26 *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 23 June 1904.
27 The 'greening' of Irish advertising was apparent in the very brand nomenclature of Irish goods and manufacturers. These of hundreds: Bates's Irish Exhibition Razors, the Irish Colour Printers, Dickson's Pedigree Irish Seeds, the Irish Embrocation, the Irish Farm Produce Co., the Irish Feather Bed Co., Elliott's Irish Poplin Neckties, Mackey's Irish Grown Flowering Bulbs, McDowell's Lucky Irish Wedding Rings, M'Fall's Celebrated Irish Harps, the Irish National Cigarettes, Samuels's Irish Bog Oak Ornaments, and D. Towell, the Great Irish Tailor of Great Irish Tailoring. Such copy appeals to the national imagination by drawing on the powerful connotations of the words 'Irish' and 'Ireland', an exemplary kind of place in both nationalist rhetoric and advertising copy, and one to which people could feel a sense of great rootedness and attachment.
28 *Leader*, 5 December 1903.
29 *Ibid.*
30 See the *Leader*, 3 October 1903.
31 Osteen, *The Economy of Ulysses*, 154.
32 Nolan, 'Modernism and the Irish Revival', 166.
33 *Ibid.*, 165.
34 *Ibid.*, 164.
35 Rabaté, 'Modernism and "the Plain Reader's Rights"', 32.

CHAPTER 7

'To Arrest Involuntary Attention': Advertising and Street-selling in Ulysses

Matthew Hayward

In the 'Lestrygonians' episode of *Ulysses*, we are given a detailed account of Bloom's reflections as he stands 'before the window of Yeates and Son, pricing the fieldglasses' (*U* 8.551–2). An image of the shop on 'Nassau street corner' that has survived from around the turn of the century makes Joyce's recollection of Yeates and Son, and the extended notice of it that he gives to Bloom, quite understandable.[1] The large windows are stocked with goods and lined with posters to advertise them. The shop's sign, on adjacent sides of the corner, displays the name in large letters against a black background. And fixed above the door, on the corner of Grafton Street, is a huge model pair of glasses, apparently some ten to fifteen feet across.

The photograph of Yeates and Son gives a particularly vivid example of the modern visuality of shops and advertisements in early-twentieth-century Dublin, and the narrative of *Ulysses* is full of minor scenes depicting the arrest of Bloom's attention by such visually prominent advertisements, shops, and hoardings. (On the visuality of advertising, see also John Strachan's essay in this volume.) Returning home from Dlugacz the butcher's in 'Calypso', Bloom notes the advertisements for letting agents in the window of a vacant house: 'Towers, Battersby, North, MacArthur: parlour windows plastered with bills' (*U* 4.236–7). Re-emerging in 'Lotus Eaters', he is stopped again: 'In Westland row he halted before the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company and read the legends of leadpapered packets: choice blend, finest quality, family tea ... choice blend, made of the finest Ceylon brands' (*U* 5.17–19, 28–9). As he reaches the corner of Great Brunswick Street, he pauses once again: 'Mr. Bloom stood at the corner, his eyes wandering over the multicoloured hoardings. Cantrell and Cochrane's Ginger Ale (Aromatic). Clery's Summer Sale ... *Leah* tonight. Mrs. Bandmann Palmer' (*U* 5.192–5). Passing Trinity College, he is engaged by a poster for the college races: 'College sports today I see. He eyed the horseshoe poster over the gate of college park: cyclist doubled up like a

cod in a pot' (*U* 5.550–2). And again in the coach to Glasnevin cemetery: 'Hoardings: Eugene Stratton, Mrs. Bandmann Palmer ... Wet bright bills for next week' (*U* 6.184–7). Established from the start, the lure of visual advertising is sustained throughout the novel and into 'Ithaca', where Bloom fantasises about an irresistibly attractive 'sole unique advertisement to cause passers to stop in wonder, a poster novelty ... reduced to its simplest and most efficient terms not exceeding the span of casual vision and congruous with the velocity of modern life' (*U* 17.1770–3).

The details of Bloom's perception are carefully depicted in these earlier passages, from the material appearance of the advertisements or products he sees ('leadpapered packets', 'multicoloured hoardings', 'horseshoe poster', 'bright bills'), to their exact wording ('choice blend, finest quality, family tea', '(Aromatic)'), and even the process of apperception ('his eyes wandering', 'he eyed'). If Bloom does not quite 'stop in wonder', he at least pauses at the 'poster novelty', affording the 'span' of his 'casual vision'. In part, no doubt, this attention to detail can be explained as Joyce's characterisation of his protagonist: Bloom has a special interest in advertisements and commodities, since they constitute his livelihood. Yet Joyce describes even the least interested characters being halted in a similar fashion, particularly in the vignettes of 'Wandering Rocks'. There is Miss Dunne: 'she stared at the large poster of Marie Kendall, charming soubrette ... Mustard hair and dauby cheeks. She's not nicelooking, is she?' (*U* 10.380–2). There is Cashel Boyle O'Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell: 'At the corner of Wilde's house he halted, frowned at Elijah's name announced on the Metropolitan Hall' (*U* 10.1109–10). And there is Master Dignam:

> After Wicklow lane the window of Madame Doyle, courtdress milliner, stopped him. He stood looking in at the two puckers stripped to their pelts and putting up their props ... Myler Keogh, Dublin's pet lamb, will meet sergeantmajor Bennett, the Portobello bruiser, for a purse of fifty sovereigns ... Two bar entrance, soldiers half price. (*U* 10.1130–7)

This last example is perhaps the most telling. The window display is the subject of the first sentence, Master Dignam the object: 'the window ... stopped him'. Even Stephen Dedalus, who might seem the least consumerly of Joyce's characters, is depicted in a similar fashion, figured as object by the active image displayed to attract custom: 'In Clohissey's window a faded 1860 print of Heenan boxing Sayers held his eye' (*U* 10.831–2). These images and advertisements all seem to fulfil Bloom's advertising maxim: they 'arrest involuntary attention' (*U* 17.583–4).

Dublin's Consumer Culture in 1904

The portrayed efficacy of these images and advertisements contributes to the impression that Dublin in 1904 was already a developed consumer society, its inhabitants already figured – or 'interpellated', to coin the Althusserian term that has been adapted to describe the ideological effect of advertising upon the individual – as consuming subjects.[2] An unquestioning acceptance of Joyce's historical fidelity in this respect should be carefully avoided; as Patrick J. Ledden has pointed out, critics have not been sufficiently vigilant in their extrapolation of historical claims from Joyce's representation of Irish consumerism in *Ulysses*.[3] A more carefully historicised approach shows, for example, that Joyce's depiction of advertising reflects the author's experience of later developments within the practice, which were at best only implicit in 1904.[4] Nevertheless, in terms of the strictly material characteristics of a recognisably modern consumer culture, *Ulysses* provides a plausibly accurate picture of Edwardian Dublin. Most obviously, there is the abundance of finished commodities within the novel. In the second half of the nineteenth century, food and clothing – items that would traditionally have been made locally – were increasingly produced in factories, and 'the artisan-traders and meal-mongers of pre-Famine Ireland', as Cormac Ó Gráda puts it, 'gave way before a flood of factory-produced clothes, shoes, and bread'.[5] The Dubliners of *Ulysses* are shown to be well accustomed to such pre-packaged and factory-produced food, from the Irish Jacob's biscuits (*U* 12.495) to the British 'Epps's massproduct, the creature cocoa' (*U* 17.369–70). (Helen O'Connell's essay in this book has more to say on the significance of food consumption and production.) These foodstuffs were branded and distinctively packaged – marked characteristics of commodities in a consumer culture – a fact that Joyce registers in Bloom's acquiescence to 'the directions for use printed on the label' of Epps's cocoa (*U* 17.356–7) and exploits in his comic description of the Jacob's tin in terms more usually reserved for non-commercial, artisanal productions: 'tastefully executed in the style of ancient Celtic ornament, a work which reflects every credit on the makers, Messrs Jacob *agus* Jacob' (*U* 12.1823–5). The shift from bespoke or tailored clothing to mass-made items is not so apparent in *Ulysses*, but the growing appeal of the mass-produced clothing can be seen in the advertisement approved by Bloom for '*Kino's 11/- Trousers*' (*U* 8.90–2) – eleven shillings being exactly the price charged by 'George Mesias, merchant tailor and outfitter' (*U* 17.2171) for the mere 'alteration' of a pair of trousers (*U* 15.1911).

For these many commodities to be readily available to consumers, there must be shops. The number of innkeepers, publicans, grocers, shopkeepers and dealers rose sharply in Ireland between 1871 and 1911, particularly in the urban centres, and *Ulysses* does not even approach an exhaustive representation: *Thom's Dublin Directory* for 1904 lists close to five hundred retailers under the category of 'grocers' alone.[6] Nevertheless, *Ulysses* goes some way to conveying the profusion of retail outlets operating in Dublin in 1904, from the small suburban shops of Upper Dorset Street that Bloom passes at the start of his day, to 'Grafton street gay with housed awnings', where 'the windows of Brown Thomas, silk mercers' display their 'cascades of ribbons. Flimsy China silks' (*U* 8.620–1). But it was the emergence of the department store that really signalled the centrality of consumption to modern life, and these too are prominent enough within Joyce's narrative. The department store that became Clery's, where Gerty MacDowell consummated her afternoon shopping trip (*U* 13.158–9), opened in its central Sackville Street location (now O'Connell Street) in 1853 as the Palace Drapery Mart. This store, or 'monster mart', as it was described in the press, was a conspicuous spectacle even before it opened.[7] The builders were bound by contract to complete the new construction before the closing of the International Industrial Exhibition in Dublin at the end of October 1853, which they achieved only by employing twenty-four-hour -a-day relays of labour; on 23 March of that year they were compelled to commence 'the night work', for which 'six immense jets of gas blazed brilliantly over the works, illumining the street to great distance'.[8] In fact, this was only the most spectacular of the many monster marts that had flourished in Dublin for some years. Julius Rodenberg's 1861 account of his 'Pilgrimage through Ireland' suggests that Dublin's department stores were as well developed as any in Britain: 'the monster shops, occupying half a street, ... in their internal arrangements have no parallel even in London'.[9] Even at this stage, according to Rodenberg, there were 'some six of these monster shops in Dublin', and by 1904, the department stores were firmly established as the centres of consumption in Dublin, as reflected in their dominance of the advertising pages of the local newspapers: on 16 June 1904, for instance, across all of the major titles, the only advertisements to break into multiple columns – at considerable cost to the advertisers – were for department stores.[10]

The other key material necessity for a consumer culture is a developed system of transport, both for the rapid distribution of goods and for the easy conveyance of consumers from their homes to the shops. As with the department stores, Dublin was advanced in its transport system,

particularly the rail and tram networks: the massive increase in railway freight revenue reflects the quick exploitation of this resource by English and Irish merchants; the Dublin tram system at the end of the nineteenth century was one of the most progressive in the world.[11] The opening lines of 'Aeolus' give a sense of the extent to which the trams connected suburban consumers to 'THE HEART OF THE HIBERNIAN METROPOLIS' (*U* 7.1–2): 'Before Nelson's pillar trams slowed, shunted, changed trolley, started for Blackrock, Kingstown and Dalkey, Clonskea, Rathgar and Terenure, Palmerston Park and upper Rathmines, Sandymount Green, Rathmines, Ringsend and Sandymount Tower, Harold's Cross' (*U* 7.3–6). Indeed, the trams and trains further promoted consumption as prominent media for advertisements. Dublin's advertising industry had gathered steam in the nineteenth century with local agencies' heavy involvement in railway advertising, and the trams were covered in advertisements for both foreign and domestic goods, as the Yeates and Son photograph incidentally shows.[12] Even the tickets were utilised, with Prescott's dyeworks – for which Bloom is engaged as advertisement canvasser in *Ulysses* (*U* 8.1059) – monopolising the backs of the tickets for their advertisements.[13]

Ulysses, then, documents the basic infrastructure – mass-made goods, shops, and transport – necessary for Dublin's consumer culture to flourish. The prominence of its more spectacular elements has allowed critics to assume an essential equivalence between the consumer culture of 1904 Dublin and the consumer cultures within which they themselves write. Garry Leonard, who has written the only full-length study of consumerism in Joyce's work, often applies the late-twentieth-century theories of Jean Baudrillard and others to Joyce's representation, with the fundamental contention that 'Joyce underwrote the experience of modernity in the twentieth century'.[14] However, it should be remembered that this modernity would have been constituted and experienced very differently in 1904 Ireland than 1960s France or late 1990s America. It would be too much to say that the theories of consumerism applied by Leonard are irrelevant to Joyce's work. The consumer cultures articulated by Joyce and Baudrillard, respectively, undoubtedly share similarities and continuities, and they may be plotted as points within a historical arc that extends from as far back as the seventeenth century through to our present.[15] But there are also disparities, and the application of such late theories does not necessarily facilitate an appreciation of the specificity of the cultural moment that Joyce represents.

With prominent advertising standing as one of the continuities between the consumer culture of *Ulysses* and the cultures upon which later social

theories have been based, this essay focuses upon one of the disparities. For alongside the advertisements and commodity displays that fill his novel, Joyce includes representatives of an older, more traditional mode of retail: street-selling. If Joyce's Dublin can be articulated as a consumerist society, the isolated cries of the street-sellers remind the reader that – in contrast to the consumer cultures that many of us experience today – there remain vestiges of an older mode of commerce and social intercourse. To illustrate the point, this essay turns first to the classic account of Victorian street-selling, Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. I follow Thomas Richards in recognising Mayhew's important comparison between the methods of the street-sellers and the new print advertisers and emphasise Mayhew's distinction between the sales pitches of the two – the aural appeal of the street-seller and the ocular appeal of the advertiser. As will be seen, there is some consistency between the representations of Mayhew and Joyce, for in *Ulysses* too the aurality of the street-sellers is carefully contrasted against the visuality of the print advertisements. Yet where Mayhew had described the street-sellers struggling to maintain a living, Joyce represents them as all but outmoded. While Joyce's characters are shown to respond attentively to the visual displays of advertisements and commodities, they barely register the cries of the street-sellers that Joyce includes within his novel. Ultimately, I argue, Joyce uses this shift of attention to depict Dublin as a consumer society in transition, with the technologies and techniques of consumerism as we understand it ultimately displacing the older methods of retail and publicity. Joyce's innovation is to depict this displacement through the sensory registers of his characters, thus affording a subtly impressionistic representation of the contemporary experience of this major socio-economic shift.

Street-selling and Advertising

In his series of articles "London Labour and the London Poor," serialised in the 1840s and collected in 1851, Mayhew describes a city teeming with street-sellers who struggle to earn enough in a day to be able to work the next. This is a class which, already functioning at the bottom of the economic scale, is shown again and again to be in terminal decline:

> Allowing for cessations in the street trade, ... and taking the more prosperous costers with the less successful, ... perhaps 10*s*. a week may be a fair average of the earnings of the entire body the year through. These earnings, I am assured, were five years ago at least 25 per cent higher; some said they made half as much again.[16]

In hindsight, we might recognise this decline as an effect of the movement into post-industrial consumerism; as Hamish W. Fraser has argued, 'the displacement of hawkers, fairs and street markets by the fixed shop' was central to the so-called retail revolution.[17] The street-sellers were at times directly displaced by the shopkeepers, as Mayhew reports:

> Within these three months, or little more, there have been many removals of the costermongers from their customary standings in the streets. This ... is never done, unless the shopkeepers represent to the police that the costermongers are an injury and a nuisance to them in the prosecution of their respective trades.[18]

Their more systematic displacement, however, accompanied the great changes that were under way in the production, distribution, promotion, and consumption of commodities. As food products, clothing, and other low-cost items – the traditional stock of the street-sellers – were increasingly mass-produced, and as shopkeepers began to diversify and include such items among their wares, the street-sellers' trade was fatally curtailed. More significantly still, encouragement of demand was becoming a crucial imperative in the sale of commodities, and this encouragement was directed through a massive increase in the visibility of consumer goods. Although the active manipulation of consumer desire, through market research and deliberately affective advertisement techniques, would not become organised aspects of the advertising industry until after the turn of the century, finished commodities were already being given immeasurable new prominence, both through their regimented display in department stores and shop windows, as with Yeates and Son in Dublin, and through the exponential growth of print and display advertising.[19]

The street-sellers were in no position to compete with such spectacular visibility. Although Mayhew makes few overarching claims for the broader socio-economic change of which the decline of street-selling was a part, he gives the clear sense that the costermongers are losing their trade to the new forms of visually oriented retail. Richards claims that the street-sellers belonged 'not to the sights but to the sounds of London',[20] and Mayhew indeed places great emphasis upon the vocal publicity methods of the street traders:

> The costers mostly go out with a boy to cry their goods for them. If they have two or three hallooing together, it makes more noise than one, and the boys can shout better and louder than the men. The more noise they can make in a place the better they find their trade.[21]

As Richards also points out, Mayhew draws a direct comparison between the street-sellers and the shopkeepers, who were beginning to recognise the

efficacy of advertising, and this comparison is explicitly based upon the sense to which each appealed: 'The street-seller cries his goods aloud at the head of his barrow; the enterprising tradesman distributes bills at the door of his shop. The one appeals to the ear, the other to the eye'.[22]

Richards finds there to be more contiguity than divergence in the two practices at this time: 'Most mid-Victorian advertising was not a replacement but an extension of traditional streetselling, for it took place on the streets and depended on human intermediaries to spread the word'.[23] In his account, it is the stubborn presence of a human agent that prevents the commodity from being abstracted to a degree necessary for it to fulfil its spectacular function within a visually oriented consumer culture. It is true that some support for this claim may be found within *Ulysses*. The advertisements within the novel that visibly depend upon human agency are just those that are shown to be unsuccessful, from Hely's, whose advertisement literally hinges upon the persons of the sandwichmen and 'doesn't bring in any business either' (*U* 8.130–31), to Alexander J. Dowie's throwaway, which is promptly thrown away (*U* 8.57). Yet if Richards is correct to recognise some continuity between street-selling and early advertising, Mayhew's important distinction between the aural appeals of the street-sellers and the increasingly ocular appeals of the shopkeepers should not be downplayed. In the very passage from which Richards quotes, Mayhew himself hints at the radically new direction taken by printed advertising, troubling Richards's point about its dependency upon 'human intermediaries': 'The cutting costermonger has a drum and two boys to excite attention to his stock; the spirited shopkeeper has a column of advertisements in the morning newspapers'.[24]

The real distinction made by Mayhew, then, is between the senses to which the sales appeal is made. The street-seller seeks aural attention, the advertiser visual. Mayhew closes his comparison with the assertion that 'they are but different means of attaining the same end',[25] but the very difference of these means should be recognised as a crucial shift in the development of a consumer culture based upon the primacy of spectacle and display, and upon visually appealing advertising as an affective medium. It is well accepted that Joyce pays great attention to this visual aspect of the new stage of consumerism within *Ulysses*; Bloom's ideal advertisements in 'Ithaca', quoted previously, are emphatically visual, consisting of 'symbols' of 'maximum visibility' and 'legibility', and 'not exceeding the span of casual vision'. As amateurish as it may at times seem, advertising in *Ulysses* stands as an explicit marker of 'modern life'. The body of criticism that has isolated and elucidated this aspect of Joyce's project has established *Ulysses*

as the herald of modernity and even postmodernity.[26] What has not been adequately recognised is that Joyce contrasts the ascendant consumerist mode against an older order, ramshackle and disorganised, in which street-sellers – incapable of any large-scale visual appeal – are consistently overlooked, if occasionally overheard.

Dublin Labour and the Dublin Poor: Street-sellers in *Ulysses*

The street-sellers of *Ulysses* have received little critical attention, which is surprising given the ongoing disagreement over Joyce's representation of Dublin's poor. The industrial working class are, as Marxist critics have long noted, more or less absent from Joyce's representation. One of the reasons that Ireland suffered such poverty in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries is that, with the exception of Ulster, it lacked the industrial foundation enjoyed by other major British cities, suggesting that Joyce is not entirely to blame if his pages do not brim with an industrial workforce. Still, the old Marxist complaint, that *Ulysses* contains 'no industrial workers, no sign of productive activity, and generally no concern with … the relations of production', is not without justification.[27] The Dublin 'men of the lower class', whose 'flat accents', 'interest in sport', and 'brutal and low' minds were to 'threaten' Stanislaus Joyce on 2 October 1904, are, it is true, generally not to be found within his brother's novel.[28] Wyndham Lewis's pronouncement that Joyce's world 'is the small middle-class one' is not inaccurate, notwithstanding its whiff of English class snobbery: the characters in *Ulysses* endowed with interior monologue – that mimetic indication of subjectivity – are all, with the exception of the Very Reverend John Conmee S.J., of the lower-middle class.[29] Characters above and below this class level are described from the outside. Above are William Humble, earl of Dudley, and Lady Dudley, and, closer, John Howard Parnell and George Russell. Below are the 'drowning' Dedalus children (*U* 10.875), the 'wandering crone' who delivers the milk in 'Telemachus' (*U* 1.404), and, at the very bottom, the abject poor.

Yet if Andrew Gibson is accurate in his recognition that '*Ulysses* shows little overt awareness of Dublin's urban poor',[30] his comment should be distinguished from M. Keith Booker's similar-sounding claim that the 'urban poor' are 'essentially absent from Joyce's work'.[31] For the narrative at least shows some covert awareness – and this is an important qualification. As Cheryl Herr has argued, some of the 'absences' in Joyce's texts 'are misnamed so', with 'things like poverty being nonexistent in Joyce's texts only if we choose to regard certain silences as actual omissions'.[32]

Street-sellers and beggars are the indicators of poverty in any city, and this is no less the case in Joyce's Dublin. In *Ulysses*, however, they are hard to discern, because they are seen from the bourgeois perspective of the characters whose perceptions Joyce tracks. They are unnamed, undifferentiated – in fact, like Stephen's God, rarely more than a 'shout in the street' (*U* 2.386). And in the case of the street-sellers, it is a shout that has rarely been acknowledged.

The action that opens 'Lestrygonians', Bloom walking past a sweetshop on O'Connell Street, is announced by his reading of the shop's advertisements: 'Pineapple rock, lemon platt, butter scotch... Lozenge and comfit manufacturer to His Majesty the King' (*U* 8.1–4). As he continues over O'Connell Bridge, the narrative is interrupted by a cry: 'Two apples a penny! Two for a penny!' (*U* 8.69). This is a disembodied voice, and if the lack of an evident speaker were merely supposed to depict mimetically a voice that has surprised the protagonist, the description that we expect to follow as his eyes catch up with his ears does not come. Only indirectly do we glean even the speaker's gender: 'His gaze passed over the glazed apples serried on her stand' (*U* 8.70). The details that we would conventionally follow in the bourgeois realist novel – the dress and appearance of the person behind the stand, 'her' expression, all of the coded information that we use as readers, almost automatically, to locate a character within a social grid – are suppressed. Bloom's sensitivity to the distressed state of others has been emphasised just a few lines earlier – 'that poor child's dress is in flitters' (*U* 8.41) – and he even hesitates in compunction for the sea-gulls that fly around him: 'Wait. Those poor birds' (*U* 8.73). Yet it is only when he stops to feed the birds that the street-seller's voice is given a body: 'He halted again and bought from the old applewoman two Banbury cakes for a penny' (*U* 8.74–5).

We are given far more information about the items on the applewoman's stand than about the applewoman herself – 'glazed apples ... Australians they must be this time of year' (*U* 8.70–1) – and it is tempting to invoke Marx's account of commodity fetishism, in which the human relations upon which commodity exchange depend are elided, allowing commodities to appear independent of human agency. It is certainly the case that the human being defined by the objects of her trade (*apple*woman) is occluded behind the exchange. Even when the narrative seems to give her a direct part in the action – 'He halted again and bought from the old applewoman two Banbury cakes for a penny' (*U* 8.74–5) – we are in fact only given a repetition of the woman's speech, the one salient feature that the reader has been allowed. And this speech consists of nothing more than the terms

of an economic exchange: 'two for a penny'. Elsewhere, the voice of the street-seller is never embodied at all, interrupting the dialogue for one line only: 'Eight plums a penny! Eight for a penny' (*U* 6.294). Whereas visual advertisements for all kinds of things are perceived, registered and recalled by Bloom – some of which are of personal interest, but many not in the least – we do not see the street-sellers at all, unless Bloom is interested in what they are hawking. In this respect, Joyce's presentation is identical to the reconstruction that Richards bases upon Mayhew's account: 'unless you were interested in buying what they were selling, you might never see them at all'.[33]

In the 'Hades' episode, there are three similar intrusions of street-sellers upon Bloom's narrative: the 'old man' selling bootlaces (*U* 6.229), the phantasmagoric plum-seller that we hear but do not see (*U* 6.294), and the hawker with 'his barrow of cakes and fruit' (*U* 6.500). Of these, only the first is given a kinetic action to accompany his voice: 'Oot: a dullgarbed old man from the curbstone tendered his wares, his mouth opening: oot' (*U* 6.229–30). The dehumanising grunt, 'oot', is filled out only when its utterer is granted his pennyworth of speech: "Four b*oot*laces for a penny" (*U* 6.231; emphasis added). Once again, the speech is purely economic, and if the 'dullgarbed old man', with his compound adjective, is given an excess of description compared to his fellow street-sellers, it is only because he is a special case: Bloom knows the man, both his former profession (a solicitor now 'struck off the rolls') and his former address (*U* 6.232–4).[34] Street-sellers in *Ulysses* are heard rather than seen. If they are granted any visual description, it is only in proportion to the perceiver's interest in what they are selling.

The connection between street-selling and advertising may have been suggested to Joyce by Howard Bridgewater's *Advertising, Or the Art of Making Known*, a book he annotated in his so-called Notes on Business and Commerce, which he drew upon in writing *Ulysses*.[35] Bridgewater illustrates the importance of the imagination in advertising by recounting a story of two bootblacks, or 'shoeblacks', as they are called in 'Aeolus' (*U* 7.15), vocally competing for trade. Bridgewater proceeds with the comment that 'we can hardly go lower in the business scale', and Joyce took note of the explicit comparison with advertising.[36] Within *Ulysses*, in any case, the connection is emphasised by the sequence of the narrative. The cry of the old applewoman intrudes after Bloom's reading of the Graham Lemon advertisement of royal patronage, and his receipt of the 'Blood of the Lamb' throwaway (*U* 8.9). Likewise, the three street-sellers in 'Hades' are preceded in each case by Bloom's perception of printed advertisements.

The cries of the dullgarbed old man and the disembodied plum-seller appear after his passing and apprehension of the 'wet bright bills for next week' (*U* 6.187), and the voice of the cake and fruit hawker enters the narrative directly after Bloom's reading of the advertisement for the gravestone cutter: 'In white silence: appealing. The best obtainable. Thos. H. Dennany, monumental builder and sculptor' (*U* 6.461–2). Indeed, the description of the Dennany advertisement explicitly emphasises the visual ('white') over the aural ('silence'), and 'appealing' functions as both a verb and an adjective: the display not only is attractive; it actively appeals to the visual sense. What enables Joyce to make such a strong distinction between the aural and the visual sales appeal, here as elsewhere, is his centring of the narrative upon the perceptions of his protagonist. The apprehension that follows sensory perception is sharply distinguished according to the sense that has perceived, and as the street-sellers are barely perceived, so their cries are not retained. As the visual advertisements are strongly perceived, so their claims and commodities return to the thoughts of Joyce's characters again and again, and so the internal monologues of Bloom ring with advertising slogans throughout the novel.

The street-sellers in *Ulysses* are hard to discern because their sales method is outmoded by the ascendant visual advertising culture, and because they are in decline. 'By the end of the nineteenth century', Fraser claims, 'the number of itinerant hawkers had been greatly reduced everywhere. Only in the very poorest areas were hawkers of meat and stale bread to be found'.[37] When Thackeray visited Limerick in the early 1840s, he was struck by the great number of apple-women: 'legions of ladies were employed through the town upon that traffic; there were really thousands of them, clustering upon the bridges, squatting down in doorways and vacant sheds for temporary markets, marching and crying their sour goods in all the crowded lanes of the city.'[38] It is true that Thackeray's account is based on a poorer part of Ireland, and during the decade of the Famine at that; the number of people forced to cry 'sour goods' in order to survive is therefore likely to have been particularly high. Nevertheless, in the Dublin of *Ulysses*, these 'legions' are reduced to a handful of solitary street-sellers – although, as we have seen, they are hardly more carefully differentiated.

In the twentieth century, consumerism was characterised by what Richards describes as the 'spectacularization of the commodity'.[39] Richards's terminology is adapted from Guy Debord, who defines 'spectacle' as the 'stage at which the commodity has succeeded in totally colonizing social life'; in this stage, Debord suggests, 'commodification is not only visible, we no longer see anything else'.[40] He develops this argument in his *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, arguing that although the social conditions he describes are in fact relatively recent, the contingency of this stage has been obfuscated, and the spectacle of consumerism has come to seem all that there has ever been: 'the spectacle's domination has succeeded in raising a whole generation molded to its laws'.[41] With Debord's comment in mind, it seems clear that we should be especially cautious not to assume an essential or homogeneous continuity between the consumer culture of *Ulysses* and the later consumer cultures within which we now read the novel. Joyce was no doubt proleptic in his depiction of the 'possibilities hitherto unexploited' of advertisements to configure social reality around images of commodities (*U* 17.580–1). Yet if he had an eye to the future, Joyce also had an ear to the past, including within his representation the dying cries of the street-sellers. In registering through the perceptions of his characters the persuasive efficacy of a new spectacular consumerism, and the redundancy of the methods of the earlier nineteenth century, Joyce presents Dublin as a consumer culture in transition. In this respect, *Ulysses* registers not only the 'velocity of modern life' (*U* 17.1773), but also its contingency.

NOTES

1 The image is held in the National Photographic Archive of the National Library of Ireland; it is reprinted in Pierce, *James Joyce's Ireland*, 52.
2 Leonard, 'Joyce and Advertising', 574.
3 Ledden, letter, 613.
4 See Hayward, 'The Bloom of Advertising'.
5 Ó Gráda, *Ireland*, 266.
6 *Ibid.*, 266.
7 *Freeman's Journal*, 28 September 1853, 3. One of the partners of this store, Peter Paul McSwiney, was a distant relative of the Joyces – 'my cousin', Simon Dedalus calls him in 'Hades' (6.71). The store became Clery and Co. in 1883 and remains trading as Clery's in that location today. See Costello and Farmar, *The Very Heart of the City*, 14–15.
8 *Freeman's Journal*, 24 March 1853, 3. The close connection with the trade exhibition is typical of the development of the nineteenth-century department store; a similar relationship has been traced in London and in Paris. See Crossick and Jaumain, 'The World of the Department Store', 28–9, and Lancaster, *The Department Store*, 16–18.
9 Rodenberg, *The Island of the Saints*, 26–7.
10 *Ibid.*, 27. The Henry Street Warehouse Co. and Kellet's in *Freeman's Journal*, 16 June 1904, 2; Todd Burns & Co. and Clery's in *Daily Express*, 16 June 1904, 2.
11 Ó Gráda, *Ireland*, 266; Johnston, 'The Dublin Trams', 101–2, 112; Murphy, 'Dublin Trams', 7.

12 Oram, *The Advertising Book*, 12–13, 463.
13 Johnston, 'The Dublin Trams', 101.
14 Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture*, 34. For an example of the free conceptual range of Leonard's approach, see 172–3, where he slides easily from an analysis of Molly's use of cosmetics, to a discussion of 'lifestyle' in a recent issue of the *Sunday New York Times*, to the commodified sentiments of Hallmark cards, to 'Lacan's Idea of the Real', to Baudrillard's concept of the delimitation of 'needs ... in relation to finite objects', and back to Molly and greeting cards.
15 For accounts of the early stages of consumerism in Europe and in Ireland, see Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, and Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*.
16 Mayhew, "London Labour and the London Poor," Vol. I, 55.
17 Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 94.
18 Mayhew, "London Labour and the London Poor," Vol. I, 59.
19 Richard W. Pollay has said with justification that 'virtually all of the literature available on the history of advertising is either anecdotal, evangelical, trivial or rhetorical' (Pollay, *Information Sources in Advertising History*, 10). For a rounded general account, which synthesises the claims of a number of advertising historians, see Leiss, Kline, and Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising*. On the history of specifically Irish advertising, see Oram, *The Advertising Book*, and Strachan and Nally, *Advertising, Literature and Print Culture*.
20 Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 45.
21 Mayhew, "London Labour and the London Poor," Vol. I, 53.
22 Mayhew, "London Labour and the London Poor," Vol. I, 9; cited in Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 45.
23 Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 45.
24 Mayhew, "London Labour and the London Poor," Vol. I, 9.
25 *Ibid.*, 9.
26 This direct equation of advertising, *Ulysses* and 'modernity' was proposed most forcefully by Wicke, *Advertising Fictions*, but it is concisely summarised by her in a separate essay: 'Advertising ... provides a symbology for the modern condition, a skeleton key to its construction, a hieroglyph of modernity that it behooves us to decipher. Advertising *figures* the modern; a work like Joyce's *Ulysses* reconfigures that figure for its own ends' (Wicke, 'Modernity Must Advertise', 593–4).
27 Hawthorn, 'Ulysses, Modernism and Marxist Criticism', 266.
28 Stanislaus Joyce, *The Dublin Diary*, 79.
29 Lewis, *Time and Western Man*, 77.
30 Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 88.
31 Booker, *'Ulysses', Capitalism, and Colonialism*, 6.
32 Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 21.
33 Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 45.
34 The struck-off solicitor is not, as Mark Osteen supposes, named Tweedy (Osteen, *The Economy of 'Ulysses'*, 159); rather, as Bloom reflects, he once had offices in the 'same house as Molly's namesake, Tweedy' (*U* 6.233).

35 See Hayward, 'The Bloom of Advertising'. The 'Notes on Business and Commerce' are catalogued as MS 38 and 63.1–13 in the James Joyce Collection, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. They are reproduced in Joyce, *The James Joyce Archive*, Vol. III, 474–617.
36 Bridgewater, *Advertising, Or the Art of Making Known*, 41; Cornell MS 38:263; Joyce, *The James Joyce Archive*, Vol. III, 607.
37 Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 100.
38 Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book*, 139.
39 Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 105.
40 Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, 21.
41 Debord, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, 7.