

**"Ireland is the only country ...":  
Joyce and the Jewish Dimension  
GERALD Y. GOLDBERG**

Leopold Bloom is not a perfect man. Notwithstanding Joyce paints a man whose sympathy for the sick, the lame, the blind, the old, the widow, the orphan, touches even his detractors. Leopold Bloom might have prayed but never does. He is not a believer, so he says; but, one suspects, in spite of himself, in spite of Joyce, that he is a God-fearing man. Bloom who was thrice baptised, and whose baptisms were as water off a duck's back, is a greater Christian than any we meet in the course of his wandering. Bloom, who is not a Jew, is more Jewish in his way of life, than most Jews. It might have been of Bloom that Hillel the Elder said:<sup>1</sup> 'My humiliation is my exaltation; my exaltation is my humiliation'. If Ireland's Jews were to have given birth to a Lamid Vavnick,<sup>2</sup> he would have been Leopold Bloom.

**II**

Land of one hundred thousand welcomes, of saints and scholars, of knights and heroes, of poets and singers, what happened to the Christianity you taught? Was there too little of it left over for the sons and daughters of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? Or was it, as Joachim Abba said:<sup>3</sup> 'We have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another'?

Ireland! Yours was the country to which came, towards the end of the nineteenth century, a group of Lithuanian Jews who were fleeing from persecution. They were seeking refuge on their way to America. Their coming was an accident. They were put ashore in the port of Cork and were told 'America is the next parish'. The God of Israel, in whom they placed their trust, played games with them. Their condition was pitiful. They were, for the most part, without money to continue their journey. Nomen, wanderers, flotsam, jetsam, unwanted. Life was not easy, but some stayed and learned to love this land.

Now, in this, the centennial year of the birth of James Joyce, is it proper to ask whether, without them, there could have been a book called *Ulysses*, whether the multifaceted Leopold Bloom could, otherwise, have taken root in the mind of his creator? If there is a divinity which shapes our ends then theirs was to serve the craft and genius of a great writer. They will be remembered in this centennial

year, not only in the pages of Thom's Dublin Directory, but in *Ulysses*, through the goings and comings, adventures and misadventures, thoughts, feelings and aspirations of a little, little man, neither Jewish nor non-Jewish, Irish nor non-Irish, but a loyal, lovable, kindly human who bridges the gap between Irish man and Irish Jew.

**III**

December 4th 1892: A cold Sunday morning. Dublin awakening from sleep finds itself wrapped in a mantle of snow. A bitterly cold wind and a sharp frost heralds the consecration of a newly built Jewish synagogue in Adelaide Road.<sup>4</sup> The consecration is to be performed by Dr. Herman Adler, Chief Rabbi of the British Empire<sup>5</sup>. He is about to use words which will become as sounding brass.<sup>6</sup> Others will repeat them. That afternoon the Synagogue is filled to capacity. The roll of prominent citizens and dignitaries would do credit to a Joycean catalogue. The Chief Rabbi speaks: 'Ireland is the only country of which it could be said that they have never persecuted the Jews'.

Mr. Deasy, Orangeman and Christian gentleman, mounts the back of his favourite horse and flogs it:<sup>7</sup> 'I just wanted to say, he said, Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the Jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why?

He frowned sternly on the bright air.

— Why, sir? Stephen asked, beginning to smile.

— Because she never let them in, Mr. Deasy said solemnly.

A coughball of laughter leaped from his throat dragging after it a rattling chain of phlegm. He turned back quickly, coughing, laughing, he lifted arms waving to the air.

— She never let them in, he cried again through his laughter as he stamped on gaitered feet over the gravel of the path. That's why.

On his wise shoulders through the checkerwork of leaves the sun flung spangles, dancing coins.

The Chief Rabbi pauses. He looks back into the history of this ancient people among whom his ancient people have come to live. He sees Ireland as a kindred persecuted country and race. He speaks again:<sup>8</sup> 'Alas, poor Erin! Thou art thyself an eternal badge of sufferance, the

blood of my people rests not on thy head'. And turning to his people, he pleads: 'I beseech you, prove yourselves worthy of the hospitality and shelter extended to you in Ireland by seeking to promote the welfare of the country in which you dwell, by rigidly abstaining from everything that could conduce to the hurt and harm of your fellow citizens and by being scrupulously fair and honest in your dealings with them'.<sup>9</sup>

And after this one would have been entitled to hope that Jews and Christians in Ireland would live together in harmony: the former were the people of the book, the latter its beneficiary. Through the one the other shared a common legacy, part of which is the spirit of the Psalms: 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'.<sup>10</sup>

But, it was not to be.

#### IV

For Lithuanian Jews early days in Ireland were sweet and sour.

There was trouble in Limerick: Anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in 1884. One reason offered for the excesses which then took place was that certain Jewish traders had not closed their shops on St. Patrick's Day. A tolerant Limerick Mayor declared that there was no evidence that Jews had offered affront to their neighbours nor could the conduct to which they were subjected be tolerated 'in any civilised country'.<sup>11</sup> The *Cork Examiner* expressed its concern: "This country has long been honourably distinguished by its tolerant attitude towards the Jews. Its conduct in this respect was peculiarly creditable in a country in which Catholic enthusiasm is so strong ... The Jews will never be convinced of the truth of Christianity by battering in their doors with stones."<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the seeds of what was to follow had been sown.

There was trouble in Cork. In 1838 two foreigners, not known to the Community as Jews were denounced by the Cork Trades Union. Whether or not they were Jews is not germane to this article. What is, is the fact that "the attitude of the Union savoured of anti-Jewishness, threatening persecution of all the Jews in Cork".<sup>13</sup> Charles Stuart Parnell, Joyce's boyhood hero, intervened. The *Times* newspaper correspondent reporting the incident had been unkindly critical of the Jews of Cork. The Mayor of Cork, to his credit, repudiated the *Times* criticism.<sup>14</sup> The Jews were placed by him in that class of "pauper immigrants" for

whom concern had been expressed in Parliament. Chief Rabbi Adler's words continue to percolate through different levels of Irish thought: "... there is and has not been in the City of Cork any feeling, adverse or otherwise than kindly towards the men of Jewish faith. Irishmen are proud of the fact that theirs is the only country in Europe in which Jews have never been persecuted, and though most of them are newcomers in our midst, I can say almost without exception that they belong to a quiet, decent, inoffensive and even timid class". Mayor O'Brien's analysis of people and events was masterly and fair. It represented an approach, a tolerance which others were not to show. "We fully appreciate that the wanderers who are driven abroad by oppression are in the very same position as the Irish emigrants who have been obliged to leave here for England, America and other Colonies, in many cases unfitted by forced expatriation for their new circumstances, and therefore, subject to misconception and want of sympathy ... there being until lately no foreigners in Ireland, all are passed for Jews".

There was trouble in Dublin. Joyce's regard for Sir Frederick Falkiner, K.C., Recorder, was not shared by Dublin's Jews. The man who gave Reuben J. Dodd, a great "strawcalling" did not spare Dublin's Jews if they were unlucky enough to appear before him. Joyce may have been under some doubt as to Reuben Dodd's religion; but, in two cases which appeared before him the Recorder was not; and he expresses himself in language fraught with anti-Jewish sentiments. Louis Hyman notes that in 1892 one month before the Chief Rabbi consecrated the Adelaide Road Synagogue, Sir Frederick Falkiner, trying a suit in which a Jew had refused to pay for a baby carriage said: "These fellows would swear anything. The Jews are here in this city and are, evidently, going to stay, but if they are they will have to obey the laws of this Court".<sup>15</sup> This would not be the last occasion on which the Recorder would go out of his way to stigmatise Jews. His utterances "on previous occasions put it beyond question that his latest remarks were directed towards the Jews at large and were not merely an animadversion upon the witnesses in the case before him". Bernard Shillman reports a case in which Sir Frederick Falkiner sentenced a Jew who had been found guilty of breaking windows in Dublin city: "You are a specimen of your nation and your race that cause you to be hunted out of every country".<sup>16</sup> These words gave rise to protest both from Jews and non-Jews. The Recorder retreated and made a

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Arthur G South Afric anti-British *United Irish* contributor. went out of



fulsome apology.<sup>17</sup> It is significant that he does not appear in the list of Dublin dignitaries who attended the consecration of Adelaide Rd Synagogue; but, much more significant is that at the "trial" of Leopold Bloom, it is Sir Frederick Falkiner who tries him and imposes sentence:

"The Recorder: I will put an end to this white slave traffic and rid Dublin of this odious pest. Scandalous! (He dons the black cap). Let him be taken Mr. Subsherriff, from the dock where he now stands and detained in custody in Mountjoy prison during His Majesty's pleasure and there be hanged by the neck until he is dead and therein fail not at your peril or may the Lord have mercy on your soul. Remove him. 'A black skull cap descends upon his head'.<sup>18</sup>

## V

There are two major anti-Jewish influences at play in *Ulysses*. Both are intimately associated with Bloom's exposure to Irish anti-semitism and feature especially, but not exclusively, in the Cyclops episode. One is that of Arthur Griffith. The other is Oliver St. John Gogarty. The one was a distinguished Journalist-Politician who was to found "Sinn Fein"<sup>19</sup> lead the Irish Delegation at the Treaty negotiations which saw the coming into existence of the Irish Free State, become President of its Executive Council and die suddenly of a heart attack. The other was to become a great poet, writer, politician and raconteur. It is fair to say that the predominating influence was Griffith; but both, in this writer's view are concomitants in the making and shaping of the "Citizen" in the Cyclops episode. Those who regard Michael Cusack as the prototype of the character travel a road that leads to nowhere:<sup>20</sup> the "Citizen" is a composite re-construction by Joyce, of thoughts and sentiments expressed from time to time by Griffith and Gogarty, through their respective writings. The voice may be the voice of Cusack but the hands and the heads and the thoughts are those of Griffith and Gogarty. The subject is too great to develop here. There is no room for superfluity of quotation; nor are such as are offered in any way complete. They are merely indicated as representative, to a lesser or greater degree, of sentiments from both men which appear to have met with Joyce's disdain.

Arthur Griffith, who had spent two years in South Africa returned to Ireland a pro-Boer, anti-British and anti-Jewish. He founded *The United Irishman* and was its editor and main contributor. Later when *The United Irishman* went out of existence he founded "Sinn Fein".

Thus we read in *Ulysses*: "You don't grasp my point, says Bloom. What I mean is ... Sinn Fein! says the citizen. Sinn Fein amhain! The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before us".<sup>21</sup> And later: "Is that Griffith? says John Wyse. No, says the Citizen. Its not signed Shanganagh. It's only initialled: P".<sup>22</sup>

During the prosecution of Captain Dreyfus in France, Griffith who, at one time, appeared to have pro-Dreyfus leanings, suddenly and without explanation, became a rabid anti-Dreyfusard and, literally, foamed from the mouth with anti-Semitic articles. "A Jew has at heart no country, but the Promised Land. He forms a nation apart wherever he goes ... bound by the most solemn obligation ... to the achievement of National Restoration and revenge"<sup>23</sup> Newspapers which were pro-Dreyfusard were described as "almost all Jews rags ... and .. represent nothing but the impotent ravings of a disreputable minority which is universally regarded as a community of thieves and traitors ... Fifty other rags like those which have nothing behind them but the forty or fifty thousand Jewish usurers and pick-pockets in each country and which no decent Christian ever reads except holding his nose as a precaution against nausea".<sup>24</sup>

## VI

When Joyce read Gogarty's first article on "Ugly England" he did not like it.<sup>25</sup> "Isn't it strange" he wrote Stanislaus Joyce, "that O.G. should be anathemising "Ugly England" just when I wanted to be in an English watering place?".<sup>26</sup> Gogarty was not tilting with Joyce although as will be suggested, Joyce took up the challenge. Gogarty was out to out-Griffith, Griffith in a combined attack on both England and the Jews. Some of his thoughts, it is suggested, were extracted by Joyce into the text and expressed in slightly different form but the sentiments are clearly the same and were incorporated into the text. A limited examination of texts may help to make this clear. In his first article on "Ugly England", Gogarty wrote: "Meanwhile the struggle is approaching. Germany is healthy and must expand. Israel is rotten within, and like a hollow elm holding her unwielding boughs together only by her bark. Her death is upon her. Devourer of the world, she must die from a surfeit of indigestion. Already her grave is open and the "channerin worm doth chide".<sup>27</sup> Earlier in the same article, he had written of "the bathing suits on lines behind the bathing machines fluttering like clothes down an alley in the wind (an old clothes alley); and this

conviction of the Jew master of England at the same time stronger and more logical, England becoming Jewry ... explained many things; that shopkeeping, moneying instinct; that hatred of things generous and artistic-make yet no graven images; that filthy sensuality unrelieved even by deity; that furtive and narrow timidity; and that panic-stricken, inwardly way of taking revenge — twelve Zulus murdered to intimate others and justify Jewry ... all are explained; the Jews are upon us”<sup>28</sup> In his third and final article Gogarty charged Jews of “hunkstering with family trees, traditions, restraints, manner and black kid gloves ...; even if any of his wares should chance to be genuine, remember, always, that his intentions are spurious: it is his business to defraud”.<sup>29</sup> Gogarty went on to argue that “we were never so poor and pinched as to be driven to realise our own attributes, to sell our family plate, so to speak. The Jew amongst us gorges them, and we seeing these and being alas! no longer mindful of the good and genuine things that are still our own look up to this bag man, this barterer, and give him the honour that we should reserve for our own self-respect”.<sup>30</sup> Joyce satirises Gogarty when he makes schoolmaster Deasy say “Mark my words Mr. Dedalus, England is in the hands of the Jews. In all the highest places: her finance, her press. And there are signs of a nations’ decay. Wherever they gather they eat up a nation’s vital strength. I have seen it coming these years. As sure as we are standing here the Jew merchants are already at work of destruction. Old England is dying”.<sup>31</sup>

And here, it is submitted, is something very significant. It is proper to quote again from “Ugly England” and in particular Gogarty’s peroration: “I don’t hate the English, for the simple reason I have never met the embodiment of certain British virtues that are self-avowed, because the avower was a hypocrite in every case. I can smell a Jew, though, and in Ireland there is something rotten”.<sup>32</sup> See, then, what Joyce does with Gogarty’s words and sense of “smell”. He attributes the sense of smell to a dog and the words to “the Citizen”. The language of the Citizen is clear and unequivocal in the light of “Ugly England”. The dog, “Garryowen” symbolises Gogarty. Let us examine this more carefully. Gerty MacDowell identifies “Garryowen” as “Granpapa, Giltrap’s lovely dog that almost talked, it was so human”.<sup>33</sup> How was the Citizen enabled to borrow “Garryowen” from grandpapa Giltrap? Nobody has satisfactorily explained this. The answer may be that Gogarty was the only person who could do so if he so wanted;

because, Gogarty’s father with Grandpapa Giltrap was joint owner of “Garryowen”. The exposition and establishment of joint ownership comes from the pen of Mr. W.J. Rasbridge in a letter to The Times Literary Supplement on Jan. 9th 1964: “J.J. Giltrap, who lived in Whitehall House, Dargan Terrace, Dublin around 1880 was the first Honorary Secretary and founder member of the Red Setter Club founded at 2 Morgan Place Dublin on March 2nd 1885. The dog was his famous Irish Setter Ch. Garryowen whelped in 1876”. Some weeks later, Mr. Rasbridge wrote again. This time he identified a photograph and those in it which hung on the wall of the home of Oliver Gogarty’s father. The photograph showed Gogarty Senior, as well as Giltrap and “Garryowen”. Mr. Rasbridge pointed out that Joyce was a frequent visitor at the Gogarty’s home and would have been aware of the picture. There is something more in the nature of internal evidence to support the writer’s view. It is to be found again, in Gogarty’s own words, and one word in particular, which Joyce it would seem took from “Ugly England”. It is the word, “smell”.<sup>34</sup> It is clear, unequivocal “Ugly England” Gogarty. Here is the scene and the words used. They are discussing “Capital Punishment” and of course Bloom “comes out with the why and the wherefore and all the codology of the business and the old dog smelling him all the time I’m told those Jewies does have a sort of queer odour coming off them for dogs about I don’t know what all deterrent effect and so forth and so on”.<sup>35</sup> And, who else would the Citizen encourage to attack Bloom but Gogarty for the last words of the Citizen reported by the narrator are “after him, Garry! After him boy!”<sup>36</sup> And the bloody mongrel (perhaps Joyce’s derisory description of Gogarty but earlier personified) is identified as “the famous old Irish red wolfdog setter formerly known by the soubriquet of Garryowen and recently rechristened by his large circle of friends, and acquaintances Owen Garry”.<sup>37</sup>

Joyce presses the image home: we are told that “Garryowen” is a talking dog, recently rechristened Owen Garry, who had organised an exhibition of cynantrophy.<sup>38</sup> Cynantrophy is a species of madness in which a man imagines himself to be a dog. Joyce completes the image of the dog exhibitor by adding that he “comprised among other achievements, the recitation of verse”.<sup>39</sup> Because the dog is a talking dog to be addressed as “Garry”, one wonders whether the “Citizen” urging the dog at Bloom with the injunction, ‘After him

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Garry', was a pretence for a different phrasing of what Joyce really intended to say: "Go, Garty" — only the transposition of a "t" for an "r" separates them.

## VII

A past in which man played wolf to men is not the happiest of remembrances to carry in one's heart. Seventy eight years removed from the events which occurred on the night of Jan 11th 1904 is too long a time to harbour continued bitterness. The Limerick of Joyce's centennial year is a model of all that is good and gracious. Its people are understanding and concerned. The Limerick of 1904 was unfortunate. It was not well served, neither by its priests, nor its corporate representatives; not by its magistrates, nor its press, nor its trading class; not its lawyers, nor by the strident anti-Jewish utterances of Griffith-Gogarty.

There is no place, now, for Jews to hold the image of Amalek in their hearts. A future which, at one time, seemed insecure, has become a living presence among the nation where Jews, as Irishmen and Irishwomen, take their place and play their part in the life work of the people. Therefore, it is as the son of a man whose home was invaded by a mob, whose doors were battered, who was beaten up in the streets of Limerick, "boycotted", left Limerick and returned to end his days in Ireland, that this writer views his responsibility. His father had no bitterness in his heart towards the Irish people. His son respects that attitude. History must be written. Somewhere, in the course of writing *Ulysses* Joyce must have looked back on the events which parallel his departure from Ireland. He knew that in the Limerick of the time there was what Leopold Bloom called "the traditional accent of catastrophe".<sup>40</sup> What occurred then, was a model of every known ingredient of the disease of "anti-Semitism". Joyce, once again the medical student on a course of discovery, bisects and dissects as he did Bloom, and lays all before us: "Ritual murder, the incitation of hierarchy, the superstition of the populace, the propagation of rumour in continued fraction of veridicity, the envy or opulence, the influence of retaliation, the sporadic reappearance of atavistic delinquency, the mitigation circumstances of fanaticism, hypnotic suggestion and somnambulism".<sup>41</sup>

The sermon, which Father Creagh delivered to the members of the Redemptorist Arch Confraternity opened with a question: "What about Christian charity?" He exemplified his question: "Does not the law of Our Lord Jesus

Christ bind us to love all men, to look upon all men as our brothers, and even to do good to those who hate and persecute us?" His congregation, he said, were "allowing themselves to become the slaves of Jew usurers". Then came the charge of Deicide and Ritual murder: "... they rejected Jesus — they crucified Him — they called down the curse of His precious blood upon their own heads — 'His blood be upon us and upon our children', they cried and that curse came upon them ... They persecuted the Christians from the beginning. They slew St. Stephen, the first martyr, and St. James the Apostle, and ever since, as often as opportunity offered, they did not hesitate to shed Christian blood, and that even in the meanest and most cruel manner, as in the case of the Holy martyr St. Simeone, who, though a mere child, they took and crucified out of hatred and derision towards Our Lord Jesus Christ. Nowadays they dare not kidnap and slay Christian children, but they will not hesitate to expose them to a longer and even more cruel martyrdom by taking the clothes off their backs and the bit out of their mouths. Twenty years ago and less Jews were known only by name and evil repute in Limerick. They were sucking the blood of other nations, but those nations rose up and turned them out. And they come to our land to fasten themselves on us like leeches and to draw our blood when they have been forced away from other countries. They have indeed fastened themselves upon us, and now the question is whether or not we will allow them to fasten themselves anymore upon us, until we and our children become the helpless victims of their rapacity".<sup>42</sup>

Joyce is aware of all this. It is he who charges Bloom with the responsibility of protest. "And I belong to a race too ... that is hated and persecuted. Also, now. This very instance", that is June 16th 1904. Bloom was talking, at that moment, about "injustice". He pleads: "But it's no use ... force, hatred, history and all that. That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred.

What? says Alf.

Love, says Bloom, I mean the opposite of hatred".<sup>43</sup>

## VIII

The physical attacks which followed upon Father Creagh's sermon continued for several months. The imposition of the dreaded "boycott" as a weapon broke the fragile economic thread which had, painstakingly, been built. Shops closed their doors to Jewish



mothers who sought food for their families. Debtors closed their doors to Jewish fathers who sought payment for goods supplied. Limerick Corporation rallied behind Father Creagh. The Protestant Bishop who had denounced the anti-Jewish attacks was, in turn, branded, and, verbally, attacked. Into the breach, as a result of a letter drafted by Saul M. Goldberg (the writer's uncle), and signed by Rev. E.S. Levin, the Communities Minister, stepped Michael Davitt, founder of the Irish Land League. All that can be said, here, is to remember and honour his protest as an Irishman and as a Catholic against "This spirit of barbarous malignity being introduced into Ireland, under the pretended regard for the welfare of our workers". He was referring to the charge of the shedding of the blood of Christian children. Davitt appealed to the Bishop of Limerick not to allow "the fair name of Catholic Ireland to be sullied through an anti-Jewish crusade to the injury and shame of a city of which every Irishman is historically proud".<sup>44</sup>

Father Creagh's reply did not withdraw the allegation of "ritual murder". It did not, even refer to it. He had very powerful allies. Among the most powerful was Arthur Griffith who joined the attack. On January 23rd 1904 *The United Irishman* thundered against Davitt and the Jews. Like Father Creagh, Griffith found no need to repudiate the charge of ritual murder, although he offered the opinion that Father Creagh had got his history wrong. He used all the epithets and stock in trade of the born anti-semitic: "usuriousness" "notoriously dishonest business methods of three fourths of the Jews of Ireland" (what the other one fourth was doing he could not tell), "extortion", "fraud", "business knavery" and so on. Nobody objected, he allowed, to the Jew "worshipping God in the manner he believes proper; but everybody objects to being fleeced and swindled in the name of God". He had not read any report of what Father Creagh had said but he had read Mr. Davitt's letter. If it was accurate then "Father Creagh is wrong in his history but right in his advice". He went on to say: "Mr. Davitt is proud — so are we — that Ireland is the one country in Europe where 'the Jews were never persecuted'. But that is all the more reason that Jews should not persecute Ireland". He went on to complain that when "fifteen hundred of our strong men and good women sail in the liners from the Cobh of Cork we can count on receiving a couple of hundred Jews to fill their places by the next North Wall boat". Was Joyce parodying Griffith when he

makes the Citizen say "There are nice things coming over her to Ireland filling the country with bugs".<sup>45</sup> And when Bloom "lets on he heard nothing", the Citizen comments, in Griffith's thoughts and language — "Swindling the peasants ... and the poor of Ireland. We want no more strangers in our house". The Citizen blames the people: "It is our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them".

Griffith's language did nothing to improve the situation in Limerick; if anything it seemed, in retrospect, that Ireland was ripe for a miniature Dreyfus trial of its Jewish population as people began to take sides. In April 1904 Griffith returned to the attack. This time he wrote: "In all countries and in all Christian ages he has been an usurer and grinder of the poor. The influences he has recently acquired in this Country is a matter of the most serious concern to the people ... The Jew in Ireland is in every respect an economic evil. He produces no wealth himself — he draws it from others ... He is an unfair competitor with the rate-paying parish shop keeper, and he remains among us, ever and always an alien."<sup>46</sup>

## IX

Elsewhere the writer hopes to deal with the reasons which prompted Joyce to make his hero the son of an apostate Jew. Bloom is not "a renegade Jew" as he has been called. It is true that his background, upbringing, baptisms, thoughts, actions and conversations are varying and, at times, contradictory. But, his father Rudolph Bloom was born into and never forgot Judaism. "And the tephilim no what's this they call it poor papa's father had on his door to touch. That brought us out of the land of Egypt and into the house of bondage". What prompted this deliberate misquotation of the text? We do not offer an answer here. Rudolph Bloom saw to it that his son received a considerable Jewish and Hebrew education. When Stephen wrote the Irish characters for gee, eh, dee, em, simple and modified, Bloom "in turn wrote the Hebrew characters ghimel, aleph, dalet and (in the absence of mem a substituted goph), explaining their arithmetical values as ordinal and cardinal numbers, videlicet 3, 1, 4 and 100".<sup>47</sup> Bloom remembers "poor papa with his hagadah book, reading backwards with his finger to me. Pesach"<sup>48</sup> We do not know what knowledge Bloom derived from his mother, formerly Ellen Higgins, but we do know that her father was also Hungarian, also born in Szombethly, and the inference is that she was half Jewish.

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Bloom's spoken and unspoken thoughts. "What reduced to their simplest reciprocal form were Bloom's thoughts about Stephen's thoughts about Bloom's thoughts about Stephen?" "He thought that he thought that he was a Jew whereas he knew that he knew that he was not". And earlier, when he told Stephen, "how he simply but effectually silenced the offender" (The Citizen) he explained: "So I without deviating from plain facts in the least told him, his God, I mean Christ was a Jew too, and all his family, like me, though in reality I'm not".<sup>49</sup> On the other hand: "Why did Bloom experience a sentiment of remorse? Because in immature impatience he had treated with disrespect certain beliefs and practices. As? The prohibition of the use of fleshmeat and milk at one meal, the hebdomadary symposium of inco-ordinately abstract, perfidly concrete mercantile coexreligionist excompatriots: the circumcision of male infants: the supernatural character of Judaic scripture: the ineffability of the tetragrammaton, the sanctity of the sabbath".<sup>50</sup>

When the question of Bloom's religion is discussed it is of importance to understand that Joyce did not do anything by halves. The man who had taken so many years to write this book said nothing which he did not wish to say. Everything had meaning. There are times when he is very clear, easily read and understandable. At other times he appears to shrug his shoulders and leave it to his readers to work things out for themselves. "You do not read *Ulysses*. You watch the words" wrote Guy Davenport.<sup>51</sup> Joyce was not writing either for an Irish or a Jewish audience; he was writing for all the world. Yet, there are occasions when what he writes can only be understood by those who have special knowledge. There is a message in the course of the Circe episode that does not appear to have been understood. It is first that Ireland's Jews did not reject Bloom. Secondly, it suggests that Bloom, in his secret thoughts, regarded himself as a Jew. How, it may be asked do we justify this? Because, at the time of his intended sacrifice "Bloom's mind conjures up Dark shawled figures of the circumcised, in sack cloth and ashes".<sup>52</sup> They stand by the "Wailing Wall". They are members of Ireland's Jewish Community. Joyce names them. Louis Hyman identifies them: Mr. Shulomowitz, Joseph Goldwater, Moses Herzog, Harris Rosenberg, M. Moisel, J. Citron, Minnie Watchman, O. Mastiansky, the Reverend Leopold Abramovitz, Chaman.<sup>53</sup> It does not matter that the Wailing Wall has come

to Dublin's night town.

At that moment, that last moment, as it appeared to Bloom in his state of excitement or exaltation or hallucination, things are as he wants. His father's fellow Jews, and nobody else are around him at the moment of his death. The only Last Rites which he seeks are those which every Jew hears on his death bed. Jews "wail in pneuma" over his recreant body.<sup>54</sup> They cast Dead Sea fruit (an illusion which harks back to his thoughts on reading the newspaper in which Dlugacz's kidneys had been wrapped). He makes a feeble pun on his name — "no flowers" (perhaps a suggestion that his father's fellow Jews would find a "Bloom" more acceptable than a "Flower"). Significantly, they chant "Shema Israel Adonai Elchunus Adonni Echod" — "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is One", the first words which a Jewish father recites on the birth of a child, the last words which he hears on his death bed. And Joyce leaves us under no doubt that these words are the last words which Bloom's imagination brought to mind, or so the text informs us: for the words which follow are: "So, he's gone .. There's the widow".

#### NOTES

1. Hiller the Elder was a contemporary of Herod the Great (37-34 B.C.) He was the last great Rabbi in Jerusalem before the fall of the Jewish State (cf. *Hillel the Elder: The Emergence of Classical Judaism*, Nahum N. Glatzer New York, 1957).
2. Hebrew letters have ordinal and cardinal application. Joyce knew this. (cf. *Ulysses* (Penguin edition) p.609). The letter Lamed equals thirty. The letter Vav equals six. Thus Lamed-Vav equals thirty six. In every generation there are born among the Jews thirty six men, whom God has chosen to bear the burden of the world's suffering and to whom he has granted the privilege of martyrdom.
3. Joyce's name for Jonathan Swift from whose *Thoughts on various Subjects* this quotation is taken.
4. Bernard Shillman *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (Dublin 1945) pp. 99-101.
5. 1839 1911.
6. St. Paul: 1 Corinthians XIII 1.
7. *Ulysses* (Penguin ed.) p.42.
8. Shillman, op.cit.
9. *ibid.*
10. Psalm 133, 1.
11. *The Jews of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (hereafter referred to as 'Hyman') published in 1972 by The Jewish Historical Society of England and the Irish University Press. cf. p. 210. However, the present writer's information is mostly gleaned from the pages of the *Cork Constitution*.
12. Hyman, op.cit.
13. *ibid.* p.219.
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.* p.162.
16. Shillman, op.cit. p.104.
17. *ibid.*

18. *Ulysses* (Penguin) p.451.
19. The alleged contribution of Leopold Bloom to the founding of Sinn Fein has been much discussed. The views of Robert Martin Adams in *Surface and Symbol* make the strongest case against Bloom. The other side will be put by this writer in a later work which will develop all the themes summarized in this article.
20. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (OUP 1959) pp.62-63, says of Michael Cusack that 'Joyce liked him little enough to make him the model for the narrow-minded and rhetorical Cyclops in *Ulysses*'.
21. *Ulysses* (Pgn) p.304
22. Ibid. p.333
23. *The United Irishman*, July 29th 1899.
24. Ibid. September 16th 1899.
25. Published in *Sinn Fein* November 24th 1906.
26. *Selected Joyce Letters* ed Richard Ellmann (New York, 1976). pp. 108-109.
27. *Sinn Fein*, November 26th, 1906.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. *Ulysses* (pgn) p.39
32. *Sinn Fein*, December 1st, 1906.
33. *Ulysses* (Pgn) 302.
34. *Sinn Fein*, December 1st 1906.
35. *Ulysses* (Pgn) 302.
36. Ibid. 343
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. p.610.
41. Ibid. p.613
42. Father Creagh's 'Sermon' was fully reported in *The Limerick Leader* of the time (A copy of which is in this writer's possession).
43. *Ulysses*. (Pgn), 331.
44. Michael Davitt's letter was published in *The Freeman's Journal*, January 18th, 1904. Bernard Shillman's manuscript of events in Limerick during 1904 is in this writers possession. The fact that little coverage of events in Limerick appeared in Shillman's book was because he felt that, in the circumstances of that time (1945) the less said about such matters the better.
45. *Ulysses* (Pgn), 321.
46. *The United Irishman*, 23rd April 1904.
47. *Ulysses* (Pgn), 609.
48. Ibid. 602.
49. Ibid. 563.
50. Ibid. 645.
51. Guy Davenport, *The Geography of the Imagination* (North Point Press: San Francisco) p. 287.
52. *Ulysses* (Pgn), 496
53. Hyman, op.cit. pp.167-174.
54. *Ulysses* (Pgn), 496.

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