoline Triad, was associated with many concepts and symbols, including several celestial bodies such as the moon and various stars. The goddess was also hailed as a savior of women—protecting them in childbirth and marriage. Immediately preceding Stephen's refocus, a woman outside of the brothel that Stephen imagines mockingly calls to him, "Good night, husband," indicating Stephen's subversion of these traditional symbols and concepts (109). In *Ars Amatoria*, or *The Art of Love*, Ovid uses nearly identical imagery to illustrate how to captivate a woman's affection, arguing that as the peacock will unfold and display its feathers when praised so too will women. Weaving a web of densely allusive imagery, these concepts and symbols show Stephen's familiarity and application of a prominent work from the traditional Jesuit curriculum. In processing his struggles through these works, Stephen discerns a "dark peace" between his body and soul after sinning mortally, enabling him to reconcile his sexual urges with his moral dilemma.

Although Stephen's traditional education supplies the allusions, solving the math equation precipitates the sequence. It is the combination of the traditional and modern education that enables him to further his self-awareness and begin to understand his struggles to follow the Catholic moral theology. Stephen uses math to create an artistic product that enables him to garner a deeper knowledge of himself, demonstrating math's

artistic potential. Like Stephen's manipulation of the Roman symbols, his mind contorts the equation before him, expanding his mind and the traditional allusions as they unfold like the peacock's tail, baring their beauty through the effects they have on his mind (*Portrait* 110). Stephen repeats this process in a second equation, but this time it is "his own soul going forth to experience, unfolding itself sin by sin, spreading abroad the balefire of its burning stars and folding back upon itself, fading slowly, quenching its own lights and fires" (110). The synthesis of knowledge and experiences that the equations facilitate are the equations reciprocating Stephen's attention, empowering his mind to derive new insights into his mind, body, and soul. In trying to reckon his bodily drives with Catholic morality, Stephen uses knowledge from his formal education to structure and analyze why "his soul lusted after its own destruction" (111). The lesson culminates with Stephen revealing feelings of spiritual intimacy with the virgin Mary, "whose emblem is the morning star, 'bright and musical'" (112). These two references nearly encapsulate the span of Christian history from Patristic literature, works written by Church Fathers between the first and eighth century, to John Henry Newman, the founding Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland and whom Stephen calls the greatest prose writer, indicating Stephen's thorough knowledge of Christian literature and the philosophical progression of Catholic doctrine (*Portrait* 84). These examples show how Stephen's education informs and shapes his thoughts as well as how he uses the requisite cognitive framework to process new knowledge and apply it. Joyce regarded a related effect as his "principal gain" from his Jesuit education, noting that from the Jesuits he learned "how to gather, how to order, and how to present a given material,"

processes that seem to fall in line with the traditional Thomist and Aristotelian aspects of the Jesuits' theology (Budgen 352).

Stephen's ability to gather and order materials was a skill partially derived through the traditional Jesuit mathematics curriculum and a foundational philosophy of the Society of Jesus. As Alexander notes, Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas were at the heart of the Jesuit curriculum, which reinforced an authoritative approach to pedagogy that was strictly hierarchical and ordered (53). In this system, theology and philosophy were primary while mathematics and science were supplementary. As such, to the society, mathematics meant Euclidean geometry as both Aristotle and Plato advocated for its ability to reaffirm their logic and reason with clearly rational and uncontroversial assertions and proofs. Aristotle used Euclidean geometry and reason to order the heavens, and Aquinas drew heavily from Aristotle to rationalize and order the philosophical foundations for his Christian theology. In accordance with his predominantly Aquinian education, St. Ignatius adopted Aquinas's theology for his Jesuit order. Challenges to any of these foundational areas were not appreciated by the Jesuits, especially from ancillary academic areas like mathematics. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Galileo, one of the most prestigious living Catholic mathematicians and polymaths, began poking holes in Aristotle's perfectly ordered heavens, popularizing a long since neglected principle of mathematics known as indivisibles, infinitesimals, or, simply, the infinitely small. Sandra Tropp describes a series of moments throughout *Portrait* in which Joyce aligns Stephen with Galileo and uses infinitesimals to wage his "secret war" against the Catholic Church. The later math lesson exhibits similar characteristics with suggestively Galilean elements; however, it also localizes some of these subversive elements in his formal education

rather than in Stephen's purely extracurricular readings of "subversive writers" (*Portrait* 82).

As one of the truth-seekers unjustly persecuted by the Church, Joyce, as Sandra Tropp argues, came to recognize and value Galileo, later treating him as a muse and model for Stephen to discover "unknown arts"⁵ as the epigraph to *Portrait* from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* puts it (Riquelme 3). Tropp describes numerous subtle allusions in *Portrait* and Joyce's other works to Galileo and other prominent mathematicians and scientists considered to be heretics or who contributed to works suppressed by the Catholic Church. Tropp notes several of Joyce's possible influences for his interest in mathematics and sciences such as psychology and biology from his time at University College. However, considering the modernization of the Jesuit education system that directly precedes Stephen's education reveals a prior presence of these sorts of previously suppressed concepts in the Jesuit schools that Stephen attends. These concepts help Stephen to understand his incompatibility with the Jesuit order and enable him to resist assimilating into the society that he comes to see as being antithetical to fundamental aspects of his developing ideology.

In utilizing the mathematic concepts that the Jesuits persecuted Galileo and other mathematicians for in Stephen's math lessons, Joyce underscores the Jesuits' academic about-face, highlighting their eventual acceptance and adoption of these ideas. As conductors of the largest educational system in the world, the Jesuits held immense authority and influence throughout Christian Europe for much of the early-modern period. Within the Catholic education system, they were without rival and wielded great

⁵ This is a fragment of John Paul Riquelme's translation of *Et ignotas animus dimittit in artes*.

power and authority over curriculum at the dawning of the scientific revolution. This expansion of knowledge brought on by this revolution led to increased pressures to include ideas forbidden to be taught or even be held by educators in the Jesuit education system. As a prominent educational authority within the Catholic Church, the Jesuits played a decisive role in investigating and analyzing new, developing theories. As a society that valued hierarchy and organization, the Jesuits entrusted a council of elite academics known as the “Revisors General” to judge the validity and permissibility of these theories. Esteemed faculty members from the Collegio Romano, the premier college within the Jesuit education system with the authority to set curriculum and determine what would and would not be taught in all other Jesuit schools, comprised the Revisors General (Alexander 44). This body was tasked with passing “judgement upon the latest scientific and philosophical ideas of the age,” and ideas deemed unacceptable “were rejected, banned, and could no longer be held or taught by any member of the Jesuit order” (Alexander 17-18). Given the immense reach of the Jesuits’ education system, the decisions of the Revisors General influenced academic subjects taught at affiliated institutions around the world.

Projecting himself onto the objects that Galileo studied, Stephen orders his mind by imagining celestial bodies while learning about similar concepts and principles to those that enabled Galileo to discover previously unknown truths of the cosmos. In *Infinitesimal*, Alexander delves into the historic controversy surrounding the mathematic concept known as “indivisibles” and the role it played in shaping Europe and mathematics from the seventeenth century onward. Alexander notes that questions regarding indivisibles began flowing into the Revisors in 1606 and continued for the next

five decades from all corners of the Jesuits' far-flung teaching empire (10, 20). During this time, Galileo made his greatest contributions to astronomy and mathematics, challenging the legitimacy of Aristotelian physics and cosmological model and providing support for the Copernican model through his observations of moons orbiting Jupiter, mountains on the moon, and spots on the surface of the sun. The Jesuits fervently opposed Galileo and his assertions, and when the Inquisition put him on trial and convicted him of heresy, "it was the Jesuits who led the charge" (Alexander 83). Stephen comes to the revelation that he must exile himself to develop his art away from the oppressive atmosphere of Ireland and, as the novel consists mostly of Stephen's educational journey, the Jesuits.

By the time Stephen attends Clongowes, the treatment of math and science fields had been reversing for decades, and the curricula that had been expressly forbidden in the seventeenth century began expanding in the nineteenth century. Although Galileo used indivisibles infrequently in his work, they played a significant role in one of his revolutionary concepts known as the law of falling bodies. In addition to being "the first quantitative mathematical description of motion in modern science," it also laid the foundation for mechanics and modern physics, subjects taught at Clongowes Woods (Alexander 93). However, the Revisors and authorities within the Jesuit order persisted against the concept of indivisibles in light of its evident versatile and practicable results—later, the Jesuits, with direction from the Revisors General, published the "Regulation for Higher Studies" in 1651, a document containing a list of sixty-five permanently banned theses—four of which concerned "indivisibles" (Alexander 147). Alexander argues that this ban was the turning point on the Jesuits' war against

indivisibles: “Once the Revisors had issued their decision, a well-oiled machinery of enforcement sprang into action. The numerous Jesuit provinces across the globe were informed of the censors’ verdict, and they then passed it on to lower and then lower jurisdictions. At the end of this chain of transmission were the individual colleges and their teachers, who were instructed on the new rules on what was permissible and what was not” (Alexander 125).

While Stephen’s math lesson at Belvedere has sparse mathematical curriculum, the lessons show his internalization and manipulation of works previously forbidden by the Catholic Church or the Jesuits. Although Joyce’s minimal description of the equations in Stephen’s work leaves the mathematics being done somewhat opaque, “indices” and “surd” provide sparks of clarity as the mathematical definitions of these words indicate that Stephen is likely in Algebra class. More specifically, while Stephen contemplates the roots of his sinfulness, he seems to be rationalizing irrational numbers by putting them into roots. Joyce writes, “The equation on the page of his scribbler began to spread out a widening tail, eyed and starred like a peacock’s; and, when the eyes and stars of its indices had been eliminated, began slowly to fold itself together again. The indices appearing and disappearing where eyes opening and closing; the eyes opening and closing were stars being born and being quenched” (110).⁶ Eyes, stars, and indices are a nexus at which Stephen’s humanities education intersects with his mathematic and scientific education, drawing out the potentials of each. The most appropriate, and

⁶ To understand the connections between stars and balefire, it is important to know the state of astronomical knowledge at this time. Joyce’s use of the word quench here may seem symbolic today as a star seems like a big ball of fire and therefore able to be quenched or put out like a fire. However, *Portrait* was written before the discovery of nuclear fusion, and the sun was commonly believed to be a big ball of fire. As such, it was popularly conceived more similar to a balefire than it would be considered today.

somewhat obscure, definition of indices here would be the mathematic definition: “A number or other symbol placed above and to the right of a quantity to denote a power or root” (“index”). Stephen then experiences his mind expand to its verge and contract to its center, connecting back to the process of solving the equation before him. The mathematic definition fits as Stephen is solving an equation—however, an index can also refer to “a sign, token, or indication of something” or a hand that points to an important piece of information (“index”). Additionally, a “balefire” too is a symbol for attention as it can mean “a great fire kindled as a sign” (“bale-fire”).

With a multiplicity of allusions, each of these words reveals an additional dimension to the math lesson. Along with the prescribed usage for the *index* above, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, or *The Index*, first published in 1564, was the infamous list of works banned by the Roman Catholic Church. Humphrey Johnson notes, “With the multiplication of books consequent on the invention of the printing press the bonfire lost some, at least, of its efficacy and needed to be supplemented by other methods” (226). Soon after the arrival of the printing press in Western Europe and the protestant reformation, the Catholic Church at the Council of Trent overhauled its policy on censorship and developed *The Index* to deal with the explosion of “dangerous” works available (Lenard 54). Thereafter, the Catholic Church dedicated a sizable portion of *The Index* to mathematic and scientific works such as those of Galileo. In framing Stephen’s keen sense of observation and analysis with these specific sorts of enlightening works and writers who were persecuted by the Catholic Church, Joyce places Stephen’s artistic ambitions at odds with the Catholic Church while directing attention to their and the Jesuits’ past indignities like Stephen’s father does in the Christmas dinner argument,

discussed in the following chapter. In Stephen's subsequent discovery of "a cold indifferent knowledge of himself," he justifies his refusal to atone and self-censor before God concluding, "His pride in his own sin, his loveless awe of God, told him that his offense was too grievous to be atoned for in whole or in part by a false homage to the Allseeing and Allknowing" (110-111). Here, Stephen reveals his stringent conviction to two principles of his artistic method, observation and analysis, as well as their source, the analytical education on display in the section. Later at university, Joyce reinforces the connection between Stephen's analytical observations and his scientific education in a discussion over Stephen's aesthetic philosophy using Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*. Joyce's associative language in the section emanates from context—Stephen's reflecting on the conflicts between his maturing biological drives and Catholic dogma that concludes with him refusing to censor his body's appetites and deciding to continue to commit illicit offences—as well as allusions and references, from Ovid to Galileo, constructing elaborate associations to ideas and works like *The Index* and Galileo's *The Starry Messenger*. These intricate associations suggest Stephen's Jesuit education not only informs his thoughts but shapes them and the sort of artist he strives to be.

In the math lesson at Belvedere, the referential imagery and word choices that Joyce employs throughout the lesson evoke both prominent works and intellectuals foundational to several areas of the Jesuits' curricula alongside the heretics and heretical works that they persecuted and oppressed. Looking at Joyce's word choices and allusions through the lens of his theory of drama underscores this layering of permissible and prohibited works. In Joyce's essay "Royal Hibernian Academy 'Ecce Homo,'" he argues,

“drama is strife, evolution, movement, in whatever way unfolded...It is a mistake to limit drama to the stage” (*CW* 32-33). As previously mentioned, Latin was a primary subject in Jesuit education and permeated other areas of study such as history, literature, and philosophy. The *RS* prescribed writers such as Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero. The *RS* also prescribed specific textbooks such as Emmanuel Alvarez’s text on Latin grammar, *De Institutione Grammatica Libri Tres*, and Cyprian Soarez’s text on rhetoric, *De Arte Rhetorica libri tres ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano Deprompti*, each of which contains selections from the writers described above whom Joyce references frequently (Farrell 9, 80, 83, 84). Stephen’s poetic imagining of the equation as an unfolding peacock’s tail is an allusion to Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*, but referring to the spots of the peacock’s tail as eyes and stars is an allusion to Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* where Juno places Argus’s one-hundred life extinguished eyes on the feathers of her own bird, the peacock, filling its tail with starry jewels. These allusions demonstrate Stephen’s familiarity with the works as well as foreshadow his “exile” from Ireland as *Ars Amatoria* was “the work” that got Ovid relegated from Rome. Later, Christians too censored and burned *Ars Amatoria* and *Amores*. The evocative word choices and imagery of the section demonstrate the conflicts and contradictions within Stephen’s education.

A particularly English valuation for mathematics and science education present throughout *Portrait* underscores the English influence over Stephen’s Jesuit education. After the Jesuits banned the use of infinitesimals, innovation and the development of new mathematic concepts shifted to areas like England where the Jesuits had no legal authority and little religious influence. Shortly after the Jesuits permanently banned using infinitesimals, English scientists and mathematicians pioneered new, revolutionary fields

of mathematics that empowered England through technological breakthroughs, which they used to cement their subjugation of the Irish. England, recognizing the power and potential of these academic areas, invested and expanded its math and science courses more than any other European nation. This heightened focus on and investment in math and science classes was injected into the Irish education system and formalized through the Intermediate Act of 1878. Corcoran notes this shift in values “was quite out of accord with the traditions of Catholic schools, and it was also in opposition to the practice of Secondary Education...on the Continent,” including predominately non-Catholic areas (145-146). Joyce notes his high regard for mathematics in “The Study of Language” where he argues, “for the building of an intellectual man, his most important study is that of mathematics. It is the study which most develops his mental precision and accuracy, which gives him a zest for careful and orderly method, which equips him, in the first place for an intellectual career” (*CW* 26). Stephen exhibits this mathematical prowess in the later mathematics lesson, which enables him to reach new depths of self-awareness through a culmination of his creativity and mathematic exploration. The English colonial influence on the Irish Jesuits’ mathematic curriculum indicates that one of Joyce’s and Stephen’s heretical sources was their British empire-oriented Jesuit education.

Apropos to the competition-centered hour of sums, the instructor’s hands-off approach in the later math lesson reveals the creative potential of mathematics and benefits of less restrictive pedagogical techniques. The only input from the instructor in the scene is him asking a student, “Well now, Ennis, I declare you have a head and so has my stick! Do you mean to say that you are not able to tell me what a surd is?” (*Portrait* 111). Roy Gottfried argues this line evokes the hedge school practice known as *bata scoir*

in which students wore sticks around their necks (46). According to Maureen Waters, teachers would carve notches into these sticks to track lapses into the Celtic language so the student could be punished accordingly (4). This practice was later adopted into some national schools in districts serving predominantly Gaelic-speaking students. The teacher's phrase associates him with the Irish hedge schoolmasters, evoking the tradition of violent and repressive teaching techniques in coordination with the same overarching goal of assimilation, as in the hour of sums scene discussed earlier. However, the instructor's more passive approach allows Stephen's mind the space to explore and experiment with the math before him, revealing the alternative, mind-expanding potential of mathematics and exemplifying its counter, creative potential that complements Stephen's artistic abilities. Math's creative potential emerges as "[t]he equation on the page" before Stephen begins "to spread out a widening tail, eyed and starred like a peacock's" (110). This mathematic-infused creativity bears Stephen's mind "outward to its verge and inward to its centre" where "a distant music" leads him to recall "the words of Shelley's fragment upon the moon wandering companionless, pale for weariness" (110). The process repeats as another equation unfolds, but this time it is "his own soul going forth to experience," which leads him to "a cold indifferent knowledge of himself" (110). Unburdened by external pressures, Stephen's mind reaches a new depth of self-awareness regarding his maturing appetites, loneliness, and sins. Through this combination of order and appetite, Stephen comes to a moment of clarity, demonstrating a new level of self-observation.

The pedagogical differences on display in the Belvedere math lesson are striking as are their resulting effects. This section exemplifies an alternative method of practice,

one without distracting prizes, teams, anxiety, or fear. As Stephen's stream of consciousness meanders associatively, the equations before him inject mathematic concepts and order into his contemplations of bodily appetites, intertwining them with nebulous poetic imagery. Stephen, in turn, recognizes a futility or inevitability in his sinful, carnal appetites as well as a self-destructive pridefulness in them. This utilization of mathematics counters the disinterested compliance of the former lesson, in which the younger Stephen's meandering appreciation of colors is devoid of mathematic concepts, indicating pedagogy as an important factor rather than subject in the creative potential of an educational area. Additionally, Joyce's use of "equation" to describe the problems instead of sum reduces the alternative economic association, further focusing on the artistic value Stephen garners from internalizing the mathematical concepts.

Historical Empiricism: A Counter Pedagogy, Lesson, and Perspective to the Empire

At the end of *Portrait* after graduating from university, Stephen exiles himself to Paris to escape the oppressive atmosphere of Ireland and become a literary voice for the Irish. However, at the start of *Ulysses*, Stephen has unceremoniously returned to Dublin as a teacher. "Nestor" opens with a scene at the private school where Stephen teaches. The chapter starts at the tail-end of a history lesson on the Greek king Pyrrhus's campaign against Rome. Stephen constructs his lesson through a series of verbal questions, progressing the lesson through his students' responses. Throughout the lesson, Stephen's interactions with his students, as well as their interactions with each other, suggest that he has fostered a communal ethos where ignorance is not indicative of failure and anxiety, unlike the more rigid and severe classrooms of the previously discussed sections. When Cochrane and Armstrong fail to answer one of Stephen's questions,

Stephen keeps the lesson moving rather than harassing either student (20). While tying Stephen's history lesson to those in *Portrait* through allusions, explored in the following paragraphs, Joyce displays Stephen's pedagogical techniques as antithetical to those in the hour of sums and the hour of appetites, countering and critiquing Jesuit educators in *Portrait* while perpetuating aspects of its traditional curriculum.

Reading Stephen's history lesson as a response to the math lessons in *Portrait* reveals both a myriad of connections and stark differences between them. While fundamental differences like the subject of the lessons and the pedagogies in practice signify Stephen's response to his education, his allusions link his history lesson to the math lessons in *Portrait*, establishing a discourse between them. The key aspect of Stephen's response is his pedagogy. Instead of imbuing his lesson with another subject or anxiety, Stephen leads a discussion on history during his history class. Internally, Stephen explores the nature of the subject through an Aristotelian lens, attempting to discern whether alternative possibilities exist in history or only the future, which he extrapolates to the events of the coming evening. After the lesson, Sargent, a student eerily reminiscent of the young Stephen who kept to the fringes at Clongowes, stays behind for help with "*Sums*" (2.128). This setup puts Stephen's lesson into a stark contrast with the hour of sums. Stephen's involvement in the lesson, and the manner in which he handles his students' gaps in knowledge, sets up a similarly stark contrast with the math lesson at Belvedere. As opposed to berating and threatening Armstrong, as his former math teacher did Ennis, Stephen uses Armstrong's ignorance of "the end of Pyrrhus" to lead the class discussion further, continuing with a question-and-answer pedagogical technique. Through this style of pedagogy, Stephen encourages his students to interact communally

rather than competitively or even individualistically, putting Stephen more in line with Delany's "idea of the school as a social network" (O'Neill 107).

However, the historic subject of Stephen's lesson offers a less amiable counter perspective toward the English empire than Delany's vision. Rather than from the perspective of a critical participant such as a royal house or even one from within an empire, Stephen's lesson centers around Greek outsiders pushing back against encroaching Romans, positioning the subject of the lesson in opposition to the support of empire. The history Stephen presents counteracts the assimilative English history in the hour of sums in that it comes from an outside perspective and deals with an unassociated empire, weaving into the lesson an air of subversion. In the third century BCE, Pyrrhus fought against what would become the largest empire on earth only to be defeated as the result of a mother defending her son⁷—whereas Stephen, a current subject of the "empire on which the sun never sets," leads a group of students through a history lesson on a Greek military campaign. The Greeks are discussed later in *Ulysses* as analogues to the Irish while the Romans are equated with the British. Situating the perspective of the lesson in this manner, Stephen leverages the state-sponsored history against the English empire. Pyrrhus's story underscores the pivotal role that a seemingly inconsequential individual can play, showing how a nation's destiny can be decided by the actions of a single woman. Additionally, Pyrrhus's story evokes Charles Stewart Parnell's downfall, a recurrent Irish political figure in *Portrait* and *Ulysses*, who was the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. To those like Simon Dedalus and Mr. Casey, the fortunes and hopes of a nation fell with Parnell, like Pyrrhus, in a sudden turn of events, involving another

⁷ In a battle, the mother of one of the soldiers Pyrrhus is fighting throws a tile from a rooftop, striking and stunning Pyrrhus. This intervention leads to his capture and execution.

mother, Katherine O'Shea⁸. Aristotle again informs Stephen's thoughts both academically and personally as he wonders about his future, questioning the "infinite possibilities" that never come to pass and what is truly possible (2.50-51). Stephen produces this subversive lesson through a permissible curriculum that he would have been likely to come across in his Jesuit education, leveraging the traditional aspects of it against the contemporary assimilative ones pushed by Westminster. Quoting Pyrrhus, Cochrane—one of the students Stephen calls on to give historic information—answers, "*Another victory like that and we are done for,*" an infamous line from Plutarch's *Lives*, a Greek philosopher and historian recommended in the *RS* (20). The resulting atmosphere of Stephen's classroom is Hibernocentric, communal, and democratic, leaning away from the Anglicized, authoritative, and oppressive classrooms that Stephen experiences in *Portrait*.

While the pedagogical differences in Stephen's lesson are indicative of a response to the math lessons of *Portrait*, it is the referential and allusive language within it that elevates Stephen's response to a coordinated riposte to those lessons, weaving them into a discourse on pedagogy and empire. Aside from the inherent connections that accompany teaching a classroom of boys, Joyce creates a concrete literary connection between Stephen's lesson and the later math lesson through the repetition of the metaphoric language that simulates the shape of Stephen's thoughts: "Across the page the symbols moved in grave morrice, in the mummery of their letters, wearing quaint caps of squares and cubes. Give hands, traverse, bow to partner: so: imps of fancy of the Moors" (2.155-

⁸ Parnell's political career ended abruptly when his affair with Katherine O'Shea was exposed in her and her husband's divorce proceeding. The fallout not only ruined Parnell's career but also his health and he died less than a year later.

157). This thought occurs as Stephen demonstrates how to work the problem for Sargent. As in the hour of appetites, the equations before Stephen again ignite his imagination as it transforms the equations into an elaborate visual scene. In imagining the equations transform again like those in the math lesson at Belvedere, Joyce links these lessons through Stephen's artistic cognition, highlighting the continued influence and presence of his education in his thinking and educating. Once more, Stephen's mind amalgamates math and art, acknowledging the Moors' cultural contributions to mathematics and dance. Notably, the Moors were largely responsible for the reintroduction and reinvigoration of ancient Greek and Roman intellectuals like Aristotle and Euclid to western scholars. Additionally, Joyce utilizes a similarly polysemic vocabulary, folding layers of meanings into the section with clear mathematic and visual references to the Jesuits' educational pedigree. Materializing and personifying mathematics terms—*letters*, *squares*, and *cubes*—through the cultural practices of those responsible for their presence in western society exemplifies Stephen's continued appreciation for those responsible for education systems concerned with the progression of knowledge and truth.

However, the second half of Stephen's thought contains his admiration for the two twelfth and early-thirteenth century polymaths known as Maimonides and Averroes, including a referential specificity not present in either math lesson. Rather than continuing with the ambiguity of Stephen's associative and polysemic allusions to the peacock, celestial bodies, or music of the later math lesson, Stephen specifies that his inspirations are two avant-garde Cordovan intellectuals who were misunderstood in their time but later became intellectual cornerstones of philosophy and theology. Stephen continues, "Gone too from the world, Averroes and Moses Maimonides, dark men in

mien and movement, flashing in there mocking mirrors the obscure soul of the world, a darkness shining in brightness which brightness could not comprehend” (2.157-160). Within this reference, as Don Gifford notes, Joyce alludes to Giordano Bruno’s⁹ “soul of the world” idea, which postulates a unity between form and matter as opposed to Aristotle’s separation of form and matter. In this embodiment of Stephen’s thought, he recreates the philosophic complexity from the later math lesson by referencing orthodox, heterodox, and non-Christian theological forefathers. This philosophical diversity echoes the incorporation of the works of transgressive muses alongside foundational contributors to Jesuit orthodoxy like the patristics and Aristotle in the later math lesson. Allusions to these intellectuals reveal Stephen’s reliance on and demonstration of the Jesuits’ contemporary curricula as well as his challenges to it, presenting the works and process actively shaping his mind.

The presence of these foundational thinkers shows the value that Stephen places in the more traditional areas of his education while Bruno’s presence reasserts his critiques on the oppression and brutality of the Church. In this manner, Stephen further focuses his critique on the contemporary education system responsible for his miseducation and the suppression of knowledge while justifying his resistance as those of his ilk come to be vindicated and better understood over time. Like Joyce’s treatment of truth-seekers who pursued and established new fonts of knowledge in *Portrait*, the intellectual muses Stephen admires were the forerunners of a new philosophic approach to religious issues, forming the basis of the intellectual triad behind Christian

⁹ Giordano Bruno was a sixteenth-century polymath burned at the stake for heresy. Joyce references Bruno’s works recurrently throughout his body of work, including *Portrait* where Stephen notes his terrible burning.

scholasticism—Averroes, Maimonides, and the unnamed Aquinas (Gifford and Seidman 33). Although the direct reference to the triad—all of whom looked to Aristotle—contrasts the works of polymaths problematic for the Jesuits in the later math lesson, Stephen’s reverence and combining of the Moors’ intellectual and cultural contributions shows a reengagement with the Jesuits’ educational pedigree from the later lesson, associating objective discovery with art and culture through the progression of knowledge that culminates in a greater understanding. Additional connections to the math lessons, such as an allusion to a triad and the use of history as a means to explore identity, indicate Stephen’s continued commitment to searching for the “green rose” by devoting his mind to *unknown arts* to forge “the uncreated conscience” of his people, the Irish (*Portrait* 1, 9, 276). In other words, Stephen again distinguishes the bounds of his artistic framework as a result of his contemporary, cosmopolitan education.

Stephen’s pedagogy, inspirational sources, and curriculum root him in the traditional Jesuit education more aligned with the RS than the contemporary, civil service-oriented education presented in *Portrait*, indicating its continued influence on Stephen and his acceptance of it as a valuable source of knowledge to analyze his experiences. However, his pedagogy shows the potential of a more communal and liberal approach that progresses traditional techniques into a different direction than the hierarchical one Stephen experiences in *Portrait*. Stephen’s students’ behaviors reveal the impact of his pedagogical approach. While the math lessons focus almost exclusively on Stephen with only a mention of one other student, whom he reacts to in an oppositional rather than communal manner, there are a litany of voices and a repartee between the students and Stephen in his classroom.

IV. THE FORGE OF REALITY: STEPHEN'S REEDUCATION BY EXPERIENCE

In the first chapter of the thesis, I contextualized Stephen's educational environment, arguing that his resistance to assimilate is enabled by and a reaction to the late-nineteenth-century Irish Jesuit education system. In the second chapter, I showed how Joyce uses language and pedagogies in formal lessons to challenge the assimilative aims of the empires vying for his service, including the British empire and what scholars have called the Jesuit educational empire. In this chapter, I will show how four experiences in *Portrait's* first chapter turn Stephen from a trusting, agreeable child into a skeptical and rebellious young man.

In the first chapter of *Portrait*, Joyce weaves Stephen's thoughts with a series of social confrontations. In analyzing these experiences, Stephen recognizes a disconcerting consistency of inconsistencies. The first section of this chapter looks at two songs from the opening section of *Portrait*, investigating the implications of Stephen's earliest instincts as an artist and the atmosphere of his home life. Then, I will show how Stephen's interactions with his schoolmates and "brush with death" lead him to side with Parnell and his father, putting him on the rebel's path rather than the church's. Next, I will cut into the Christmas dinner argument, discussing Stephen's takeaways from the disruptive political discourse surrounding the Catholic Church's involvement with Irish politics. Finally, I will discuss Stephen's corporal punishment by Father Dolan, arguing that this interaction crystallizes Stephen's nuanced skepticism of Catholic clergy members. These experiences spur his resistance to authority early in *Portrait*, teaching him to be skeptical of people regardless of position and revealing a source of Stephen's

attraction to rebellious visionaries. This skepticism and resistance influence his worldview and his intellectual and artistic attraction to the provocative influences discussed in the previous chapter, such as Galileo, Ovid, and Bruno.

An Imprimatura of the Artist as a (Very) Young Man

In the opening of *Portrait*, young Stephen Dedalus introduces the members of his household through brief, domestic vignettes, including a bedtime story from his father, a piano tune to dance to from his mother, and an instance of reward and later punishment from his governess, Mrs. Dante Riordan. Stephen's artistic proclivity emerges from these intimate moments.

Following Simon's children's tale, Stephen thinks about the lyrics of "Lilly Dale," a popular American song, but he changes its lyrics when he sings "O, the green wothe botheth," replacing *wild* with *green* (*Portrait* 3). Stephen's use of a *rose* and *green* demonstrate his unconscious internalization of an Irish political and cultural knowledge. Joyce manifests these prominent Irish symbols in their standard associations several times in *Portrait*, including in the following passages in the *green* brush in Dante's press for Parnell and the War of the *Roses* from the hour of sums. After Stephen's rendition of "Lilly Dale," he composes a haunting chant from "Obedience to Parents," a religious hymn, out of his mother saying "O, Stephen will apologise" and Dante's warning "O, if not, the eagles will come and pull out his eyes" (4). Providing a glimpse into the narrative repertoire and child-rearing ethos of the Dedalus household, Joyce establishes and imbeds the traditions and culture that shape Stephen and, by extension, his experiences prior to his immersion into the Irish Jesuit school system. Richard Pearce notes that the use of "Lilly Dale" suggests a number of sociopolitical realities that contribute to the novel's

political unconscious regarding the treatment of women such as repression, exploitation, and erasure (129, 132). Pearce concludes that the song likely came to Stephen through Simon who picked it up while drinking away the family's wealth at pubs (130). Pearce locates part of the Irish attraction to "Lilly Dale" in its utility as a vehicle of expression and way to cope with colonial exploitation, in part, by sentimentalizing and idealizing suffering and death, a practice Stephen adopts when he takes ill at Clongowes (132). Stephen's cultural and political knowledge is unconscious as throughout the first chapter Stephen laments, "It pained him that he did not know well what politics meant" (14). However, Stephen's reminiscing about his rendition's alteration in the hour of sums reveals an instinctual understanding of Irish politics, to which he concludes "But you could not have a green rose. But perhaps somewhere in the world you could" (9). Here, Stephen shows that by the time he attends Clongowes, he already recognizes, at least subconsciously, limitations in Ireland as well as the possibility that these limitations may not exist everywhere. Not only does this sentiment foretell Stephen's escape from Ireland but also his eventual understanding that Ireland is holding him back from achieving his artistic destiny—his wish "to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race" (276).

Within Stephen's earliest artistic inklings, he unconsciously imitates Irish literary tradition—a *created* Irish conscience, replicating the romantic, nationalist sentiments of Ireland as the rose. This symbol of the rose puts Stephen's *earliest* creative work in the tradition of poets such as James Clarence Mangan and Thomas Moore who wrote about Ireland as a rose. Mangan, in particular, wrote in the Aisling tradition of old Irish poets, using the dark Irish rose as a vehicle to talk about the plight and oppression of the Irish

by England. Stephen's Gaelicizing of "Lilly Dale" offers a glimpse into his pretextual education, suggesting that he is steeped in these sorts of romantic, nationalist works. Notably, these are Stephen's earliest artistic impulses on display as he explores and searches for his own artistic voice, playing and experimenting with the traditional, nationalist language of great poets.

Dante, the staunch Catholic voice of the household, first exposes the paralyzing social limitations and consequences imposed onto Stephen following his rendition of "Lilly Dale" when she says, "the eagles will come and pull out his eyes," injecting the oppressive and violently enforced disciplinary consequences aimed at regulating Stephen's actions (4). Following Dante's threat is another, more violent chant-like song modified again by Stephen. His drastically modified rendition of Isaac Watts's "Song XXIII," also known as "Obedience to Parents," follows:

Pull out his eyes,
Apologise,
Apologise,
Pull out his eyes.
Apologise,
Pull out his eyes,
Pull out his eyes,
Apologise. (*Portrait* 4)

This violence-laden rendition situates his caregivers as agents shaping his social behavior and ensuring its appropriateness, through threats of physical violence. Pearce notes this "terrifying chant...is not attributed to any character and issues from some generalized

authority” (141). Pearce concludes that Mrs. Dedalus and Dante are held responsible for the chant even though they do not sing it. However, given Stephen’s preceding adaptation of “Lilly Dale” and the transcription of his dancing to his mother’s piano playing, this take on Watts’s song is another of Stephen’s artistic demonstrations, indicating his internalization of violent consequences for rule-breaking and the potency that these experiences have on him as an artist.

These events introduce the reader to Stephen’s home life, and they influence his mind and understanding of the world. Additionally, the events reveal Stephen’s associative and referential creative style, which develops into his substantially referential reactions. Prior to Stephen’s formal education, this method of processing experiences through artistic knowledge reveals the beginnings of his analytical framework. These works in turn shape his thoughts and experiences, locating his first association of oppression and violence with authority and religion. Joyce’s presentation of Stephen’s home life presents the foundations of his creativity as well as the violence and oppression that will eventually drive Stephen away.

Coloring the Mud: Breaking the Illusion of a Black and White World

In school, Stephen is instructed in Latin, Mathematics, Philosophy, and Theology among other subjects—however, outside of the classroom, Stephen’s social experiences conflict with what he is taught. Whether it be outside of classes or at home on school holidays, Stephen experiences conflicts that reinforce his incongruity with those surrounding him, with attention given to those closest to Stephen such as his father and the few schoolmates that interact with him. Simon grandstands impassioned Irish political history and current events, passing along his rebellious skepticism to Stephen and an

abundance of anxiety and fear. This characteristic plays out in later interactions with Stephen inserting veiled, contentious historical moments into school lessons or shifting lessons away from their British perspective toward a more Irish perspective, subverting various aspects of the formal education system being presented. From the start of Stephen's education, as noted in the previous chapter, peers such as Nasty Roche and Jack Lawton almost exclusively have confrontational interactions with Stephen, limiting Stephen's social connections and relegating him to a social outsider. This marginalization counters the assimilative ethos of the Irish Jesuits' schools and furthers Stephen's issues with creating social bonds, undermining the messages of solidarity and brotherhood of the Jesuits as well as the tradition of Irish hospitality that Gabriel Conroy celebrates in "The Dead."

At Clongowes, Stephen learns the disadvantages of nonconformity as well as the mistake of blindly excepting the judgements of others above him. Shortly before the hour of sums, Stephen plays on the pitch and shivers as he recalls when Wells, an older boy, shouldered him into a cesspool for not trading his snuff box for a seasoned hacking chestnut, noting "A fellow had once seen a big rat jump into the scum (7). Wells's harassment of Stephen continues following the hour of sums. While again, trying to keep to the fringes physically and socially, Stephen sits unbothered and unnoticed in a corner of the refectory until Wells asks Stephen if he kisses his mother before bed (10). Stephen says "yes," to which Wells announces to the other boys that Stephen kisses his mother before bed, and they all laugh at him (11). Confused, Stephen says he does not kiss his mother before bed, which Wells also announces to the other boys, and they laugh at Stephen again, highlighting the irrelevance of his answer (11). This harassment leads

Stephen to question what the right answer is, given that both of his answers appeared to have been incorrect. Rather than recognizing that Wells was going to harass him regardless of his answer, Stephen believes that their ridicule is legitimate and that he was doing something wrong. In wandering about the correct answer, Stephen thinks again about the incident where Wells knocked him into the cesspool and that it was a mean thing to do. Nevertheless, Stephen believes “Wells must know the right answer for he was in third of grammar,” conceding to the bully’s judgment and experience (11). This interaction leads Stephen to question the propriety of his relationship with his mother as symptoms—which persist throughout the section—of an illness, which are strongly implied to have been caused by Wells pushing Stephen into the sludgy cold mud of a cesspool, grow more apparent. Here, Stephen’s consideration of Wells’s ridicule showcases his naivete as Joyce situates Wells’s improper and dangerous actions, which actively harm Stephen physically and emotionally, opposite to the appropriate and caring interaction with his mother, highlighting the stark contrast between Stephen’s harmful relationship with Wells and the harmless relationship with his mother. These interactions locate Stephen’s naivete in his acquiescence to authority and desire to conform to social norms, mistakes he begins to see after falling ill when Wells apologizes and begs him not to tell on him. In a later altercation, a group of boys talks with Stephen about great poets and writers. Heron says that Lord Tennyson is the best and another boy agrees, but Stephen retorts, “Tennyson a poet! Why, he’s only a rhymester!” (85). Then, Stephen asserts that Byron is, of course, the greatest poet. Heron answers that Byron was an immoral heretic and demands that Stephen take back his answer, but Stephen refuses,

demonstrating his disregard for others' *right answers* as well as his preference for heretical writers.

Although Stephen's illness opens his mind to skepticism for those more experienced than him, his faith in fellow schoolmates remains intact. When Stephen awakes the following morning, he goes to the school's infirmary with the "collywobbles" (20). There, he fantasizes about his death and dead mass, noting "All the fellows would be at the mass, dressed in black, all with sad faces. Wells too would be there but no fellow would look at him...he would be buried in the little graveyard of the community off the main avenue of limes. And Wells would be sorry then for what he had done" (22). Stephen imagines the social consequences that Wells would face for causing his death, indicating a faith in "the fellows," his fellow Irish men, by relying on them to meter out justice on his behalf. At this point, Stephen trusts the same fellows that enabled Wells's harassment of him to hold him accountable for his untimely demise. Here, Stephen is applying the sentiments that Pearce notes made "Lilly Dale" successful in the Irish culture, such as romanticizing and idealizing death, unconsciously demonstrating his internalization of the song's artistic techniques.

Although Joyce does not present Stephen's health to be in the dire straits that he perceives it, the death of Parnell emphasizes the destructive power of his fellow countrymen. In another of Stephen's waking dreams, his imagined brush with death becomes a defining lesson for him when he envisions a Charon like Brother Michael, the brother in charge of the infirmary who reads the news of the day aloud, dramatically delivering the news of Parnell's death before a distraught crowd. This vision mirrors his fantasized demise. The "delirium" (293), as Thomas O'Grady calls it, begins with a

hypnotic lulling of the wave-like firelight that transforms into a vision of a “sea of waves,” merging reality with Stephen’s imagination and signaling Stephen’s first epiphanic moment (*Portrait* 25). While recovering in the infirmary, Stephen envisions the sorrowful Brother Michael upon the deck of a docking boat. To a crowd he announces, “He is dead. We saw him lying upon the catafalque...Parnell! Parnell! He is dead!” (25). The crowd wails then falls “upon their knees, moaning in sorrow” (25). Stephen imagines their anguish and a dead Parnell analogous to his romanticized dead mass, recreating the sorrowful witnesses and the *catafalque* upon which he envisaged he would have lain. However, Stephen also envisions Dante in maroon and green “walking proudly and silently past the people who knelt by the waters’ edge” (25). O’Grady notes that Joyce ensures that the reader shares “consciously the full import of Stephen’s subconscious recognition of the destructive and the self-destructive impulses which the Irish people displayed in their betrayal of Parnell” (299). From Stephen’s vision of his death where the fellows hold Wells accountable to Brother Michael’s announcement where Dante appears seemingly victorious at the fall of Parnell, the shift in accountability that Stephen imagines for both the responsible party and the community that holds them responsible reframes his understanding of his experience and indicates the start of Stephen’s eventual, gruesome understanding that “Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow” (220).

The Rats in the Sewer

Following Stephen’s dramatic vision in the infirmary, he bears witness to the social upheaval disrupting Irish Catholic unity after the death of Parnell while at home for Christmas break, observing the “politics” he wishes to understand sunder his family

before him. However, the “sides” of the arguments that ruin the Christmas dinner are not new. Stephen, while at Clongowes, reveals that his father and Mr. Casey argue regularly with Dante about Parnell. Looking at the green earth and maroon clouds that he colored in his geography book, Stephen ponders “which was right, to be for the green or for the maroon, because Dante had ripped the green velvet back off the brush that was for Parnell one day with her scissors and had told him that Parnell was a bad man” (13). Illuminating that the divergent positions at home are well-worn paths, Stephen wonders if “they” were arguing at home over whether Parnell should be supported, noting this was politics. Stephen continues, “There were two sides in it: Dante was on one side and his father and Mr. Casey were on the other side but his mother and uncle Charles were on no side” (13-14). These sides become fleshed out over dinner as Simon divvies up the turkey and gravy. The positions and justifications emerge as clear and irreconcilable when Mr. Casey says, “We go to the house of God...in all humility to pray to our Maker and not to hear election addresses” (30). Dante responds, “it is religion...They are right. They must direct their flocks” (30). The argument continues along these lines, the clergy’s place in politics, with Simon and Mr. Casey recounting a number of controversies regarding the clergy and Catholic Church and Dante quoting scripture and insisting on respect for and deference to Catholic pastors. Although the recurrent argument distinguishes the two sides and their values, the three participants, as Stephen notes, seem to be on the same ideological side when it came to the larger political picture regarding disdain for England. Stephen highlights this solidarity when he recalls Dante striking a man for taking his hat off when a band played *God Save the Queen* (37). However, this cohesion crumbles when the heightened volatility in discourse that the death of Parnell brought explodes and

Dante leaves the dinner, her final act in *Portrait*. These irreconcilable differences compose the tensions and obstacles Stephen struggles to reconcile as his brief and tenuous thoughts attempt to discern which side is right.

Stephen's constrained thoughts in the Christmas dinner scene reveal a pivot from Dante's ideological alignment of trusting Catholic clergy and looking to them for advice toward Simon and Mr. Casey's skepticism of them. Prior to the disruptive argument that takes over the Christmas Dinner, Stephen reflects on his experiences as he has from the start of the novel. Looking at the turkey, Stephen recalls his father buying it from Dunn's and the man's voice suggesting this turkey is "the real Ally Daly," reminding him that at Clongowes Mr. Barrett calls his pandybat a turkey (28). He also notes that this will be his first Christmas dinner eating with the adults and remembers waiting for the pudding in the nursery as his little brothers and sisters were. However, once the argument—and dinner—begins, the free indirect discourse that to this point and after relays Stephen's processing of his experiences largely halts, and he becomes silent.

Stephen's thoughts and speech are absent throughout the argument portion of the dinner scene except for a brief interlude before and during Mr. Casey's story about spitting in an old woman's eye and the closing line of the section. In the interlude, Stephen wanders who was right, at first thinking "Dante must be right" because Mr. Casey was against the priests (34). Then, Stephen remembers his father saying Dante "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 chains" and that Dante did not like him playing with Eileen because she was a protestant, which Parnell was (34-35). Here, Stephen begins to recognize that Dante has biases and privileges that

may be distorting her views, going so far as to suggest that she was even a bit of a hypocrite in that she gave up being a nun when she came into a bit of disreputable money. Although Stephen's reasoning is unsophisticated in his pursuit of a singular right answer, it demonstrates Stephen's recognition of his father and Mr. Casey's accusations that the clergy is willing to bend their principles when expedient, opening him up to the possibility of more nuanced positions. After Dante leaves, the dinner scene concludes with "Stephen, raising his terrorstricken face" to see tears in his father's eyes again, suggesting his silence is a result of dread (39). Although Stephen's terror seems to stem primarily from the dramatic sundering and argument that he was witnessing, the final line could simultaneously indicate the sudden and terrifying realization that a fundamental trust and adherence to Catholic authorities like his teachers and other school officials may be misplaced like his trust that "Wells must know the right answer for he was in third of grammar" (11).

Stephen's baptism by fire in Irish political discourse shows him the instability of close relationships and that corruption can reach anyone, even Catholic clergy members. This knowledge overwhelms and replaces Stephen's pious obedience with skepticism, leading him to question his faith in others such as his Jesuit schoolmasters and schoolmates, which is reinforced by the unjust physical punishment he receives following his return to Clongowes. Additionally, Stephen's nonparticipation in the argument relegates him to the social fringes, the same position he occupies at Clongowes. On the margins, he observes rather than participates, creating a consistency between Stephen's communities and his place and relation with them.

Although Simon plays a more substantive role in the argument than Stephen's mother, Mary has a more lasting and significant impact on Stephen. Many critics note the influence of Simon on Stephen, exploring the various ideological impacts that he has on Stephen's political and cultural views. However, in the end, it is Mary's repeated desire to escape the inescapable arguments that Stephen fulfills in leaving Ireland. Additionally, Stephen talks of and with his mother at the close of the novel, suggesting that she is on his mind more so than his father. Stephen learns from his mother in the Christmas dinner scene as she laments the inescapable fighting and arguing that not even Christmas can grant a reprieve for a night. In the end, Stephen's escape is the solution that his privilege as an educated male with no ties like a marriage or kids allows him to access.

The Shocking Bite of Reality: The Case for Rebellion

Stephen's position toward Catholic authorities, following the Christmas dinner, develops nuance as he begins to witness their complicity to make mistakes. After returning to Clongowes from Christmas break, the notion of an institutionalized physical disciplinary punishment emerges on the playground as Stephen stands with a group of boys, too afraid to participate in the conversation. While the fellows speculate on the transgression and punishment of a group of older boys, the frightened Stephen imagines the sounds of a pandybat whizzing through the air and the accompanying pain, revealing Stephen's persistent feeling of anxiety and dread. One of the boys, Athy, mentions the other group of boys has the choice "of flogging or being expelled," a standard of punishment set out in the *RS* (44). In the Latin class that follows, Stephen sees Father Arnall get angry as other students fail "to decline the noun *mare*" (48). Stephen contemplates if Father Arnall's anger is a sin and to whom he would confess,

demonstrating an understanding that priests sin like everyone else. This nuanced musing is interrupted when Father Dolan enters the class and asks, “Any boys want flogging here, Father Arnall?...Any lazy idle loafers that want flogging in this class?” (49). Father Dolan hits Fleming for writing “a bad Latin theme,” according to Father Arnall, as well as missing “all the questions in grammar” (49). After noticing that Stephen is also not working, Father Dolan asks Stephen why, but he is too upset to answer, so he asks Father Arnall who explains, “he broke his glasses...and I exempted him from work” (50). After claiming to know that Stephen is a schemer based on his face and insulting him, Father Dolan makes Stephen, “blinded by fear,” come to the middle of the class. There, he strikes each of Stephen’s hands with his pandybat, causing Stephen pain, agony, shame, and fear. After the intense pain subsides, Stephen notes his treatment was “unfair and cruel,” repeating the phrase again and again as he dissects the experience (53). Unlike Stephen’s effortless acceptance of Father Arnall’s ability to sin, Father Dolan’s cruelty and unfairness shock Stephen. He notes, “The prefect of studies was a priest but that was cruel and unfair” (53). Stephen’s condemnation spreads to Father Arnall when he realizes that Arnall failed to defend him from Father Dolan or even differentiate him from Fleming when he tells the two they can go back to their desks. Stephen’s newfound sense of skepticism allows him to recognize that he was punished unjustly and seek resolution with the rector, demonstrating a new willingness to reproach Catholic authorities and redress transgressions, but the shock and sense of betrayal that Stephen experiences indicate a sudden realization that the Catholic clergy also participates and perpetuates in the sorts of harmful behavior he has witnessed and experienced, creating a more nuanced

and critical view of clericalism than Dante's rigid loyalty and approval that is informed by his experiences with clergy.

The intense experiences that inform Stephen's knowledge of the world and the workings of society direct his perspective and influences as an artist toward visionary progressives who, in their times, were also persecuted for their works. These experiences turn Stephen away from the religious and political institutions that the Irish Jesuit education system was oriented toward. Although Stephen's education includes a few less than orthodox writers, his experiences draw him to them and away from the more orthodox and traditional writers who appear less exclusively as Stephen grows up. He starts in the romantic traditions of his poetic forefathers but turns away from this vein of idealizing his culture, committing in the end to create the *uncreated* conscience of his race. This uncreated conscience is Joyce's *Portrait*, a modern, gritty presentation of what Ireland and the Irish were facing that was true to his experiences, showing the effects that centuries of oppression and toxic political animus had on his culture. However, the work includes aspects of Ireland's romantic and rich Irish culture, showing the beauty and depths of his cultural heritage that persists against their oppressive neighbor, an empire with a foothold around the world. After standing up for himself against Father Dolan, Stephen asserts rather than questions what is right. When three boys challenge Stephen's views, rather than concede to them, he fights back, first rhetorically and then physically, indicating an adamant contempt for social approval from his peers. Joyce humorously prefigures this shift toward the more rebellious and fraught influences explored in the previous chapter through the lips of Fleming responding to the heightened presence of corporal punishment in suggesting, "Let us get up a rebellion" (44).

The Instrument of the Artist: Stephen's Analytical Lens

Stephen, as an artist, works to understand his first-hand experiences with a set of analytical skills informed by his experiences and education. By the end of the novel, these skills center around Aristotle, whom he references and mentions throughout both *Portrait* and *Ulysses*. What Joyce presents through these works is the Irish Artist. A messy identity tied up in loyalties that conflict with one another. Spiritual, political, and economical tensions all strain the social connections that bind society together. Unable to understand the patchwork beliefs at odds with reality, everyone is responsible for the oppression of the other in a society built on oppression and repression. At the infamous dinner argument, Joyce presents this phenomenon in a single microcosmic event, presenting the lesson to which Stephen is again a marginal participant and terrified student. Three important adults in Stephen's life put on a demonstration of the potency of the political discourse, which had the power to eviscerate their relationship as this dinner is the last scene that Dante, who to this point had played a prominent role in Stephen's home life, plays a part.

V. CONCLUSION

The education that Stephen receives from his Irish Jesuit educators shapes him as an artist and as a person. Its influence is evident in his processing of experiences and his approaches to his social relationships and creative aspirations. However, Stephen's formal education has aspects of both a classical and modern education, which Joyce presents as an area of conflict. This conflict is an extension of the broader social conflicts on full display in the Christmas dinner scene. Understanding the context of Stephen's particular moment in this education system reveals the depths of his resistance and ultimate rejection of conforming to the status quo. This context also suggests that some of the factors that prevent him from fulfilling the creative potential he demonstrates at the start of the novel are situated in the same education that enables him to critically dissect it.

In the scholarly literature, Stephen is often portrayed as following in his father's ideological footsteps rather than his mother's or Dante's. While this is accurate in one aspect, it neglects the significance of the influence of his mother. Mary Dedalus is the first influence that advocates for escape. She introduces Stephen to the idea that the Irish infighting may be inescapable in Ireland as not even Christmas dinner could provide a respite, implanting the notion of escaping Ireland. Stephen's relationship with his mother is on his mind throughout the novel and is a clear point of internal strife that he is never able to reconcile.

An area to explore regarding education that is only briefly covered here is the influence that the Jesuit institution has on Stephen. The Jesuit system had a particular approach to education that relied heavily on the institution, which shaped Joyce's and

Stephen's social lives in their formative years. These English-modeled institutions shaped boys and, in doing so, their culture, influencing which sports were played, for example, and even the hierarchical structures that maintained order and the students' roles within it. Institutional experiences shape and influence Stephen as they shape the world around him. From the brothers and lay faculty to the sorts of social events that they provide, the Jesuit institution plays a significant role inside and outside of the classroom.

Additionally, the physical institutions such as the building hold significant historical knowledge that is withheld from the formal curriculum, such as education in Irish history. Stephen learns about the rebel Hamilton Rowan from the butler and bullet pocks in the castle at Clongowes rather than in the classroom. Locations hold great power in Joyce's work, informing the histories of the Irish people as well as the shape of their social interactions.

As mentioned in the first chapter, networking was a key aspect of modernizing the Jesuit school system in Ireland. One common approach to materializing this concept was through sports, which appear throughout Stephen's time at Clongowes and Belvedere. However, the confrontations and marginalization, both external and internal, keep Stephen from creating the sorts of connections that are demonstrated between other boys, allowing Stephen to resist assimilation or conform to his peer groups. Stephen eventually demonstrates resistance to conformity when pressured to choose "the right" poet, which results in a violent confrontation. Stephen's social and intellectual isolation is one of the ways Joyce ties Stephen's experiences to exiled and persecuted figures of history, such as Ovid, Bruno, Galileo, and Dante. Later at university, his resistance to conformity turns to outright rejection and contempt. Noting his people gave up their language, freedom, and

Parnell to the English enemy, Stephen rejects his Irish nationalist friend Davin's pleas to put country first and fight for Ireland's freedom (220). Stephen refuses to be the next sacrifice for Ireland and retorts, "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" (220). Stephen flat out rejects conforming for the sake of common communal ties, seeing them as intellectual and artistic hindrances. Following Davin's final request to be a "poet or mystic" after being Irish, Stephen silences him with his response, "Do you know what Ireland is?...Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow" (220). This response reveals his contempt for such calls to sacrifice his body and individuality, positioning himself as an outsider to liberate his mind intellectually and artistically.

Stephen experiences many of the same issues in the Jesuit school system that students face today. He struggles with class differences in a moment when Irish education was transitioning from being a resource predominately for elites and clergy to including a broader representation of the public at large. Stephen's education is a microcosm of the Irish Jesuit education system of this period, yet some of their most significant problems were preludes to the issues in education today: disparity in educational opportunities, issues with testing and funding models, lagging pedagogical practices and curricula that struggles to adapt to a quickly changing world, and the colossus of colonialism—including colonial education—and its effects on colonized communities. However, Stephen's green rose symbolizes his hope of using his creative work to better represent the conditions of his community.

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