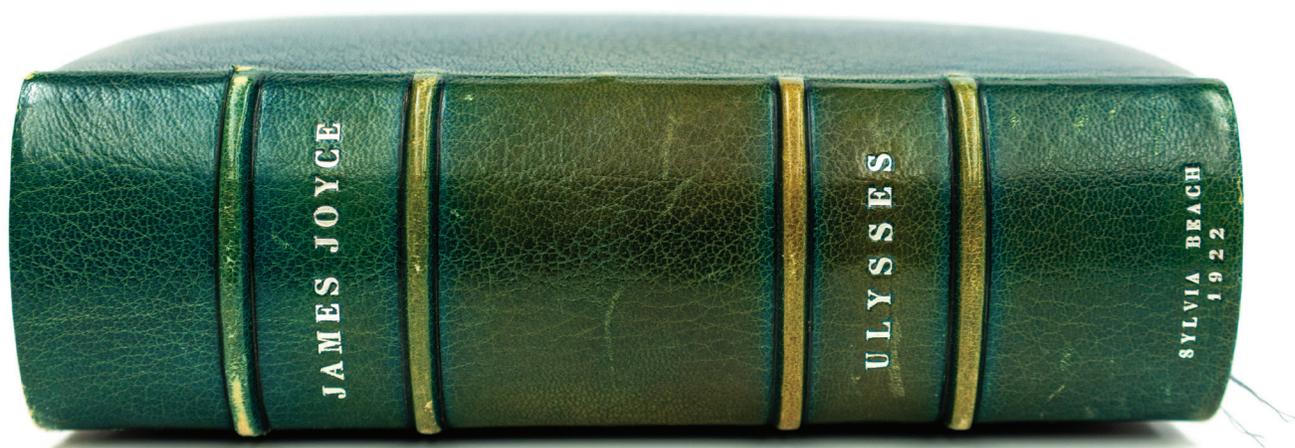




“That all books might published be”
Sylvia Beach’s *Ulysses*

February 2, 2022 – February 2, 2023

The Poetry Collection



Sylvia Beach's personal copy of the first edition of *Ulysses* (1922), no. 2 of 1,000.
Image by Julie Pavlock.

“That all books might published be”

Sylvia Beach’s *Ulysses*

With a collection as broad and deep as the UB James Joyce Collection, there are many stories that can be told about Joyce, *Ulysses*, and literary modernism. For the centenary of *Ulysses*, it was clear that the story we needed to share was that of Sylvia Beach, the book’s publisher. Proprietor of the bookshop and lending library Shakespeare and Company, American-born Paris-based Beach stepped forward to publish *Ulysses* after the serialized version of the novel in the little magazine the *Little Review* had been seized and its editors, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, charged with publishing obscenity. Their defeat in court left Joyce convinced that he would never find a publisher for his book. “It occurred to me that something might be done,” Beach wrote, “and I asked, ‘Would you let Shakespeare and Company have the honor of bringing out your *Ulysses*?’” Joyce accepted Beach’s offer “immediately and joyfully.”¹ *Ulysses* was the first book Beach published. Despite her lack of experience, Beach established the imprint Shakespeare and Company and set about publishing a book that is widely held to be one of the most significant works of English literature published in the twentieth century.

This exhibit explores Beach’s role as a bookshop proprietor and librarian; as a publisher involved

in the design, distribution, and defense (against piracy and censorship) of the book; and above all as one of the major contributors to modernism. It also explores her role as an archivist of Joyce, which “makes her not only the publisher of *Ulysses* but also one of the first and most crucial Joyceans.”² Beach’s archival project, in addition to her 1959 memoir *Shakespeare and Company*, serves in part to make her role in the publication of *Ulysses* and literary modernism legible. Beach also sought to claim space for her lifelong romantic partner, Adrienne Monnier, a French woman who ran the bookshop and lending library La Maison des Amis des Livres (“the house of the friends of books”) and imprint of the same name, and who was, in Joyce’s words, “Shakespeare and Company’s Adviser.”³

This exhibition, which takes its title from a line in a poem Joyce wrote for Beach to commemorate the publication of *Ulysses*, tells the story of the publication of the novel through Beach’s Joyce collection, now housed as part of the James Joyce Collection in the Poetry Collection at the University at Buffalo, and her memoir, and celebrates Beach’s three “loves,” “Adrienne Monnier and James Joyce and Shakespeare and Company.”⁴



Alison Fraser

Alison Fraser, Associate Curator

CASE 01

Shakespeare and Company Lending Library & Bookshop

1. Later version of the circular for the Shakespeare and Company lending library card, [1919-1921].
2. Shakespeare and Company business card with 12, rue de l'Odéon address and notation in Beach's hand on the verso, [after 1921].
3. Shakespeare and Company lending card, [after 1921].
4. James Joyce with Sylvia Beach, Cyprian Beach, and John Rodker at Shakespeare and Company, 1921. Photographer unknown.
5. Watercolor of Sylvia Beach by Stephen Longstreet, 1927.
6. Books borrowed by the Joyces from Shakespeare and Company, with notations in Beach's hand, [1925-1931].
7. Books ordered by Joyce from Shakespeare and Company, in Beach's hand, [1923-1929].
8. Books ordered by Joyce from Shakespeare and Company, in Joyce's and Beach's hands, [1923-1929].
9. "Ulysses by James Joyce is now ready" remittance cards, [February-March 1922].
10. "Ulysses by James Joyce is sold-out" sign in Beach's hand, [late March 1922].

Sylvia Beach opened Shakespeare and Company on November 19, 1919. Almost instantly it became a destination for Americans in Paris, forming the hub of the Left Bank literary expatriate community and serving as the meeting ground for the group of writers that would come to be known as the Lost Generation. Shakespeare and Company changed literary history not only by publishing *Ulysses* but by creating a vibrant community of writers, artists, and intellectuals. Originally located on 8, rue Dupuytren, it moved to a larger location at 12, rue de l'Odéon during the summer of 1921.

While Shakespeare and Company was both a lending library and bookshop, Beach wrote that "lending books...was much easier in Paris than selling them."⁵ Joyce availed himself of both options, and the examples in this case of the lists of the books he borrowed and bought are representative of the records Beach maintained. As seen in this case, Joyce's taste was eccentric, and he borrowed books like *The Survival of Man*, *The Chorus Girl*, *The Cutting of an Agate*, *Early Memories* by J. B. Yeats, and *Ireland, Her Saints & Scholars*. Joyce "sometimes kept them for years," according to Beach; most, but not all, of the books are marked returned.⁶ Many of the books listed here appeared as source texts in Joyce's later work *Finnegans Wake*.

Beach ran the bookshop until 1941, when a Nazi officer demanded to buy her last copy of *Finnegans Wake* and threatened her when she refused, an event that precipitated her imprisonment at an internment camp.

SUSCRPTION TERMS FOR THE LENDING LIBRARY			
1 month . . .	1 book	8 fr.	2 books 12 fr.
3 months . . .	1 »	20 fr.	2 » 30 fr.
6 » . . .	1 »	35 fr.	2 » 50 fr.
1 year . . .	1 »	60 fr.	2 » 80 fr.

Books may be exchanged every day or kept two weeks.

A deposit of 7 fr. per volume is required.

Members of "LA MAISON DES AMIS DES LIVRES", — 7, rue de l'Odéon, — are allowed a special discount of 20% and are not required to pay a deposit.

Later version of the circular for the Shakespeare and Company lending library card, [1919-1921].



James Joyce with Sylvia Beach, Cyprian Beach, and John Rodker at Shakespeare and Company, 1921. Photographer unknown.

(Tel. Saxe 34-33) **JOYCE**
 sequ 16-21

Nov 16	Mr James Joyce 21 rue de l'Université Paris 7 ^e arrondissement Tel. Saxe 52-104	Seigneur 95-20 210, rue Charles Floquet
	Subscr. 1 mo. 1 vol.	8 Hotel Thiers 79, Ave de la Bourdonnais
Nov 16	The Master Builder	Nov 19
Nov 14	Heartbreak House	Dec
Dec	Melanctha	Dec 10
Dec 10	Lord Dunsany's Plays Times Lit (Dec 2)	Dec 14
Dec 14	The Survival of Man	Dec 24
Dec 24	Psycho-Analysis, Bradley	Dec 30
Dec 30	The Chow Girl	
	Completed The Century of an Apple	Feb. 124
March 3	Ireland, her Saints & Scholars	
	" her Myths & Legends	
Oct 16	Early Memoires, J. B. Yeats	Jan 10 ⁵ 1931
Oct 18	Arabia Deserta 2 vols	
	Castle Conquer	
Feb 21	Daedalus	
" 22	Tibetan Mysteries	

Books borrowed by the Joyces from Shakespeare and Company, with notations in Beach's hand, [1925-1931].

CASE 02

Shakespeare and Company and La Maison des Amis des Livres

1. Printed announcement for the French translation of *Ulysses*, [September 29, 1928].
2. Prospectus with subscription blank for the French translation of *Ulysses*, [probably Autumn 1928].
3. An announcement of Valéry Larbaud's "Séance Consacrée à James Joyce" at Adrienne Monnier's La Maison des Amis des Livres, December 7, 1921.
4. James Joyce, Adrienne Monnier, and guests at the "Déjeuner *Ulysse*," Hôtel Léopold, June 27, 1929. Photographer unknown.
5. Menu for "Déjeuner *Ulysse*," Hôtel Léopold, June 27, 1929.
6. First French translation of *Ulysses*, published by La Maison des Amis des Livres, translated by Auguste Morel and Stuart Gilbert, and edited by Valéry Larbaud, 1929. Inscribed to Sylvia Beach by James Joyce, Independence Day 1929.
7. Page cutter engraved with the title *Ulysse* and dated on recto 1929. From the Ansie Baird Papers. Gift of Ansie Baird, 2017.

One of Beach's inspirations for Shakespeare and Company was her partner Adrienne Monnier's bookshop, La Maison des Amis des Livres ("the house of the friends of books"), located at 7, rue l'Odéon. Monnier became as much a partner in Beach's activities as a bookseller and publisher as she was in life. Beach's early exposure to bookselling and lending at La Maison not only helped convince her to remain in

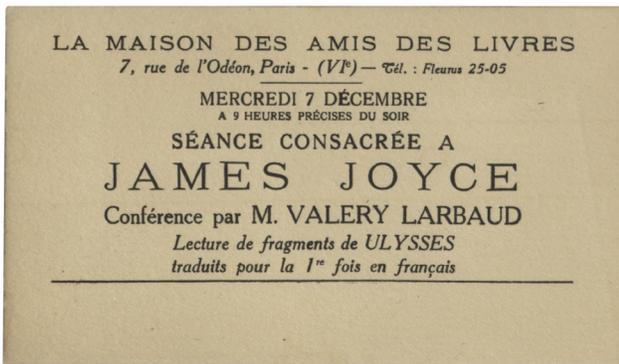
Paris, but also shaped the fortunes of Shakespeare and Company, as Beach explained in her memoir: "I owe a great deal of the success of my bookshop to the help of all those French friends I made at Adrienne Monnier's."⁷

Monnier's imprint La Maison des Amis des Livres was the obvious choice to publish the French translation of *Ulysses* in 1929. The book was translated by Auguste Morel, a young French poet, and Stuart Gilbert, an English literary scholar and translator and a retired officer of the Indian Civil Service, and edited by major French poet Valéry Larbaud, who had hosted a "Séance Consacrée à James Joyce" ("special session on James Joyce") at La Maison on December 7, 1921, for which selections of *Ulysses* were translated for the first time into French.

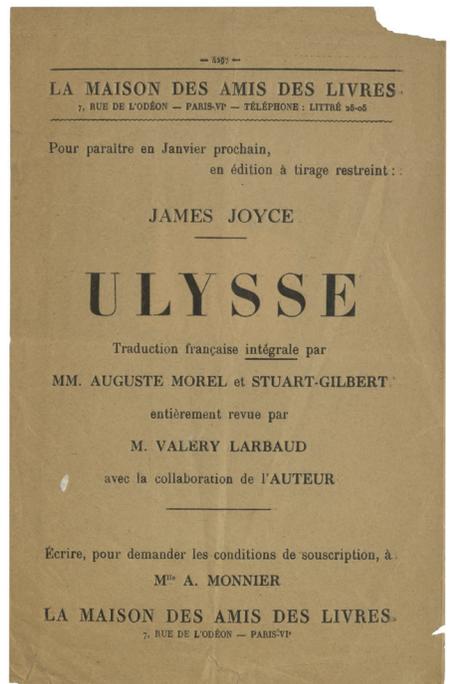
To celebrate the publication, a *Ulysses* lunch, "Déjeuner *Ulysse*," was held on June 27, 1929 at the appropriately-named Hôtel Léopold near Versailles. In attendance were prominent French writers, including Paul Valéry, as well as the translators, Beach and Monnier, and Joyce's family. To celebrate Beach's role in its publication, Joyce signed this copy of the first edition, writing in the inscription that the book is a "trophy after the Seven Years' War, 1922-1929." The page cutter was used by Joyce to cut the pages of this edition and was later given to Beach, who gave it to Oscar Silverman, according to his daughter Ansie Baird.



James Joyce, Adrienne Monnier, and guests at the "Déjeuner Ulysse," June 27, 1929.



An announcement of Valéry Larbaud's "Séance Consacrée à James Joyce" at Adrienne Monnier's La Maison des Amis des Livres, December 7, 1921.



Printed announcement for the French translation of *Ulysses*, [September 29, 1928].

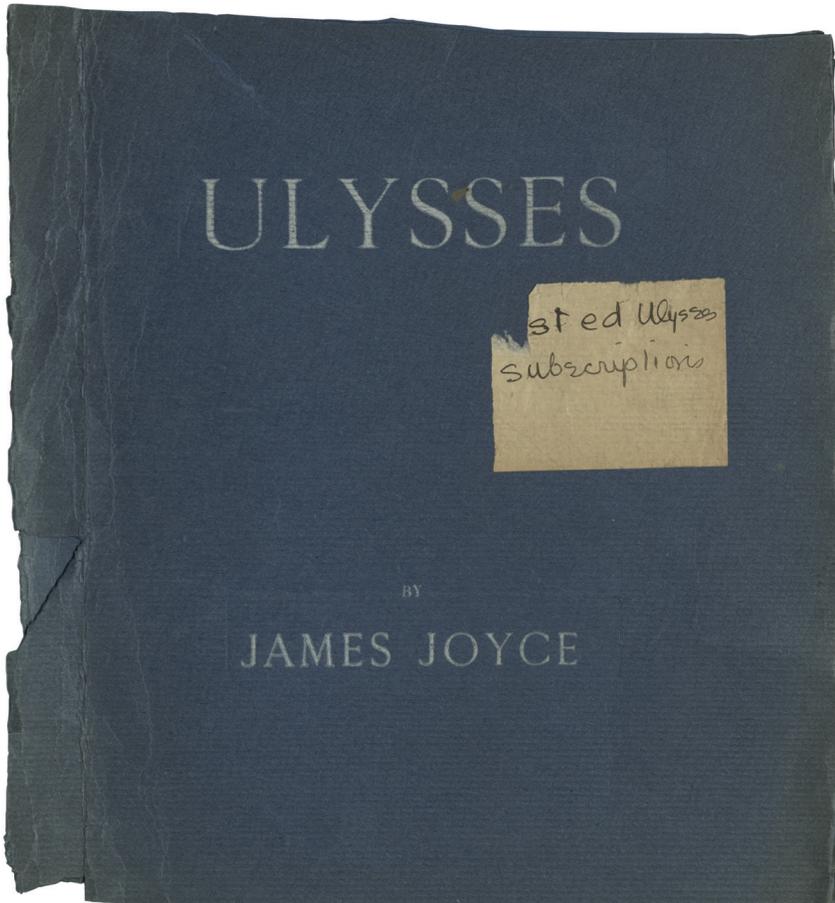
CASE 03

Designing *Ulysses*

1. “Couverture” [cover] in Joyce’s hand, with notes in French, [1921].
2. “Titre” [title page], in Joyce’s hand, [1921].
3. “Note,” in Joyce’s hand, [1921].
4. “Fin” [colophon], in Joyce’s hand, [1921].
5. “Souvenirs of Publishing,” Sylvia Beach’s archival note for items 1-4.
6. James Joyce in his Paris apartment at 2 Square Robiac, June 16 (Bloomsday), 1925. Photographed by Sylvia Beach.
7. Earlier cover proof for *Ulysses* on heavy card stock, with notations in Beach’s hand, [September 23, 1921].
8. Later title page and note for readers in Joyce’s hand, [1921].

Although she had no previous publication experience, Beach offered to publish *Ulysses* after Joyce despaired of ever finding a publisher: “Undeterred by lack of capital, experience, and all the other requisites of a publisher, I went right ahead with *Ulysses*,” she wrote.⁸ Not only were she and Joyce heavily involved in the distribution of the book, they were also concerned with the minute details of designing it. These “souvenirs of publishing” kept by Beach illustrate an early sketch by Joyce of the cover, title page, note, and colophon. Joyce had a clear vision for the now-iconic cover of *Ulysses*, writing on the drafts for the front matter in this case that he wanted a blue background with white lettering. He approved the correct shade of blue (meant to invoke the Greek flag) only in January 1922, having rejected many others, the early cover proof in this case included.

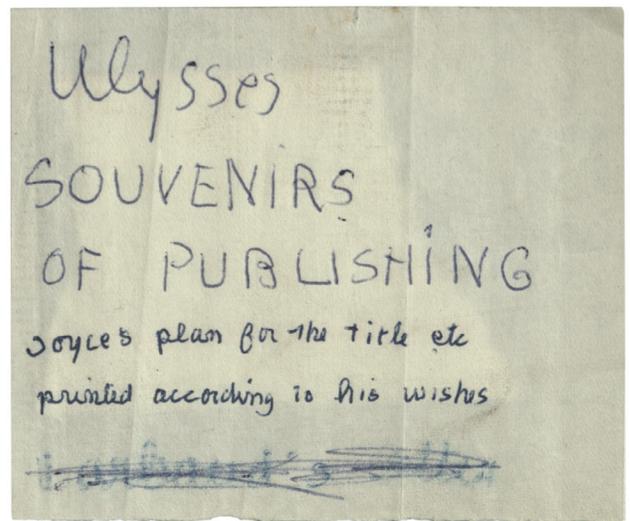
The first edition’s numerous typographical errors would pose further challenges, prompting a preemptive publisher’s note. The “exceptional circumstances” to which the note alludes included the fact that Joyce revised and added a considerable amount to the text while the book was in production. Joyce told Beach “he had written a third of *Ulysses* on the proofs,” forcing typesetters to reset episodes like “Circe” as many as nine times.⁹ These alterations, combined with French typists and French typesetters at Imprimerie Darantiere (the printers of *Ulysses*), as well as Joyce’s ongoing eye issues, resulted in errata lists in subsequent editions that were never fully resolved before Joyce’s death.



Earlier cover proof for *Ulysses*, with notations in Beach's hand, [September 23, 1921].



James Joyce on June 16, 1925. Photograph by Sylvia Beach.



"Souvenirs of Publishing," Sylvia Beach's archival note for items 1-4.

CASE 04

Distributing *Ulysses*

1. Design for the *Ulysses* prospectus by Adrienne Monnier in blue ink, with notation in Beach's hand, [1921].
2. James Joyce with Ezra Pound, John Quinn, and Ford Madox Ford, in Ezra Pound's studio on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, 1923. Photographer unknown.
3. List of persons who should be sent the Shakespeare and Company *Ulysses* prospectus, in Joyce's hand, [1921].
4. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Sylvia Beach, [1921].
5. T. E. Lawrence's order form for two Dutch hand-made paper copies of *Ulysses*, [1921].
6. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Sylvia Beach, [probably January 1922].

Getting *Ulysses* into the hands of readers required as much care as designing the book, and the design for the prospectus of *Ulysses* shows meticulous planning and Adrienne Monnier's indispensable publishing experience. In addition to recommending her Dijon printer, Maurice Darantiere, Monnier also "initiated me into the mysteries of limited editions," Beach wrote.¹⁰ Describing the edition as "private"

and "limited" with three different price ranges—signed, unsigned, and ordinary hand-made paper—the prospectus introduces *Ulysses* as an expensive, collectable commodity, aimed at connoisseurs, discerning readers, and bookdealers, who are invited to be "subscribers." The projected section on "press extracts" would later contain a careful selection of influential critical voices, handpicked by Joyce himself.

Joyce's own intervention in the commercial distribution of his book is borne out by the list of sixty-nine friends, acquaintances, and influential figures from Trieste, Dublin, Zürich, and elsewhere that he identified to receive a copy of the prospectus. Beach and Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce's English patron who was a political activist and editor of the important little magazine *The Egoist*, also collected names of interested subscribers in Britain, France, and North America. Those not on these lists had to seek out the book for themselves, like *Lawrence of Arabia* author T. E. Lawrence, who wrote Beach directly. One of the two copies he purchased was regularly lent out to his fellow airmen at Drigh Road RAF base in Karachi (in present-day Pakistan), where he was stationed in the mid-1920s. When the publication of the book was delayed, subscribers began to grow impatient, and many, including Lawrence, wrote to Beach demanding to know where the book was. "I had no time, unfortunately," she wrote of receiving the letter in this case, "to explain to him that I, too, was fighting a battle, though not in the desert."¹¹


 General Office
 Downing Street
 London, S.W.1.

Dear Madam

Will you tell me when "Ulysses" may be expected?
 You had intended it for last autumn, + I am
 wondering if the publication will be much more delayed.

Yours truly
 T.E. Lawrence

ORDER FORM

Please send me ULYSSES by JAMES JOYCE

NUMBER OF COPIES	Edition on Dutch hand made paper with signature of the Author . . .	350 fr.
2	Edition on verge d'Arches	250 fr.
	Edition on hand made paper	150 fr.

I will pay on receipt of notice announcing that the volume has appeared.

Name T. E. Lawrence Signature: TE Lawrence

Address 14 Barton Street
London S.W.1

* Please cancel editions not required.

T. E. Lawrence's order form for *Ulysses*, [1921].

Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Sylvia Beach, [probably January 1922].

Order Form

Please send me of "Ulysses" by James Joyce:

Number of Copies:	Edition signed on Holland paper	350
....	Edition on verge d'Arches	250
....	Edition on linen paper	150

I the undersigned undertake to pay on receipt of notice announcing that the volume has appeared.

Name: _____
 Address: _____

* Cancel Editions not required

Adrienne's design
 for printing prospectus
 1921
 8 rue Dupuytren
 Paris - VI -



SHAKESPEARE AND COMPANY
 - Sylvia Beach -
 will publish in October 1921

ULYSSES

by

JAMES JOYCE

Design for the *Ulysses* prospectus by Adrienne Monnier, [1921].

CASE 05

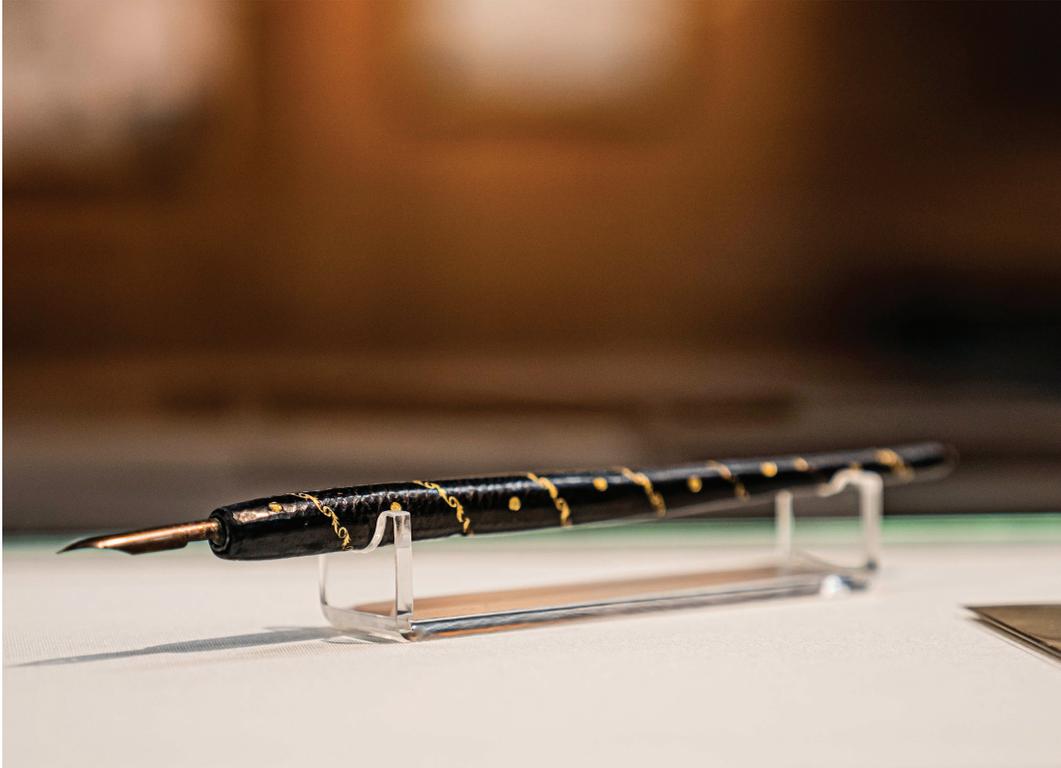
Publishing *Ulysses*

1. Telegram sent from Imprimerie Darantiere to Sylvia Beach, January 28, 1922.
2. Pen that Joyce used to sign the first 100 copies of *Ulysses*, with the envelope on which Joyce practiced his signature, [February-March 1922]. Other notations in Beach's hand.
3. James Joyce and Sylvia Beach at Shakespeare and Company, ca. 1926. Photographer unknown.
4. Variant copy of the later *Ulysses* typescript schema, [late November, 1921]. Given to Sylvia Beach by James Joyce.

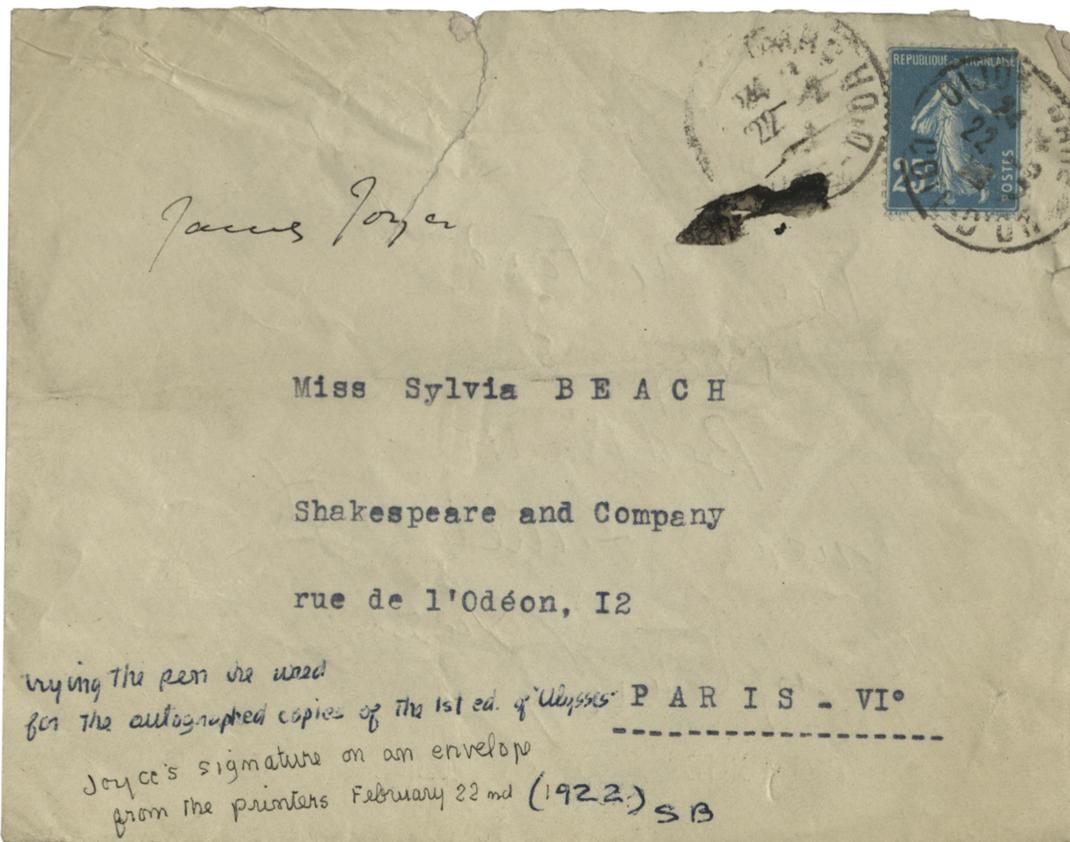
Joyce's wish was that *Ulysses* would be published by his fortieth birthday, February 2, 1922. Given the many last-minute changes to the text and design, this deadline was very nearly missed: on January 28, the printer Imprimerie Darantiere telegraphed Beach to say that the first copies would not be ready until February 4, two days late. In the end, Darantiere was able to send two copies by February 2, and that morning Beach presented Joyce with Copy 1. Copy 2 was for Shakespeare and Company. As a token of gratitude for her work, Joyce wrote Beach a thank you

note ("I cannot let today pass without thanking you for all the trouble and worry you have given yourself about my book during the last year") and a poem beginning, "Who is Sylvia, what is she / That all our scribes commend her?," which Beach later had tipped into her copy.¹²

The first edition of *Ulysses*—totaling 1,000 copies—was not nearly enough to meet the demand, and sold out by late March 1922. Beach found that *Ulysses* and its author were just as capable of overrunning her bookshop as they were the literary world. As Beach remembers, "Joyce and *Ulysses* had practically taken over the bookshop in the rue de l'Odéon. We attended to Joyce's correspondence, were his banks, his agents, his errand boys. We made appointments for him, won friends for him, arranged all the business of the translations of his work published in Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia."¹³ Joyce appeared at Shakespeare and Company every day to transact his business. Knowing he could never repay her for everything she had done for him, Joyce gifted Beach items in appreciation of her support, such as the schema in this case (one of two "Beach" schemas), which was originally pasted together to form a scroll. The schema provides an overall gloss of the structure of the book, including the Homeric titles for its eighteen episodes.



Pen that Joyce used to sign the first 100 copies of *Ulysses*, with the envelope on which Joyce practiced his signature, [February-March 1922]. Other notations in Beach's hand.



James Joyce

Miss Sylvia BEACH

Shakespeare and Company

rue de l'Odéon, 12

trying the pen we used
for the autographed copies of the 1st ed. of *Ulysses* P A R I S - VI°

Joyce's signature on an envelope
from the printers February 22nd (1922) SB

“Pioneering” Sylvia Beach

1. *Shakespeare and Company: The Story of an American Bookshop in Paris* by Sylvia Beach, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959. From the personal library of Oscar Silverman.
2. Pencil sketches of James Joyce and Sylvia Beach made at Shakespeare and Company, ca. 1922-1923. Artist unknown.
3. *Mercure de France* (Number 1041, May 1, 1950), featuring poems by James Joyce and essays by Sylvia Beach, Adrienne Monnier, Stuart Gilbert, and Maria Jolas.
4. Sylvia Beach, no date. Photographer unknown.
5. “Sylvia Beach, 75, First to Publish Joyce’s ‘Ulysses,’ Dies in Paris,” *New York Times* obituary, Wednesday, October 10, 1962.

Sylvia Beach was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1887 and spent most of her adult life in Paris. An extended visit to the city became a permanent relocation after she met her partner Adrienne Monnier, with whom she lived for 36 years until Monnier’s death in 1955. The other major relationship in her life, that with James Joyce, began in the summer of 1920 at a party hosted by Monnier’s friend, the poet André Spire. Joyce visited Shakespeare and Company the next day to become a member of Beach’s library; it was an event that changed both of their lives and twentieth-century literary history. “Few literary associations,” Beach’s *New York Times* obituary notes, “have been more important than that of Miss Beach and Joyce.” In October 1962, Beach passed away at 12, rue de l’Odéon, in an apartment above the location where she had run Shakespeare and Company for twenty years.

Beach was not only a bookshop proprietor and publisher; she was also an archivist of Joyce and her own publishing activities. She saved items that otherwise might have been discarded, and took care to write notes on many of the materials from her collection explaining their contents and the context in which they were created or given to Beach by Joyce. Her efforts are invaluable aids for understanding and appreciating this collection and Joyce’s work.



Sylvia Beach, no date.
Photographer unknown.



" SHAKSPEARE AND COMPANY "

SYLVIA BEACH

192

*date ? 1922-23
Sylvia Beach by ?*

**2, RUE DE L'ODÉON
PARIS (VI^E)**



Pencil sketches of James Joyce and Sylvia Beach made at Shakespeare and Company, ca. 1922-1923. Artist unknown.

CASE 07

Sylvia Beach in Buffalo

1. *Catalogue of a Collection Containing Manuscripts & Rare Editions of James Joyce, a Few Manuscripts of Walt Whitman, and Two Drawings by William Blake, Belonging to Miss Sylvia Beach and Offered for Sale at Her Shop, Shakespeare and Company, 12, Rue de l'Odéon, 12 Paris VIe* by Sylvia Beach, 1935.
2. Reproduction of the *Ulysses* first edition prospectus used as an invitation to the opening of the Sylvia Beach Collection at the University of Buffalo, December 9, 1959.
3. Letter from Sylvia Beach to Oscar Silverman, November 25, 1958.
4. Letter from Sylvia Beach to Oscar Silverman, June 9, 1959.
5. Photograph of UB commencement, June 1959. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of University Archives.
6. Sketch by Charles Brady of Oscar Silverman, James Joyce, and Sylvia Beach. Originally appeared in the *Buffalo News*, on the occasion of Oscar Silverman and Melissa Banta's edited collection *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach, 1921-1940* (1987). From the Ansie Baird Papers. Gift of Ansie Baird, 2017.
7. Walter and Constance Stafford, Oscar Silverman, and Sylvia Beach in Beach's Paris apartment, 1959. Photographer unknown.

The UB James Joyce Collection arrived in Buffalo in six installments, the first in 1950 by virtue of a gift from Margaretta F. Wickser made in memory of her husband Philip J. Wickser, which allowed UB to purchase materials from the Joyce family exhibited at the Galerie la Hune in Paris. A second major installment

in 1959 was realized thanks to Constance and Walter Stafford's hands-on negotiations in Paris, as well as their financial commitment which funded the purchase of Joyce materials from Sylvia Beach. Another arrived after Beach's death in 1962, again through the support of the Staffords and the generosity of Mrs. Spencer Kittinger and the Friends of the Lockwood Memorial Library. Oscar Silverman, at the time the Director of the Libraries and Professor of English, was instrumental in acquiring the UB James Joyce Collection.

Beach's correspondence with Silverman shows their warm relationship throughout the negotiation of the sale of her collection. In late 1958, Beach wrote Silverman, "if it could be arranged with you and your friends the Staffords to adopt Shakespeare-Joyce and Company we would like nothing better than to be placed in the University Library in Buffalo. It seems to me we would be among congenial friends. Not to mention joining the other items of Joyce and concerning Joyce that are already there." In June 1959, Beach arrived in Buffalo—her last trip to the United States before her death—to receive an honorary doctorate in letters from UB. During the commencement ceremony, Beach was honored as being "courageous and far-seeing" for her work publishing *Ulysses* "when no other publisher dared bring out this great book."¹⁴

Writing to Silverman in 1959, Beach explains, "I am so glad to think that the University of Buffalo is to be the centre for the study of Joyce's work." It is in part thanks to her that the Poetry Collection's collection is so significant.

Sylvia Beach
c/o Mrs. F. J. Dennis
Martindale
Greenwich, Connecticut
June 9th, 1959

My dear friend Oscar:

What can I say to thank you for all your kindness to us on this memorable visit of ours to Buffalo? You planned it so as to leave nothing undone to make it immensely enjoyable, taking so much trouble to show us Niagara Falls which we have been exclaiming about ever since, making us feel at home in Buffalo: but I must say that not the least of our pleasures was being with you, dear Oscar Silverman.

Then there is this wonderful thing: the honor you have conferred on me, which I would think I had only dreamed if there were not these proofs that it was real: my hood and this imposing document the University of Buffalo has given me. It is indeed a great honor, and one of which I am unworthy, and I am exceedingly touched by what you have done for Shakespeare and Company and for James Joyce's publisher. I am so glad to think that the University of Buffalo is to be the centre for the study of Joyce's work.

I hope you will be able to spend a while in Paris this summer, checking with me the Joyce items, and perhaps arranging how they may best be transferred over here. Dr. Stafford and I were discussing it together and he thought he and Mrs. Stafford might manage to be in Paris about that time too. Of course the problem of the transfer of the Exhibition has still to be worked out, though the Joyce items in it could remain with the others for the moment. I think, however, that if the question of the Exhibition is not decided rather soon, it is doubtful whether it can be arranged at all. I would not mind, as my thoughts are so Buffalo-wards at present. And Jackson Mathews and I were turning over to-day a plan or two that might be a help. He will communicate with you soon on the subject I think.

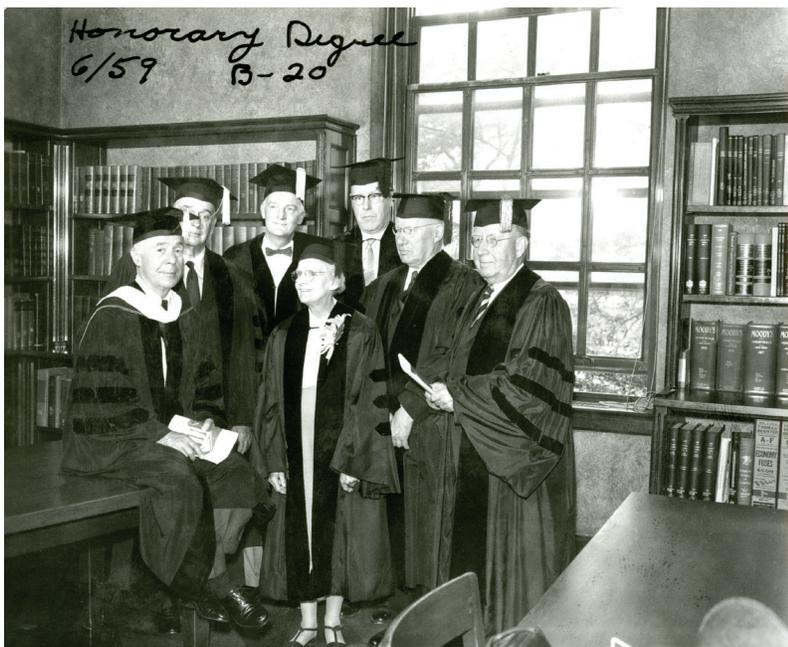
Thankyou for the too-kind dissertation you wrote about me: it was lovely. And thankyou for everything.

With much love,
Yours very affectionately,

Sylvia

Dr. Oscar Oscar A. Silverman,
Department of English,
University of Buffalo,
Buffalo 14,
New York.

Letter from Sylvia Beach to Oscar Silverman, June 9, 1959.



Photograph of UB commencement, June 1959. Photographer unknown. Courtesy, University Archives, University at Buffalo, The State University of New York.

CASE 08

Pirating *Ulysses*

1. Letter from Samuel Roth to James Joyce, February 1921.
2. Samuel Roth's order form for the first edition of *Ulysses*, [1921].
3. *Two Worlds Monthly*, first issue featuring the "first chapter" of *Ulysses*, July 1926.
4. "Controversy over 'Ulysses' Increases Sale," clipping from the *Times Star*, Cincinnati, OH, December 27, 1926.
5. Typed letter from Sylvia Beach [possibly to the editor of *The Toronto Star*] concerning Samuel Roth's piracy of *Ulysses*, [1926-1927].
6. Printed poster of the "Letter of Protest" against Samuel Roth, February 2, 1927. Pasted onto a posterboard for display, probably in Shakespeare and Company.
7. Clipping from *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, March 1, 1927.

The publication history of *Ulysses* in the United States was complicated not only by its censorship and ban but also by its piracy in Samuel Roth's magazine *Two Worlds Monthly*. The New-York based publisher printed avant-garde literature alongside erotica, and began serializing *Ulysses* in July 1926 without the consent of Beach or Joyce. This event saw Beach as publisher of *Ulysses* take on a new role, writing letters of protest against Roth's unauthorized publication and coordinating an effective international campaign that collected 167 signatures of prominent figures from Albert Einstein to Virginia Woolf. This campaign resulted in the loss of advertisements and important partnerships for *Two Worlds Monthly*, forcing Roth to cease publication of *Ulysses* after the twelfth installment. To keep track of the unfolding saga, Beach and Joyce hired clippings bureaus to scan and clip newspaper articles that mentioned Roth's piracy, demonstrating international interest in the case.

Interestingly, Roth had written to Joyce a year before the publication of *Ulysses*, asking, "Why is *Ulysses* not yet in book form?" Roth eventually purchased a copy of the first edition, writing on the order form that he would like for Beach to send him "several copies of [the] prospectus for my friends."



"SHAKESPEARE AND COMPANY"

- SYLVIA BEACH -

12, RUE DE L'ODÉON
PARIS (VI)

Dear Sir,

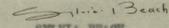
An American monthly called "Two Worlds", with an admitted sale of fifty thousand copies, edited by Mr Samuel Roth, is publishing serially a version revised by Mr Roth of ULYSSES. I think your readers ought to know that this edition is unauthorized by Mr Joyce, unpaid for by Mr Roth, and that the text has been altered. No negotiations existed or exist between Mr Roth and Mr Joyce, whose interests I represent, for this serial publication, and Mr Roth has not paid any money for the book which he is pirating and mutilating.

Mr Roth some time ago printed also without permission and without payment in his "Two Worlds" quarterly fragments of Mr Joyce's new work which had appeared in European reviews. I wrote to him remonstrating and obtained two hundred dollars and promise of more which never come.

- 2 -

In No. 4 of "Two Worlds" quarterly, which, according to Mr Roth, appears in a limited edition of 450 numbered copies after which the type is distributed, Mr Roth announces that subscribers will receive their copy "signed by the leading contributor". As Mr Roth has admitted to Mr Ernest Hemingway that his sales of this quarterly amount not to 450 but to eight thousand copies and one of these eight thousand copies may be in the possession of a reader of yours I shall be greatly obliged if that reader will let me know immediately by what "leading contributor" his or her copy of "Two Worlds" quarterly is signed.

Yours faithfully,


SYLVIA BEACH

Publisher of ULYSSES.

Typed letter from Sylvia Beach concerning Samuel Roth's piracy of Ulysses, [1926-1927].



220 WEST 19th ST., NEW YORK
Tel. Chelsea 8860

THIS CLIPPING FROM
TIMES STAR
CINCINNATI, OHIO
DEC 27 1926

CONTROVERSY OVER "ULYSSES" INCREASES SALE

Runs Through Twelve Editions and Demand Increases.

By WILLIAM IVY
European Correspondent of the Times-Star.

PARIS, December 27—James Joyce, author of "Ulysses," the most talked of book of the century, refuses to do any talking himself about the controversy now raging between his Paris publisher, Miss Sylvia Beach and Samuel Roth, who is serializing an "expurgated" version of the masterpiece in his magazine, "Two Worlds."

When the British and American customs authorities seized the copies of the first edition and declared them unfit for importation, Mr. Joyce said nothing, but passed a quiet order to Miss Beach to send no more copies to those countries.

Miss Beach, who is well known to the Americans in Paris as the owner of a fascinating book-shop that is at the same time a kind of "salon" of modern letters, has since then abstained from exporting the book across the water, but nevertheless thousands of copies are estimated to have been smuggled into America by individuals.

The book has run through some thing like twelve editions and is prominently on sale everywhere on the continent.

The controversy with Roth was begun by Miss Beach as soon as she learned that the modern review, "Two Worlds," was undertaking to serialize the book. She summoned Roth to cease publication without the approval of Joyce. Roth retorted that "arrangements" existed between him and the author for such serialization, but this Miss Beach, who is understood to be in Joyce's confidence, flatly denies.

In addition to the indelicacy of reprinting "Ulysses" without permission or payment, Miss Beach roundly reproves Roth for his attempts at "expurgation." The net effect of the controversy, it appears, will be to create the demand for "Ulysses" which has continued unabated for years.

Clipping from the Times Star, Cincinnati, OH, December 27, 1926.

CASE 09

Censoring *Ulysses*

1. First two pages from a letter from John Quinn to Sylvia Beach, March 27, 1922.
2. Notes on *Ulysses* in Beach's hand, no date.
3. First edition of *Ulysses* published in the United States, Random House, 1934. Signed to Sylvia Beach by James Joyce.
4. "Ulysses American Ban Raised," *The Times* [London], December 7, 1933.
5. "Banned Book in the Post," *Liverpool Post*, January 22, 1934.
6. "War on Modern Authors," *West Lancaster Evening Gazette*, September 29, 1930.
7. "Boom in Banned Book," *Ceylon Observer*, Colombo [Sri Lanka], April 8, 1928.

Beach and Joyce understood they would likely have difficulty distributing *Ulysses* in the United States, given its difficult publication history. In a note written by Beach (item 2), she traces the history of the book (as well as Joyce's other publications), beginning with its serialization in the *Little Review* (1918-1920) and subsequent obscenity trial. The notoriety of the case against the publishers of the *Little Review*, Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, invited censorial scrutiny on *Ulysses* in the United States as soon as it was published. John Quinn, a New York-based lawyer (who had represented Anderson and Heap) and friend of Joyce, wrote to Beach in late March 1922 to report that already "orders had been issued to prevent the importation of *Ulysses* and to confiscate the copies." With this in mind, Quinn continued, "It is better to go slow in sending copies to this country than it is to have the copies confiscated." This strategy, however, was not effective, and *Ulysses* was officially banned in the United States in 1928.

The legal battle was concluded in Joyce's favor on December 6, 1933. The first authorized American edition, published by Random House in 1934, included a foreword by Morris L. Ernst, the attorney who had successfully argued Joyce's case; the judgement by United States District Court Judge John M. Woolsey that lifted the ban on *Ulysses*; and a letter from James Joyce to Bennett A. Cerf, publisher of Random House. In his letter, Joyce writes that it was "good luck that brought me into contact with a very clever and energetic person Miss Sylvia Beach... This brave woman risked what professional publishers did not wish to."¹⁵

To
Sylvia Beach,
publisher of the first
edition of Ulysses. This
copy of the first edition
published in her country.
James Joyce

Paris
2 February 1922
2 February 1934

Acknowledgements and Notes

Grateful acknowledgement for the generosity and knowledge of Dipanjan Maitra, who assisted with putting together this exhibition, as well as James Maynard, Kristopher Miller, and William Offhaus.

All materials are from the UB James Joyce Collection except where noted.

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Cover: Watercolor of Sylvia Beach by Stephen Longstreet, 1927. Reproduced with permission of the Estate of Stephen Longstreet.

1. Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company: The Story of an American Bookshop in Paris* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), 47.
2. Melanie Micir, *The Passion Projects: Modernist Women, Intimate Archives, Unfinished Lives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2019), 86.
3. *Shakespeare and Company*, 47.
4. Sylvia Beach, qtd. in Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties & Thirties* (New York: Norton, 1985), 11.
5. *Shakespeare and Company*, 21.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 14.
8. *Ibid.*, 47.
9. *Ibid.*, 58.
10. *Ibid.*, 49.
11. *Ibid.*, 62.
12. *Ibid.*, 85.
13. *Ibid.*, 88.
14. *UB Alumni Bulletin XXVI.3* (Summer 1959): 14.
15. James Joyce, "A Letter from Mr. Joyce to the Publisher," in *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1934), xvi.

**“That all books
might published be”**

Sylvia Beach's *Ulysses*



In 1928, “unrecognized and far-seeing” Sylvia Beach published James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, widely regarded as one of the most important books of twentieth-century English literature. Equally influential was her bookshop and lending library Shakespeare and Company, located in Paris, which was an important cultural exchange and home for American expatriates and the European avant-garde. This exhibit, which draws on items from the US James Joyce Collection, offers a unique window into a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the publication of *Ulysses* and the book’s subsequent glory and censorship, and her other

collaboration with James Joyce. The US James Joyce Collection is the largest and most comprehensive in the world. Thanks in part to the excellent instincts of Sylvia Beach, the Beach portion of the collection provides a fascinating record of how *Ulysses* was produced, published, and distributed, encompassing holograph manuscripts, typescripts of all but the first spreads of *Ulysses*, 1918 letters of correspondence from Joyce to Beach, copies and drafts of Joyce’s original correspondence, and much, much more related to the publication of the first and later editions and translations of Joyce’s novel. No proper version of the material history of modernism would be complete without these records and documents.



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