

Krisztian Horvath. An Analysis of the Holdings of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Rare Book Collection. A Master's Paper for the M.S. in L.S degree. April 2005. 46 pages. Advisor: Charles McNamara.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill holds an impressive collection of rare editions of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, a work central to the history of twentieth-century literature. This paper analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of the *Ulysses* collection, compares it against a representative sample of repositories that collect Joyce, and closes with recommendations to improve the collection.

This study concludes that the University of North Carolina's *Ulysses* holdings rank in the second tier of libraries in the sample. Elite collections such as those at Yale University and the University of Texas contain dozens or even hundreds of rare copies of the novel, while third-tier collections have only a few copies of some editions. The University of North Carolina holds a collection of substantial breadth, with one copy of most of the significant editions. This study's recommendations will help the collection development librarian make plans to complete the set and supplement worn copies of important editions.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE HOLDINGS OF JAMES JOYCE'S *ULYSSES* IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL RARE BOOK  
COLLECTION

by  
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Approved by

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Many scholars regard James Joyce's *Ulysses* as one of the great modern literary achievements. Its standing as one of the high points of literature guarantees that interest in it will endure, and it has attracted curators of rare book libraries and book collectors ever since it was published in 1922. Membership in the canon of great literature is usually enough to justify pursuing copies of a title for a special collections library. But *Ulysses* is a special case for reasons beyond literary merit. Most importantly, and this is a corollary to its status as a complex artistic masterpiece, is that the editions of the novel record textual changes of interest to scholars of Joyce. Controversy has followed all attempts to establish an "authoritative" version of the text, lending each instance of it greater importance as part of a chain of development. The tortured efforts of Joyce and his collaborators to publish the book against legal opposition had the consequence of producing relatively small print runs, contributing to the scarcity—and therefore, the value—of these early editions. Finally, the book was attended by a famous court decision, and even though this was not preceded by a trial as dramatic as Flaubert's over *Madame Bovary*, it is still notable for its place in the history of obscenity trials in the arts.

Each of these elements will be discussed at greater length below. This paper is an analysis of the *Ulysses* collection at the Rare Book Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, including a study of how it compares to collections in other libraries, and suggestions for how librarians at UNC might improve their collection of

*Ulysses*. A project to improve and expand the collection at the University of North Carolina must be grounded in an understanding of the publication history of *Ulysses*, the significance of various editions, the nature of the controversies surrounding the text, in what areas other collections have invested resources, and the availability of significant copies of *Ulysses* on the rare book market. Greater knowledge of these areas would help the collection development librarian begin to plan for acquiring additional material, promote the collection to the scholarly community, describe an acquisition plan with library administration, and assist researchers working with these editions.

### **A Concise History of *Ulysses***

Parts of James Joyce's monumental novel *Ulysses* appeared in print for the first time in *The Little Review*, from 1918 to 1920. At that time, the book was judged obscene and further publication of it banned. It was published as book for the first time in 1922 in Paris by Sylvia Beach, owner of the bookstore Shakespeare and Company. Other editions have been published since then, with scholars disagreeing on the authenticity of them. A 1984 edition promised a text that corrected around 5,000 errors. But this controversial text inspired more argument, since it, some claimed, introduced innumerable new errors and included material not in the first published edition.

### **The Literary Significance of *Ulysses***

Joyce's novel is a pivotal work in the history of the novel. Many of the book's features are well-known. The book is based on the structure of the *Odyssey*, by Homer, whom Joyce admired deeply. The story's plot takes place on a single day, 16 June 1904,

but through Joyce's use of allusion and symbolism, it includes innumerable historical and literary references. Joyce fixes his three main characters—Stephen Dedalus, Leopold Bloom, and Molly Bloom—as counterparts to Homer's Telemachus, Ulysses, and Penelope, respectively. Events in *Ulysses* echo, with varying tones and moods, events in Homer's epic poem. Joyce's novel is considered a *tour de force* of allusion, literary style, depth of insight into character, and breadth of humor. It is also a high point in the tradition of the "encyclopedic" novel, with its erudite use of nearly the whole of literary history. Almost everything, from high works like *Hamlet* to popular songs, are alluded to, often very cleverly. The novel is probably best known, however, for its use of an interior monologue technique sometimes also referred to as a "stream of consciousness."

Joyce was at the vanguard of a movement which had the result of changing the character of the novel. The nineteenth century was perhaps the high point of the form. Writers such as Dickens, Thackeray, Eliot, Tolstoy, and Balzac were leading figures in the development of a narrative prose style which sought to achieve ever more precise verisimilitude. In the early twentieth century, some writers began to question whether the conventional novel could adequately represent the world and individuals' experiences in it. The structures of plot and even of language were being called into question by writers, such as Joyce, who observed a gap between literature and experience which they hoped to repair through the development of new techniques. For Joyce in particular, but also for other writers of the time, this meant an emphasis on craft, on the bringing to prose the care for the exact word often reserved for poetry, and for the deployment of narrative techniques which often defeated the expectations most readers brought to the novel. The goal was to capture the complex and fragmentary nature of experience, as Joyce saw it.

Joyce himself would continue to stretch the boundaries of the novel in the massive work he undertook after completing *Ulysses: Finnegans Wake*. These works became a towering influence on the evolution of the novel, which continued to find authors determined to stretch its conventions in their day as Joyce had done in his, often to the point of alienating “average” readers, and widening the gulf between “literary” and “popular” fiction. The mid-century “antinovel” can be understood as the heir to the process of rebelling against conventional prose launched by Joyce in *Ulysses*. The book is also the inheritor of a tradition of writing crafted to overcome literary habits, with Laurence Stern’s *Tristram Shandy* (1767) an example from very early in the novel’s history.

### **The Genesis and Composition of *Ulysses***

Joyce had been thinking about a ‘Ulysses in Dublin’ for a long time. Numerous accounts of his admiration for Charles Lamb’s *Adventures of Ulysses* (a translation of the story for children, which Joyce read when very young) are documented. He admired Lamb’s “mystical” approach to the famous story and his blending of symbolic and realistic elements.<sup>1</sup> Joyce would take these last two literary styles to altogether distant extremes with his work. Joyce grasped the scope and direction of the entire novel almost from the beginning. After composing the first three chapters (the *Telemachia*), he wrote sketches of the last three chapters (the *Nostrós*) probably as early as 1914.<sup>2</sup> In the spring of 1914, Joyce took a break from writing *Ulysses* and spent a considerable amount of

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<sup>1</sup> W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*, Oxford, 1954, 186-187; Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce Among the Jesuits*, New York, 1958, 94-98; A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake*. London: Oxford UP, 1961: 1.

<sup>2</sup> Litz, 3-4.

time on his play, *Exiles*. In this work, he imagined for himself intense sexual jealousy, from his own point of view, perhaps preparing himself for looking at the cuckoldry of Bloom's from an objective point of view. *The Little Review* had published serially the first seven episodes by the end of 1918; by 1920, it had brought the text up to the fourteenth episode to readers. While writing the last five episodes, Joyce undertook considerable revision of the earlier episodes, which had previously been written much in the style of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, so that they now had a much different cast than when serially published, though the first three chapters remained largely untouched.<sup>3</sup>

In its (more or less) complete state, *Ulysses* is significant for its attention to private matters, including masturbation and going to toilet, previously abjured by literature; one of Joyce's objectives was to dissolve the barrier between life and art. Of course it isn't the case that Joyce meant to write a dirty book; but that he aimed to include nearly everything into his novel ostensibly about one day in the life of some Dublin characters. Both of these ambitions—to show how all history can be alluded to in the narration of one day (the macro found in the micro), and to include the most private matters in the telling of that one day—contributed as much to the difficulties of publishing an error-free text as did Joyce's experiments with prose style. Unfortunately, some obscurities were unintentional errors. As Richard Ellman has commented, “the text was faulty” and that “given its unprecedented idiosyncrasy, mistakes were inevitable.”<sup>4</sup>

Joyce wrote the first three episodes, the *Telemachi*, first, and then wrote the *Nostos*, the last section of the novel, before filling in the middle parts. The first three

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Ellman, *James Joyce*

<sup>4</sup> Richard Ellman, “Preface,” *Ulysses*, New York: Random House, 1986, ix.

chapters most resemble the style of his earlier prose works, while the last section saw him experimenting radically with form, and becoming less conventional with each revision. *Ulysses* first appeared in print in episodes serialized in *The Little Review* in March 1918, with the publication of “Telemachus,” continuing until December 1920 with the “Oxen of the Sun.” The London-based *Egoist* published several episodes<sup>5</sup> in Jan-Dec of 1919 from the *Little Review*’s texts. Court charges of obscenity prevented the novel from being published in the U.S. until 1934 and England until 1936.<sup>6</sup>

The publication history of the text of *Ulysses* is a history of errors. This certainly complicates any search for an “ideal” text, as Joyce intended. The key elements are that: Joyce was a tireless reviser, capable of expurgating his work with each review, such that he never allowed the mould to cool; printers often failed to correct errors or introduced new ones; and Joyce was at times incapable, because of his failing eyesight, to correct many of them.

Joyce constantly tinkered with the novel, and its character changed substantially during its composition. The earliest written episodes were deep studies of character, dramatized through a prose style both lyrical and symbolic. This style would have been familiar to readers of *A Portrait of the Artist as Young Man* and even *Dubliners*. (Joyce first imagined *Ulysses* as a story in *Dubliners*.) As Joyce made progress on the novel, he altered its style considerably, leading to a work with which no contemporary reader would have been familiar. The key issue in understanding the composition of the novel is that Joyce’s method was to revise constantly. He rewrote and expanded his text right up to the point of publication, often requesting several sets of proofs he could work on for

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<sup>5</sup> “Nestor,” “Proteus,” “Hades,” and part of the “Wandering Rocks” episodes.

<sup>6</sup> Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader*, 214

his expansive notes. He wrote to John Quinn, a New York lawyer with roots in Ireland (and also a book collector) that “I will not write in any pages of the MS to ‘complete’ it. The additions were made by me on printed proofs.”<sup>7</sup> Frank Budgen, a close friend of Joyce, has noted (as have several other associates) Joyce’s habit of carrying little “note-sheets” with him in his pockets, which he would produce when an idea occurred to him, and quickly note something.<sup>8</sup> What survives of these notes is now held in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup>

Joyce wrote each episode by hand, which he then revised and had typed a copy for the printers. He explained, “I cannot dictate to a stenographer or type. I write all with my hand. When the fair copy is ready I send it to a typist.”<sup>10</sup> He also had an agreement to send a fair-copy manuscript to the American book collector John Quinn (this was later sold, despite Joyce’s opposition, to Rosenbach, and is now known as “the Rosenbach Manuscript”).<sup>11</sup> Sylvia Beach reported on meeting Joyce in her book, *Shakespeare and Company*. “Did he sometimes dictate?” she describes asking him. “‘Never!’” he exclaimed. He always wrote by hand. He liked to be held back, would otherwise go too fast.” On the Rosenbach manuscript, she comments that “it appeared that Mr. John Quinn, the brilliant Irish-American lawyer in New York, was buying the manuscript of *Ulysses* bit by bit.”<sup>12</sup> Joyce sent Ezra Pound typescripts of the episodes eventually

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<sup>7</sup> Slocum and Cahoon, 141-143.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Budgen, “James Joyce,” in *James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism*, ed. Seon Givens, New York, 1948, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Litz, “Joyce’s Notes for the Last Episodes of *Ulysses*,” *Modern Fiction Studies*, IV (Spring 1958): 3-20.

<sup>10</sup> Joyce, letter to John Quinn, 13 May 1917, *Letters II*, 396.

<sup>11</sup> Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader*, 215; Joyce had been having financial difficulties, and so he mortgaged the manuscript to John Quinn. However, just after Joyce had learned of a massive subsidy (amounting to about one million in today’s dollars) he received word from Quinn of his intention to auction off the manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, London: Plantin Publishers, 1987, reprint of 1959 ed., 38-9.

printed in *The Little Review*; and though Pound revised them the editors at the *Review* failed to correct numerous errors and added many original ones.<sup>13</sup>

When Joyce arranged to publish the novel in book form, he agreed with Shakespeare & Company to use a highly-regarded French printer, Maurice Darantière of Dijon. Darantière's compositors were ignorant of English, with the exception of his foreman, Maurice Hirschwald, who, it appears, knew enough to correct some obvious errors, but not enough to recognize Joyce's unusual experiments with the language, leading to corrections of "mistakes" Joyce had intended. Aware that this had happened, Joyce made sure to obtain and correct successive proofs until considerable changes had been made. Not only did he correct Hirschwald's over-corrections, but he used his review of the proofs as opportunities to develop further his artistic aims for the novel. The text grew larger with each proof he reviewed. Many of these proofs have survived, giving bibliographers a clearer chance to follow Joyce's intentions.<sup>14</sup>

Shakespeare & Company published the first edition of *Ulysses* on February 2, 1922, Joyce's fortieth birthday. Most bibliographers consider this run of 1,000 copies far cleaner than could have been expected under the circumstances; many errors had been corrected, and in the seven impressions which followed, until October 1925, many others had been fixed. Joyce compiled a partial errata list shortly after the 1922 publication, which he expanded with each subsequent impression.<sup>15</sup> The seventh impression, published in October 1925, included errata lists and amendments to the plates, which corrected other errors still. Even so, there remained many mistakes which distorted the

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<sup>13</sup> Gaskell, *FWTR*, 216

<sup>14</sup> Gaskell, 216-217

<sup>15</sup> Ellman, "Preface," *Ulysses*, New York: Random House, 1986, ix.

meaning of some sentences (in some cases leaving absurdities in a text already obscure, and, in places, impenetrable).<sup>16</sup>

In 1932, Joyce had been receiving offers from several publishers for the rights to produce *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, particularly in America. Sylvia Beach technically still owned the rights, and worried that American publication of *Ulysses* would substantially cut into her sales. Beach had been a perfect benefactor for Joyce; she had put her livelihood at risk when she published his banned book, she had scrambled to put her connections to wealthy patrons of the arts to use to subsidize time for him to work—all this effort she put to the service of his genius. She did this because of her tenacious belief in the singular value of his art. Joyce owed Beach considerable gratitude. In the end, he persuaded her to let him consider these offers, partly by negotiating an arrangement by which she would continue to earn royalties on copies sold in Europe. In March of 1932, Joyce signed a contract with Bennett Cerf at Random House for the publication of *Ulysses*. A legal battle would have to be won before publication could commence, but all parties were confident that developments in the United States assured a victory in the courts.<sup>17</sup>

Various publishers had refused to print *Ulysses* as a novel after the *Little Review* decision. Joyce, having suffered tortured negotiations over the excision of individual words before the publication of *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, was now faced with requests to alter significant portions of the text of his great work, and despaired over it. He withdrew his manuscript rather than fight about it again, and expressed to his friend Sylvia Beach his unhappiness. To his surprise, she suggested that

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<sup>16</sup> Gaskell, 218-219

<sup>17</sup> Ellman, 641.

she could publish it. He cautioned her that it wouldn't sell, but she assured him that it would be an honor for Shakespeare and Company to make the work available for the world. In the next few days, she made arrangements with her printer in Dijon, Darantière, and suggested to Joyce that they should produce a special first printing of 1,000 copies, to which she could attract subscribers who would help the small press fund the project. The first hundred copies would be printed on fine Holland paper, signed by Joyce, and sell for 350 francs. Another set, of 150 copies, would be printed on *vergé d'Arches* and sell for 250 francs. The remaining 750 would sell for 150 francs and be printed on paper of more common quality. Beach provided Joyce an advance and offered him 66% of the profits as a royalty, a startling figure. The book would bear the imprint of the Egoist Press, whose Harriet Weaver sent Joyce an additional advance, of £200. Beach then set out to find as many subscribers as she could.<sup>18</sup>

The New York Society for the Prevention of Vice had cited the *Little Review* for its publication of episodes of *Ulysses* in September of 1920. John Quinn had tried to dissuade Joyce from publishing *Ulysses* serially, on the ground that the inevitable court defense would be easier if it were the entire novel, with all the parts likely to receive the attention of the censors situated in the context of the whole work, at issue. In spite of his unheeded warnings, and his personal dislike of Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, editors of the *Little Review*, Quinn agreed to represent the defense in court. The defense, which Quinn knew would be unsuccessful, had its absurd moments. For example, when one of the judges (of the three presiding) prepared the court for the reading of the "obscene" passages, he asked that it not be read in the presence of the women, Anderson and Heap, notwithstanding Quinn's wry observation that since they had printed it, they

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<sup>18</sup> Beach, *Ulysses in Paris*, 24; Ellman, 504.

had already seen it. Quinn's prediction was proven correct: the court ruled the work obscene. Some of Quinn's arguments may not have helped the cause; he admitted, for instance, that a particular passage was "disgusting," but not "indecent." Joyce's hoped-for re-enactment of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* trial lacked the drama of the earlier case, and the result was that publishing *Ulysses* as a novel would be illegal in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

By the time of the second trial, the atmosphere in the United States had changed considerably, and the proceedings were much more reasonable, and, for Joyce, the outcome positive. Judge John M. Woolsey's famous verdict concurred with the view that *Ulysses* was far too complex and sophisticated to attract prurient interest, no matter how many dirty words it contained, and that, furthermore, it was a work of artistic genius. Bennett Cerf at Random House ordered immediate work on typesetting the text, and a run of 100 copies were published in January 1934 to establish copyright and thus cut off any chance of anyone else pirating the work. A large run was published on February 2, Joyce's birthday, the date on which he habitually had his works published.

### **The Search for the "Ideal" *Ulysses***

Even with Joyce himself revising and correcting proofs, working in collaboration with a devoted publisher in Sylvia Beach, and relying on the technical skills of a respected, intellectual printer in Maurice Darantière, *Ulysses* could not appear in print without, by some counts, thousands of errors. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that since Joyce's death scholars have never been able to agree on how to arrive at the "ideal" version of *Ulysses*. Until the 1970s, actually, no serious effort was made to revise

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<sup>19</sup> Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War*, 222.

the text comprehensively. At that time, a substantial effort was undertaken to look at the text, and the history of its production, from a new perspective. Hans Walter Gabler worked for seven years on a project to produce a “critical and synoptic” edition. Scholars of Joyce were well aware of the well-publicized project, itself generously funded by the German government. Gabler’s method represented a significant departure from all previous methods applied to revising the text, which generally tended to correcting superficial mistakes—essentially, typos (once they were known to be such). Gabler reasoned that relying on the first 1922 edition as the “copy-text” for all subsequent editions rested on the unreasonable assumption that it represented Joyce’s intention. Recapturing that vision, as he would have best expressed it under perfect conditions, would be the task of this project. The method would require scrutinizing all the extant manuscript material, including Joyce’s corrected proofs, to uncover the real text.

The much anticipated product of this work appeared on Bloomsday, 1984. While a great deal of effort went into this edition, it failed to establish itself exclusively as the best representation of Joyce’s artistic intention. From almost the beginning, in fact, Gabler’s edition became entangled in one of the more dramatic, and, at times, bizarre, contests in bibliographic history. Critics, in particular the American literature professor John Kidd, launched a sustained attack on Gabler’s text, fueling a war of articles, letters to the *New York Times Book Review*, and contentious appearance at professional conventions. Gabler did not help matters by persistently (perhaps understandably) avoiding direct responses to the specific charges of his critics, sometimes resorting to unhelpful ad hominem attacks. Kidd had not only regarded Gabler’s use of manuscript material dubious, inconsistent, and selective, but he accused Gabler of being an agent of

the Joyce estate's desire to produce a *Ulysses* with enough substantial changes that the copyright could be extended another 75 years. Gabler had announced his expectation that 8,000 errors would be corrected once he completed his work (in fact, the number was 5,000 changes, most of which involved punctuation). Kidd's close reading of the process basically asked the question, Was Gabler introducing changes merely to tip the balance of an inevitable copyright claim in the favor of the Joyce estate? The principles behind Gabler's methodology were considered sound by leading bibliographic experts, including Philip Gaskell, Clive Hart, and Richard Ellman. The idea was to build *Ulysses* up genetically, going from Joyce's manuscript, notes, revisions, and proof corrections to the early editions to get a fix on all the places where the published version contrasted with his clearly expressed intention. When Kidd pointed out, however, that the Rosenbach manuscript formed the basis of many of Gabler's revisions, it generated more general skepticism. Gaskell and Hart objected to its use, since it existed quite outside the "line of descent" known to connect the extant manuscript, proof correction, and first edition.<sup>20</sup>

While charges flew back and forth, Random House, which had been planning to publish Gabler's text in the United States, reacted to Kidd's well-researched critical scrutiny by announcing the formation of a blue-ribbon panel which would advise the publisher whether Gabler's edition was legitimate or should be withdrawn. During the months this panel of experts met, Joyce scholars organized a conference at the University of Miami to discuss the controversy, and, to everyone's surprise, Garland Publishing, which had published Gabler's 1984 text as a three-volume set, announced that it would allow it to go out of print.

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<sup>20</sup> "The New 'Ulysses': The Hidden Controversy." *The New York Review of Books* (December 8, 1988): 53-58. See also *Assessing the 1984 Ulysses*, edited by C. George Sandulescu and Clive Hart, London and New York: Colin Smythe and Barnes & Noble, 1986.

### **Toward an “Ideal” *Ulysses***

The Rare Book Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill holds an impressive representative sample of the bibliographic chain of editions of *Ulysses*. In the absence of a “definitive” edition, having this breadth is vitally important. Philip Gaskell argues, in *From Writer to Reader*, that the first edition, first impression of Shakespeare & Company ought to be considered the “copy-text” of *Ulysses*, from which any “corrected” edition ought begin. No other edition ever came as close in accuracy to Joyce’s vision, since this was the text which Joyce labored over with meticulous care.<sup>21</sup> Joyce’s note to Harriet Weaver during his review of the proofs indicates his efforts:

Since the completion of *Ulysses* I feel more and more tired but I have to hold on till all the proofs are revised. I am extremely irritated by all those printer’s errors. Working as I do amid piles of notes at a table in a hotel I cannot possibly do this mechanical part with my wretched eye and a half. Are these to be perpetuated in future editions? I hope not.<sup>22</sup>

Still, Gaskell notes that this first edition does contain many “transmission variants, especially of the normalizing kind.”<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, Joyce’s own method of correcting the text was inexact, compounding mistakes in some parts of the text. Ellman reports that it seems likely that Joyce “rarely had an earlier version beside him when he was correcting a later one. Relying on memory, he sometimes sanctioned the inadvertent dropping of phrases; at other times, not recalling the earlier version exactly but sensing something was missing, he devised a

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<sup>21</sup> Gaskell, 219

<sup>22</sup> Joyce, *Letters*, i, 176

<sup>23</sup> Gaskell, 219

circumlocutory substitute. Add to these propensities his defective eyesight and frequent haste.”<sup>24</sup>

Each new edition of *Ulysses* represented fresh opportunities to revise the text. Stuart Gilbert, a close friend of Joyce’s, expanded further on the list of errors in 1932 during his work on a translation of the novel into French for the Odyssey Press edition, published that year in Hamburg. Joyce again re-examined the text in 1936 in preparation for its publication in London by the Bodley Head. This was the last time Joyce himself examined the text. Since then, each new publisher produced different texts based on the scrutiny of surviving notes, drafts, manuscripts, proofs, and correspondence, a process which was done well in one instance and poorly in another, sometimes with persistent errors being finally corrected, but in other places resulting in new mistakes, misprints, and blunders entering the text.<sup>25</sup> One of the more widely-cited examples of a corruption arising in part from the idiosyncratic nature of the novel is found at the end of the penultimate chapter, which Joyce intended to end with a dot standing free below the final paragraph, in answer to the question “where?” Some printers assumed this was an error, typo, or flyspeck, and dropped it. When Joyce discovered this omission, he sent clear instructions to the printer to enlarge the dot.

Not all of the original proofs are still extant, but the pursuit of a more perfect text would require a collation of all the early incarnations of it, side-by-side. Careful scrutiny of each, in chronological order, with an alertness to which changes Joyce intended, and which entered the text through new error, may resolve many of its problems. The point would be to examine each variation, and work to arrive at a conclusion regarding Joyce’s

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<sup>24</sup> Ellman, x

<sup>25</sup> Ellman, *Ulysses*, New York: Random House, 1986, ix-x.

intention. This process would still leave many questions unanswered, however, because of the limits of interpretation and lack of comprehensive evidence. When it is known that Joyce reviewed a particular proof, but left what appears to be an error uncorrected, the bibliographer cannot know for certain whether he left it stand on purpose, or overlooked it, and, if he missed seeing it, whether he would have corrected it is impossible to know. In some cases, drafts and proofs are missing, clouding the known sequence of Joyce's editing and revising.

Since the mid-1970s, when Gaskell wrote the first comprehensive bibliographic history of *Ulysses*, his recommendations for the kinds of versions which ought to be published have largely come to pass. He urged that an "ideal" *Ulysses* was probably impossible. Therefore, researchers should be given access to several incarnations of it: an accurate reproduction of the "first drafts" Joyce wrote until 1918; an revision of the 1922 impressions with the corrections known to have been authorized by Joyce and the errata notes accompanying the October, 1925 printing; and a large-scale project, intended for the serious reader of Joyce, making all the pre-publication documents available alongside the text.<sup>26</sup> In his art Joyce labored at a microscopic accuracy of allusion, detail, and symbolism, compelling his readers to perform close studies to arrive at meaning. The range of texts Gaskell suggests would enable this necessary style of interpreting Joyce.

It is probably fair to say that with any published book, there can be no such thing as a definitive, authoritative text. In this sense, the controversies surrounding *Ulysses* reflect the history of bibliographic methodology during the twentieth century. The years after its publication saw a bias toward honoring the first edition; the middle part of the century, with Gaskell at the helm, witnessed a mania for searching out the "ideal" text

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<sup>26</sup> Gaskell, 222

with scientific, rational methods, leading to a result “intended” by the author, culminating in the furor over the Gabler edition; this same edition forms the pivot point leading bibliography to the current era, in which notions of a perfect text arrived at scientifically is no longer seriously held.

A 1997 “Reader’s Edition” published by Picador is an attempt to find a middle ground between two established bibliographic approaches to the text of *Ulysses*. Danis Rose, the editor of this work, argues for what he calls an “isotext” in place of the “synoptic” edition of 1984. This “isotext” would result in a “reader’s edition” by adhering to Joyce’s intentions as reflected in the text he had published in 1922 combined with revisions to suit it for easier reading. This combines two orientations toward textual editing: Gabler’s, which insists on the essential significance of the author’s manuscript, and Jerome McGann’s emphasis on the importance of the collaborative act involved in making that manuscript available for the public.<sup>27</sup>

Gabler emphasized the manuscript in his work; since extracting a usable reading text would be difficult, he interpreted the assemblage of pre-publication evidence he examined as a “continuous manuscript text.” McGann articulated a “social contract” theory of editing; the point here is that a published text does not transfer in a direct line from the pen of an author to the eyes of a reader. Rather, the system surrounding publication of every book since the printing press is the collaborative work of a “production crew.” This may or may not include the author, depending on his or her level of involvement after the submission of the manuscript. The “production crew” includes everyone involved in the manufacture of the books—copyists, typists, typesetters, printers, editors, publishers, everyone. Their combined labor affects the text, in terms of

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<sup>27</sup> Danis Rose, “The Rationale of the Reader’s Edition,” *Ulysses*, Dublin: Picador, 1997, xiii.

editing, revising, conforming the grammar to “house rules of style,” formatting, correcting, paring, and so on. They often design the book as an artifact to a substantial degree: crafting the book jacket, the binding, the exterior color, the quality of the paper, and so on. The author joins the “production crew” insofar as he or she participates in this production. The preferred text, for McGann, is always the one whose production the author contributed the most to. In the present case, the first edition of *Ulysses* is the most significant, from McGann’s perspective. This published version is to be privileged over any other prepublication documents, because whatever decisions Joyce’s notes, letters, or prepublication manuscripts may suggest, they did not carry as much significance as the choices he had to nail down as the book was formed. Put another way, the decisions made upon publication should carry significantly more weight than the choices sorted through in the writer’s notebook.<sup>28</sup>

There is a historical argument McGann makes as well to defend his preference for first editions as copy-texts. It represents the appearance of the novel when it first entered cultural history, and that in itself is very significant. Critics of McGann have noted the inflexibility of his approach; it is difficult to imagine when one wouldn’t simply reprint a facsimile of the first edition. McGann’s “social contract theory” is a considerable departure from the traditional “author-centered” approach. Danis Rose has likened the “final authorial intention” school, which began its rise in the 1950s and 1960s, to its scientific “paradigmatic equivalent.” Like the results of a meticulous experiment, which should repeat nearly exactly, scholarly examination of a text, with the author’s purest intention in the foreground, should yield very nearly the same edition every time.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Rose, xiii.

<sup>29</sup> Rose, xiv.

### **THE SIGNIFICANT EDITIONS OF *ULYSSES***

In this section, I briefly describe the history and importance of those editions of *Ulysses* which are of bibliographic interest.

**February, 1922, Shakespeare and Company, Paris: 1,000 numbered copies.** Of these, 1 to 100 include Joyce's signature and were printed on Dutch handmade paper; numbers 101 to 250 were printed on larger leaves of vergé d'Arches; the remainder were printed on handmade paper. An unknown number of the 750 copies had the number erased and replaced with a rubber-stamped label reading "Unnumbered Press Copy." Shakespeare and Company followed this limited first edition with ten other printings (though the second and third are usually counted as belonging to the first two editions of the Egoist Press and are noted below). The rest of the printings are dated as follows: fourth (January 1924), fifth (September 1924), sixth (August 1925), seventh (October - December 1925), eighth (May 1926), ninth (May 1927), tenth (November 1928), eleventh (May 1930). These later printings used paper of a much lower quality, as would be expected of press runs designed to sell in larger numbers, produced a text corrected on the basis of Joyce's errata notes, and included errata slips referring to new errors. Unfortunately, new typographical mistakes appeared as well. The text plates were entirely reset for the eighth printing, which included a list of "Additional corrections" at the end of the main text. These plates were used for the rest of the printings.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Slocum and Cahoon, p. 25-26 (A17); James Fuller Spierri, *Catalog of a Collection of The Works of James Joyce*, exhibited at the Newberry Library, March 1 to March 26, 1948, Chicago, February 1948; no.

**October, 1922, Egoist Press, London:** 2,000 numbered copies, of which 500 copies were detained by the New York Post Office Authorities.

**January, 1923, Egoist Press, London:** 500 numbered copies, of which 499 copies were seized by the Customs Authorities, Folkestone.

**January, 1924, Shakespeare and Company, Paris:** unlimited edition (reset 1926).

**1925-1927, *Two Worlds Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1925) to vol. 3, no. 4 (1927):** this publication pirated *Ulysses* and issued it serially in twelve issues (Cf. Slocum and Cahoon, C68).

In 1929, Samuel Roth of *Two Worlds Monthly* published his pirated copy in book form. The title page attributes publication to “Shakespeare and Company, 1929,” and is well-known to be recognizable because in its credit to “Jonathan Cape” as a publisher of other works “by the same author” it incorrectly printed the name as “Jonthan Cape.”

**December 1, 1932, The Odyssey Press, Hamburg, Paris, Bologna:** unlimited edition. From the title page: “This edition composed in Baskerville type cut by the Monotype Corporation. The paper is made by the Papier-fabrik Bautzen.” The covers are of firm grey paper, and the back cover includes the stern warning, in all caps: “Not to be introduced into the British Empire or the U.S.A.” It was published in two volumes and included commentaries by Stuart Gilbert, Ernst Robert Curtius (in German), and Edmond Jaloux (in French) in volume one; commentaries by Middleton Murray, another by Curtius, and one by Valery Larbaud (in French) filled out volume two.

**January 25, 1934, Random House, New York:** unlimited edition, though a first printing of 100 copies was followed by a second printing of 10,300. This is the first authorized American edition, following and using the text of an unauthorized edition for the U.S. published by the Loewinger brothers for Samuel Roth of *Two Worlds Monthly* and illegally sold in the United States.<sup>31</sup> It repeated many of the errors of that edition, though it corrected them in later printings. Ten printings, in all, were made of this edition, lasting until 1939, coming to 50,625 copies. A “Giant” edition using the same plates as the tenth printing appeared in September, 1940, in a run of ten thousand copies, and was reprinted fifteen times until 1950 and numbered over 135,000.<sup>32</sup>

**October, 1935, Limited Editions Club, New York:** 1,500 copies, illustrated and signed by Henri Matisse.

**October, 1936, The Bodley Head, London:** 1,000 numbered copies of which 100 were printed on mold-made paper bound in calf vellum and signed by the author. The remaining nine hundred were unsigned, bound in linen buckram, and printed on Japan Vellum. This was the first authorized edition printed in England.<sup>33</sup>

**September, 1937, The Bodley Head, London:** first unlimited edition English edition. **1942, The Modern Library, New York:** with a forward by Morris L.

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<sup>31</sup> For a complete narrative of the history of this edition, see R. F. Roberts’s “Bibliographical Notes on James Joyce’s ‘Ulysses,’” in *Colophon*, New York, (Spring 1936), 565-79. Slocum reports that the Society for the Suppression of Vice seized many copies of this edition in October of 1929 (Slocum and Cahoon, p. 29). Also noted in Spoerri, no. 42.

<sup>32</sup> For a complete discussion of the trial which led to this authorized edition, and the hurried publication which followed, see Bennett Cerf’s “Publishing ‘Ulysses’” in *Contempo*, Chapel Hill, N.C., vol. 3, no. 13 (Feb 15, 1934). Also commenting, briefly, on this: Herbert Gorman, in *James Joyce*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939, p. 316-23, and Slocum and Cahoon, p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> Slocum and Cahoon, A23. “The text of this edition is based on that of the Odyssey Press edition, second impression, but at least two dozen new typographical errors have been noted which have not been corrected in later John Lane editions.”

Ernst and the decision of the United States District Court rendered by Judge John M.

Woolsey, "American edition...1934"

**June, 1984, Garland Publishing, New York:** Gabler's "critical and synoptic" edition.

### **Holdings of the University of North Carolina**

1. **1922 Paris: Shakespeare & Company, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1<sup>st</sup> printing, 1 of first 100.** (To be donated.) Fine. Normal fold marks in the spine from opening. No discoloration, ink on paper wrappers is very fresh, no soiling, no creasing, no chips, all first-rate condition.
2. **1922 Paris: Shakespeare & Company, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1<sup>st</sup> printing, #806 of 1000.** Good condition. Original wrappers are free of major tears, although the spine cover is barely attached. Text block is in fine shape; the pages are bright, the text is very clear.
3. **1922 Paris: Egoist Press, first English edition, #319 of 2000.** Original wrappers are worn considerably, with the spine in poor condition, chipped with text block showing through, title and author statement not visible. Text block is in fairly good shape, however. Pages are bright, though they brown slightly toward the edges; some foxing. Text is clear.
4. **1924 Paris: Shakespeare & Company.** Imperfect copy. Title page is missing, and original wrappers not bound in. Bound in three-quarter morocco, which is slightly damaged, with significant break of front board from spine. Pages are brittle and darkened, the color almost of brown grocery bag, and corners are worn. None of this is surprising; this edition was, unfortunately, printed on cheap, wood-pulp stock, which would yellow under almost any circumstances, and crumble if handled too frequently. Errata list at end are included. A historically important copy.
5. **1925 Paris: Shakespeare & Company.** Two copies. Copy 1 is bound in blue buckram, and in fair condition. The bindings are slightly worn, at the spine a bit more so. Paper is thin, but not at all brittle, text is clear. Errata list is included.  
 Copy 2 has been re-bound in blue cloth with red corners and spine. Original wrappers bound in, and are very well-preserved, with almost no imperfections. Back cover was not bound in, and binding is somewhat tight, however. While original front cover is well-preserved, outer binding is damaged, with the front board loose and the spine missing about two inches at the top. A very clean copy, even though clearly read, as it has sporadic annotations in pencil. Probably this was the work of Betty Smith Finch, whose name appears on a bookplate on inside front cover.

6. **1926 Paris: Shakespeare & Company.** Eighth printing. Blue-green cover. Cracked significantly, but title/author appears on spine. "Leon L. Kay" written in first fly leaf. Text is clear, Pages light, text block rough around the edges, book has soggy feel to it. Wrappers are cracked around edges and worn considerably but still can be read and appear to be of its time.
7. **1927 Paris: Shakespeare & Company.** Two copies. Copy 1 has original blue-green wrappers, thoroughly cracked, particularly at the spine, which is dilapidated. Another well-read book, with extensive annotations, in pencil, from the hand of Betty Smith Finch. Text block is quite clean, print is sharp and dark.  
Copy 2 has been re-bound in marble boards. Corners of boards are worn. Text block is very good with no loose pages, some very slight browning around the edges but the text area is fairly bright and the text dark. Binding in pretty good shape.
8. **1928 Paris: Shakespeare & Company.** Bound in black cloth binding. Author/title stamp on spine is faded. Paper has some foxing. Some scotch tape on title page, and on page 706. Autograph and bookstamp of Paul Green.
9. **1929 Paris: La Maison des Amis des Livres.** First French edition, this is #33 of 170. Binding is in excellent shape. No. is 33. Original spine, and perhaps, front cover, are bound in. Doesn't seem to me the rear cover is likewise bound in. Text block is in excellent shape, the pages strong, the text clear, some mild discolorations appearing along edges of text block. Book opens and closes beautifully.
10. **1929 New York: S. and M. Roth.** Pirated edition, based on 1927 printing of Shakespeare & Company. Bound in tan buckram. Fine condition, a little worn around the edges.
11. **1930 Zurich: Rhein-Verlag.** First edition in German. Two volumes, bound in marble boards, and in lovely condition.
12. **1932 Hamburg: Odyssey Press.** Two volumes, each a paperback style with tissue wrappers. Back covers include statement: "not to be introduced into the British Empire or the U.S.A." This is a significant edition, as it was revised by Stuart Gilbert at Joyce's request and with his guidance. Both volumes in good condition.
13. **1933 Hamburg: Odyssey Press.** Two volumes, published in the same style as the one described above. Volume 1: Brown stains pock the front cover, spine, and back cover. Some cracking on the front cover and significant cracking along the spine, though no pages show through. Text block is a little worse than 1932 edition, but not bad. A little darker.  
Volume 2: Same as above, fewer brown spots, but slightly more cracking of the spine. Some pencil list of dates on the inside front fly leaf.
14. **1934 New York: Random House.** Clear plastic cover protects paper wrapper which is worn around the corners and edges. Text block is a bit browned but otherwise is

in very good shape. Foreword by Morris L. Ernst, and Opinion of Justice John M. Woolsey allowing the book to be published in the U.S. is included. Also included is a letter from Joyce to Cerf. Text is in excellent shape.

15. **1935 New York: The Limited Editions Club.** Number 101 signed by Henri Matisse. Beautiful binding. Some kind of planetary image against a “clock” background. Cloth binding, it seems. Spine has some nice designs echoing the large image on the front cover. Back cover is plain. Beautiful pages and type-face. Prints of sketches are inserted next to the illustrations in the book. The text block is in excellent shape, with some of the pages slightly dinged up at the bottom or edges. In all respects, the book looks as though it were published yesterday.

16. **1936 London: The Bodley Head.** Number 14 signed by Joyce. Binding is in very good shape. Nice yellow color. Yellow/gold bow decorates front cover, and spine label of title/author.

17. **1939 Hamburg: The Odyssey Press.** Two volumes. Vol. 1: Covers are well protected by the wrappers with less cracking and brown spots. Wrapped in tissue wrapper. Same look as the 1932 and 1933 Odyssey press editions. Text block is very good, although there is some foxing.

18. **1942 New York: The Modern Library.** Red cloth boards. Spine is worn and slightly lumpy. Some fading and slight wear on edges of boards. Paper feels thin, but is bright, text is dark, and text block is tight. Not a great-looking copy at first glance, but very durable and can be handled and read easily.

19. **1946 New York: Random House.** Cover wrapped in protective plastic. Cover is worn and cracked somewhat, but less so than the 1934 RH edition. Text block is in almost perfect shape. Very well preserved.

20. **1984 New York: Garland Pub., “A Critical and Synoptic Edition.”** 3 Volumes. Condition is excellent.

21. ***Two Worlds Monthly*, pirated, serialized. Dec. 1925**

a. Vol. 1, No. 2: From *Two Worlds Monthly*. Text block in pretty good shape. Cover includes some dark green color, still bright. Spine is very cracked, with some text block showing, but it is very thin.

b. May-June 1927, Vol. 3, No. 2

Nice red on cover; but cover is nearly detached; Includes an editorial by Samuel Roth in which he defends himself against a petition of 160 authors and an article in the NYTimes saying that he is pirating Ulysses without paying Joyce.

c. Sept. 1925 Vol. 1, no. 1

Promotes “The first chapter of Ulysses by James Joyce” across the top of front cover; browned and worn, spine wrinkled and nearly detached. This is the first issue of this publication.

d. Dec. 1926. Vol. 2, no. 2

This one is in very good shape. Promotes “The fifth part of Joyce’s Ulysses” across the top page. The binding is pretty well held together, some browning.

e. March, 1927 Vol. 2, no. 4

Covers are browned and stained a little; no promotion of Ulysses in this cover. Eighth installment of Joyce’s Ulysses. Staples, I should note, run through each issue along the side of the text block, not in the middle. Spine is cracked a bit.

## **CONTEXT AND CONCLUSIONS**

Among repositories in the United States with James Joyce-related materials, the Rare Book Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill enjoys breadth enough to enable scholarly study of *Ulysses*, though it may lack the depth of elite collections. The *Ulysses* collection supports other impressive collection strengths, such as Irish literature, Modernism, and twentieth-century literature generally.

While the collection does not hold multiple copies of each printing of the early editions of *Ulysses*, as some other repositories do, and while the condition of several of the items is not as free of damage as one would like, it is representative enough a sample of all significant editions of *Ulysses* to support scholarly research. Reasonable steps may be taken by the collection development librarian to improve these holdings and deepen the collection. As of this writing, a donor is set to give the Rare Book Collection at UNC Chapel Hill a copy of one of the first 100 editions of the first printing of *Ulysses*, a copy in very good condition, which will immediately augment the collection. Other editions are available on the market, though they may be getting more scarce, and more expensive. A review of reference works on the availability and cost of rare books suggests that copies of *Ulysses* were on the market more often a decade or two ago than they are now. This suggests that action may be called for in the next few years, if the collection is to be improved. The first three printings of *Ulysses* tend to be extremely expensive (see Appendix D for several price lists). After that, however, beginning with

the fourth printing, editions of the Shakespeare and Company publication of the novel can be acquired for only a few hundred dollars. UNC's *Ulysses* collection compares favorably with that at other libraries with a commitment to acquire materials for the research of Joyce's art (see Appendix A). While not comparable to the staggeringly deep collection at the University of Texas, whose collection ranks far and away ahead of others, UNC's Rare Book Library does hold an impressive breadth of editions.

Acquiring a few more Shakespeare & Company printings to complete the set would be one reasonable goal the collection development librarian to consider. In this case, looking out for the 1923 3<sup>rd</sup> printing, the 1925 7<sup>th</sup> printing, and the 1930 11<sup>th</sup> printing would be prudent. Acquiring additional copies of editions already held by UNC, but which are in poor condition, would also help push this collection towards an elite status. Another possible option is to pursue copies of Shakespeare & Company printings from the latter half of the eleven-print run. These are far less expensive, and would provide the library with enough holdings to support active research in this area, which the Rare Book Library could promote, and which would fit the repository's philosophy of offering its holdings for research and study. In short, a collection development plan could reasonably acquire copies of superior quality to ones already held and obtain a few not held, so that a complete set of all significant editions of *Ulysses* could be housed at UNC.

The current approach to collecting corresponds to the principles of this plan. The long history of rare book collecting, among private and academic collectors, has featured an emphasis on acquiring "high points" such as the rarest items available. Recently, many curators of special collections have led a movement foregrounding altogether different goals. Instead of collecting only rare first or other exotic editions, collectors

today tend to value a holistic approach which seeks to acquire a wide variety of items by and about a single author, with the intent of allowing researchers to gather in one place materials that allow for the examination of the entirety of a topic at once. The *Ulysses* collection at the Rare Book Collection at UNC Chapel Hill illustrates this approach, as not only first editions but later important printings and editions are available, as well as magazines in which the work appeared.

A final recommendation is suggested. The University of North Carolina's main circulating collection, in Davis Library, includes *The James Joyce Archive* (New York: Garland, 1978). This valuable reference work of 63 volumes offers researchers a facsimile of "Joyce's workshop," that is, "all extant and available notes, drafts, manuscripts, typescripts and proofs--of a major twentieth-century author" (from Volume 1, page xv). This item is rare, expensive, and, most significantly, out-of-print and difficult to come by. The author therefore recommends that it be transferred to the Rare Book Library, where it would be better preserved and available for use by researchers.

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**APPENDIX A: UNC HOLDINGS COMPARED TO OTHER LIBRARIES**

The table below lists the number of copies held for the first eleven printings of the first Shakespeare & Company edition of *Ulysses*. A dozen libraries were selected for comparison to the collection at UNC, and they were selected to represent repositories of varying size and resources, though each library holds some manuscript material pertaining to James Joyce studies. For example, Tulsa University is home to the Richard Ellman archive, which includes the papers and notes of Joyce's great biographer. The following schools are represented, with the abbreviations used in the tables given if not immediately clear:

1. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
2. The University of California at Berkeley (Berk)
3. Cornell University
4. Duke University
5. Emory University
6. Mary Washington University (MW)
7. Midwestern State University, Texas (Mid. St.)
8. New York Public Library (NYPL)
9. The State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY-Buff.)
10. The University of Texas
11. Tulsa University
12. The University of Virginia (UVA)
13. Yale University

	UNC	Berk.	Cornell	Duke	Emory	MW	Mid. St.	NYPL	SUNY Buff.	Texas	Tulsa	UVA	Yale
1922 S&C 1st ptg.	2	2	3	0	1	1	1	1	3	46	6	1	8
1922 Egoist 2nd ptg.	1	1	5	0	0	0	2	1	4	32	1	2	3
1923 Egoist 3rd ptg.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1924 S&C 4th ptg.	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	1	1	1
1924 S&C 5th ptg.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	8	0	2	1
1925 S&C 6th ptg.	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	4
1925 S&C 7th ptg.	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	5	0	0	0
1926 S&C 8th ptg.	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	2	6	2	1	2
1927 S&C 9th ptg.	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	1	2
1928 S&C 10th ptg.	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	1	1
1930 S&C 11th ptg.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	2	1

The following table compares the holdings of other significant editions of *Ulysses*.

	UNC	Berk.	Cornell	Duke	Emory	MW	Mid. St.	NYPL	SUNY -Buff.	Texas	Tulsa	UVA	Yale
1932 Odyssey Press	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	1	11	3	2	2
1933 Odyssey Press	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1
1934 Random House	1	3	4	1	0	0	0	3	1	8	3	1	1
1934 Modern Library	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	4	0	0
1935 Odyssey Press	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1935 Limited Editions Club	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	3	2	1	1
1936 The Bodley Head	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	0	1	0
1936 John Lane	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
1937 John Lane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1937 The Bodley Head (unlimited ed.)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	1	0	0
1939 Odyssey Press, 4th imp.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1940 Modern Library	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1942 Modern Library	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0
1984 Garland (Gabler)	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1

**APPENDIX B: LIST OF HOLDINGS OF EDITIONS OF  
SELECTED LIBRARIES**

***The Little Review* [1918-1920]**

- New York Public Library: 2 copies, additional copy each of vol. 4 no. (2 copies) and vol. 5 no. 9 (initialed and dated in ms by Lady Gregory)
- Texas: 1 copy (lacking vol. 4) and 1 additional copy each of vol. 10 and 22
- Tulsa: 1 copy (with some editorial marks in Harriet Shaw Weaver's hand), lacking May 19 issue
- Yale: 4 copies (1 from the Joyce collection)

**1922 Shakespeare and Company**

- Berkeley: 2 copies
- Cornell: 3 copies
- Emory: 1 copy
- Mary Washington: 1 copy
- Midwestern State: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 3 copies, 2 signed by Joyce (one inscribed to "Nora" and one to Sylvia Beach)
- Texas: 46 copies, 11 signed by Joyce
- Tulsa: 6 copies (2 signed by Joyce, one to Harriet Shaw Weaver and one to Aunt Josephine Jim)
- Virginia: 1 copy
- Yale: 8 copies (including Joyce's own signed copy, Joyce's signed presentation copy to John Rodker, one other signed copy, and Eugene O'Neill's autographed presentation copy to Carlotta O'Neill)

**1922 Egoist**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 5 copies
- Midwestern State: 2 copies
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 4 copies, 3 signed (one to Sylvia Beach, one to "Giorgio" and signed "Babbo")
- Texas: 32 copies, 6 signed
- Tulsa: 1 signed copy (to Harriet Weaver)
- Virginia: 2 copies
- Yale: 3 copies (1 signed presentation copy to Joyce's daughter Lucia)

**1922b Egoist** [actually 1923; "This edition is limited to 500 copies specially reprinted to replace those destroyed in transit to the U.S.A."]

- Yale: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy

**1924 Shakespeare and Company, 4<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 2 copies
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies, one inscribed to Sylvia Beach
- Texas: 8 (or maybe 9?) copies
- Tulsa: 1 copy
- Virginia: 1 copy
- Yale: 2 copies (one dated only 1924 with no printing information)

**1924 Shakespeare and Company, 5<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Mary Washington: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies, 1 inscribed to Sylvia Beach
- Texas: 8 copies
- Virginia: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1925 Shakespeare and Company, 6<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 1 copy
- Emory: 1 copy
- Midwestern State: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- Texas: 3 copies
- Yale: 4 copies

**1925 Shakespeare and Company, 7<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 1 copy
- Mary Washington: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Texas: 5 copies

***Two Worlds Monthly* [1926-1927]**

- Berkeley: vol. 1, no. 1
- Duke: vol 1., no. 3; vol. 2, no. 1
- Mary Washington: 1 copy (lacking vol. 3 no. 1), and additional copy of vol. 1 no. 1
- Texas: 1 complete copy (possibly 2?), 1 additional copy lacking vol. 2 no. 4 and vol. 3 nos. 1-4
- Yale: 1 copy (lacking vol. 3 no. 4), and additional copies of vol. 1-2

**1926 Shakespeare and Company, 8<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 3 copies
- Duke: 1 copy
- Emory: 1 copy
- Mary Washington: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Texas: 6 copies, 2 signed
- Tulsa: 2 copies
- Virginia: 1 copy (from the Library of Homer S. Cummings, U.S. Attorney General, 1933-1939)
- Yale: 2 copies

**1927 Shakespeare and Company, 9<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy (from the library at San Simeon of William Randolph Hearst)
- Cornell: 1 copy
- Duke: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 4 copies, all signed
- Virginia: 1 copy
- Yale: 2 copies

**1927 Shakespeare and Company fictitious imprint** [actually published 1929 by S. and M. Roth, New York, sometimes called 1<sup>st</sup> unauthorized American edition]

- Cornell: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Tulsa: 1 copy
- Texas: 6 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1928 Shakespeare and Company, 10<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Texas: 5 copies (1 signed, 1 from Evelyn Waugh's library)
- Virginia: 1 copy
- Yale: 1 copy

**1930 Shakespeare and Company, 11<sup>th</sup> printing**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 5 copies
- Virginia: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1932 Odyssey Press**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 1 copy
- Midwestern State: 2 copies
- Texas: 8 copies, including 1 special edition of 35 copies printed on hand-made paper and signed by the author for Stuart Gilbert
- Tulsa: 3 (?) copies, 1 inscribed to Harriet Weaver
- Virginia: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1932 Odyssey Press, thin paper edition**

- Cornell: 1 copy
- Texas : 3 copies, 1 signed
- Yale: 1 copy

**1933 Odyssey Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> impression**

- Cornell: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 1 copy, 1 additional vol. 2 only
- Tulsa: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1934 Random House**

- Berkeley: 3 copies total (2 are indicated as 3<sup>rd</sup> printing, 1 unclear)
- Cornell: 4 copies total (2 copies 1<sup>st</sup> printing, 1 copy 4<sup>th</sup> printing, 1 copy 5<sup>th</sup> printing)
- Duke: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 3 copies, including Vladimir Nabokov's annotated teaching copy
- SUNY Buffalo: Salesman's dummy copy with printing only on pp. 1-6
- Texas: 8 copies total (2 copies 1<sup>st</sup> printing, 2 copies 2<sup>nd</sup> printing, 1 copy 3<sup>rd</sup> printing, 1 copy 6<sup>th</sup> printing, 1 copy 7<sup>th</sup> printing, 1 copy 9<sup>th</sup> printing)
- Tulsa: 3 copies total (2 copies 1<sup>st</sup> printing, 1 signed to Harriet Weaver; 1 copy 2<sup>nd</sup> printing, signed)
- Virginia: 1 copy 2<sup>nd</sup> printing
- Yale: 1 copy

**1934 Modern Library**

- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 6 copies including signed presentation copy to Morris Ernst from Bennett Cerf

- Tulsa: 3 copies, one belonging to Mary Ellman. 1 additional copy, described “This edition does not include the statement regarding the page numbers for the original 1934 edition, nor the statement regarding International and Pan-American Copyright Convention as found in the 1961 issue published in black cloth.” (Binding style is that identified by George M. Andes in A Descriptive Bibliography of the Modern Library: 1917-1970, as that used between the years 1963-1967, however this title not included in the bibliography.)

#### **1935 Odyssey Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> impression**

- Emory: 1 copy
- Texas: 1 copy

#### **1935 Limited Editions Club**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Duke: 1 copy
- Mary Washington: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies, one inscribed to "Giorgio and Helen" and signed "Babbo"
- Texas: 3 copies
- Tulsa: 2 copies, 1 signed by Joyce
- Virginia: 1 copy
- Yale: 1 copy, signed by Joyce

#### **1936 The Bodley Head**

- Midwestern State: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Texas: 10 copies, 5 signed by Joyce
- Virginia: 1 copy

#### **1936 John Lane (London)**

- Cornell: 2 copies
- Tulsa: 2 copies
- Yale: 2 copies, 1 signed by Joyce

#### **1937 John Lane (London)**

- Yale: 1 copy

#### **1937 The Bodley Head Unlimited**

- Cornell: 1 copy
- Midwestern State: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 4 copies, including author's signed presentation copy to Morris Ernst
- Tulsa: 1 copy, signed

**1939 Odyssey Press, 4<sup>th</sup> impression**

- Texas: 1 copy
- Yale: 1 copy

**1940 Modern Library**

- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Yale: 1 copy

**1942 Modern Library**

- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 4 total copies (2 copies, 1 copy giant edition, 1 copy with different type [Described “Differs from other edition, same year, in the setting of the type”])

**1984 Garland**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Texas: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 copy

**1986 Random House**

- Berkeley: 1 copy
- Cornell: 2 copies
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy

*Foreign editions***M. Darantiere (Paris) 1921(?) [French]**

- Texas: 1 copy, bookplate of Maurice Darantiere

***Commerce* 1924, cahier 1 [French; fragments]**

- Cornell: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- Texas: 2 (?) copies

***La Voce* (Roma) 1926 [French; fragments]**

- Texas: 1 copy

**Librairie de l'Étoile (Paris) 1927 [French; fragments]**

- New York Public Library: 1 copy

**Privatdruck (Paris) 1927 [German]**

- Cornell: 1 copy

**Rhein-Verlag (Basel) 1927 [German]**

- Cornell: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 7 copies, 1 signed by Joyce to Sylvia Beach, 2 from library of Giorgio Joyce
- Texas: 6 copies
- Yale: 5 copies, 1 from Joyce's library

**NRF (Paris) 1928 [French; 3<sup>rd</sup> episode only]** (One of 12 offprints from *La Nouvelle revue française*, 15. année, no. 179 (août 1928))

- New York Public Library: 1 copy

**La maison des amis des livres (Paris) 1929 [French]**

- Emory: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy, inscribed to Giorgio
- Tulsa: 3 copies, 2 signed
- Virginia: 1 copy

**A. Monnier (Paris) 1929**

- Duke: 1 copy
- New York Public Library: 1 copy

**La maison des amis des livres, A. Monnier (Paris) 1929 [French]**

- New York Public Library: 1 copy

**A. Monnier (Paris) 1930 [French; nouvelle ed.]**

- Cornell: 4 copies

**La maison des amis des livres (Paris) 1930 [French]**

- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies

**Gallimard (Paris) 1930 [French; nouvelle ed.]**

- SUNY Buffalo: 1 copy
- Yale: 1 copy

**Rhein-Verlag (Zurich) 1930 [German]**

- Midwestern State: 1 copy
- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Texas: 3 copies, 1 from the library of James Joyce
- Yale: 2 copies

**Václav Petr (Praha) 1930 [Czech]**

- SUNY Buffalo: 2 copies
- Yale: 1 complete copy, 1 additional copy vol. 1

**Gallimard (Paris) 1942 [French; nouvelle ed.]**

- Yale: 1 copy

## APPENDIX C: A GUIDE TO PRICES

***Book Prices: Used and rare, 1999.*** edited by Edward N. Zempel and Linda A. Verkler, The Spoon River Press, Peoria, Ill.: 1999. pp. 406-407

### Book Values/Prices

1932 Hamburg Odyssey \$450/L274  
 1936 John Lane, one of 100 signed, calf vellum, gilt, fine in slipcase \$6,900/L4,207  
 1922 Egoist Press, London, one of 2000, a bit damaged \$575/L351  
 1922 Egoist Press, London, one of 2000, original blue wrappers, \$2,530/L1,543  
 1922 Shakespeare, one of 750 (of 1000), orig. blue wrappers, leather slipcase \$8050/L4909  
 1924 4<sup>th</sup> ptg., \$138/L84  
 1924 4<sup>th</sup> ptg., white wrappers, \$345/L210  
 1925 6<sup>th</sup> ptg., ½ leather, (fr cvr detached, rear cvr loose) \$65/L40  
 1925 6<sup>th</sup> ptg., Teg. Blue buckram (rebound preserving fr/rear panels of dj). Good sl soiled, cvr edges rubbed, spine faded, ends/cvrs sl bumped, leather spine label rubbed. \$205/L125  
 1925 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Blue buckram (rebound, cvrs spotted, spine faded to tan, orig blue paper wrappers bound in), leather spine label. \$350/L213  
 1930 11<sup>th</sup> ptg., VG (fep torn, sl dusty, 1<sup>st</sup>/last few II creased; tape mks inside cvrs, cvrs chipped, sl torn, creased, spine foot scuffed). \$246/L150.  
 1934 Random House, 1934 \$287/L175  
 1935 LEC, one of 1500 numbered , signed by Henri Matisse, fine. \$2,300/L1402  
 1935 LEC, one of 1500 numbered, signed by Matisse, VG, \$2588/L1,578  
 1935 LEC, one of 1500 numbered, signed by Matisse, \$3680/L2444  
 1935 LEC, \$4000/L2439  
 1936 Bodley Head, \$1107/L675

**American Book Prices Current 2003**, Volume 109, The Auction Season September 2002-August 2003. Bancroft-Parkman, Washington, CT. Katherine Kyes Leab, et. al., eds.

### **p.574.**

1922 1<sup>st</sup> ed. unnumbered and unsigned, Rechler copy. \$410,000  
 1922 one of 100 signed, orig. wrappers bound in, L55,000  
 1922 one of 150 on verge d'Arches paper, orig. wraps, L34,000  
 1922 one of 750 on handmade paper, \$5000  
 1922 2<sup>nd</sup>, Egoist press, \$700  
 1924 4<sup>th</sup> ptg., L155  
 1927 9<sup>th</sup> ptg., \$80 (“hinges reinforced, edges scuffed”)  
 1927 9<sup>th</sup> ptg., \$200 (“orig wraps, spine worn, front joint and flap starting”)  
 1929 1<sup>st</sup> ed. in French, Paris, one of 875, orig wraps, spine ends chipped, spine loose. \$110

1934 Random House, first American ed., \$1,300, “in dj with chip to lower edge of front panel, with tape-repair on verso)

1936 1<sup>st</sup> ptg. in England. one of 100 on mould-made paper, specially bound and signed. Orig vellum gilt; foxing to fore-edge and endpapers, minor soiling, L11,000

**Bookman’s Price Index: A Guide to the Values of Rare and Other Out of Print Books** Vol. 77, Anne F. McGrath, editor, Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2004  
p.528

1922 S&C 1<sup>st</sup> ed., #482 of 750 numbered copies, bound in half brown morocc with matching corners, spine lettered in gilt with matching half morocco slipcase, very nice, alf title and titlepages are in expert facsimile, there is also a facsimile corner repair to one page, near fine despite defects, in handsome slipcase. \$6000

1922 Egoist, first English edition, published in France. #920 of 2000, original blue paper wrappers sympathetically rebacked in blue paper, uncut, partially unopened, 8 pages of errata laid in loosely, near fine, attractive copy. \$3500

1926 8<sup>th</sup> ptg., rebound without original wrappers in full grey morocco with gilt lettering on spine, very good. \$750.

1935 LEC signed by Matisse, #773 of 1500, original cloth decorated gilt, fresh, bright and very fine in original glassine dust jacket (chipped but intact) and publisher’s cardboard slipcase (near fine with almost no wear), superb copy. Chapel Hill Rare Books, \$7500.