

## 2: The Limerick 'pogrom', 1904

- 1 O'Riordan was published by Kegan Paul, London; Plunkett was published by John Murray, London.
- 2 For his pains, he was repeatedly attacked in the columns of the *United Irishman*. On 30 September 1899, his social radicalism and his defence of Jews were held up to ridicule during the Dreyfus affair: 'The fusion of New Tipperary in the New Jerusalem has happened, accordingly, at a time when the Anglo-Jew Conspiracy against France will have need of all its recruits.'
- 3 He travelled to Russia as a journalist in 1903 and reported for the papers of William R. Hearst.
- 4 Michael Davitt, *Within the Pale: The True Story of Anti-Semitic Persecutions in Russia* (Hurst and Blackett, London, 1903).
- 5 This was pointed out to me by Gerald Goldberg whose family lived there in 1904 and were obliged to leave the city as a consequence of the disturbances.
- 6 Born in Thomondgate on 19 August 1870, Creagh was from a middle-class family. His mother died when he was eight. His father removed him from the Christian Brothers' School to the diocesan seminary where the future bishop of Limerick, Dr Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, was rector. He returned to the Christian Brothers when the school closed. He entered the Redemptorists at the age of fourteen. He studied for three years in the juvenate with the order before going to Liverpool, where he did his novitiate. He then moved to South Devon and was professed on 18 October 1888. He was ordained on 1 September 1895. He spent five years as a professor of scripture and theology in England. He was sent to Belfast and then he was moved to Esker, Athenry, Co. Galway. From there he was transferred to Limerick. See 'Father Creagh – His voyage to the Philippines', undated press cutting in the Holy Family Chronicles, 1900–42 (Part 1), Redemptorist Archives, Redemptorist House, Limerick (hereafter cited as Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick). See also Creagh's curriculum vitae, written in Liverpool in 1887 while he was in the novitiate. My thanks to Fr Brendan McConvery, archivist, Marianella, Dublin.
- 7 Interview with Creagh, 'Catholic and Jew, Father Creagh in Belfast, his version of the crusade', *Northern Whig*, 8 February 1904.
- 8 Samuel J. Boland, 'Fr John Creagh in the Kimberleys', *Old Limerick Journal*, No. 23 (Spring 1988), p. 152. Creagh spent much of his later life in Australia; Boland wrote:  
He embarrassed the [Australian] government by speaking about the grant of one shilling a year to the Sisters' mission ... He enraged the pearling companies by describing, with an abundance of vivid detail, the exploitation of crews and divers, most of them Asiatics, living for years in exile to support impoverished families.
- 9 Creagh declared his fear about undertaking his new position, but trusted in the goodness of God to help him to continue the splendid work of the arch-confraternity. Undated press cuttings in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 10 *ibid.*
- 11 Creagh's stepmother died on 6 January 1904 and he officiated at the funeral. Her remains were removed from St. Munchin's Church the following day and taken by rail to Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, where she was buried at Killarin cemetery. See *Limerick Leader*, 7 January 1904, quoted in Des Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick' (Part 2), *Old Limerick Journal*, No. 18 (Winter 1985), p. 36.
- 12 Cutting from the *Limerick Journal*, 13 January 1904 in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 13 *ibid.*
- 14 *ibid.*

- 15 See Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 36. Creagh said:  
Just a few minutes ago I was handed a copy of the Chronicle with an account of a Jewish wedding. Listen to what it says: 'At the Synagogue, inside and out, were large crowds and the difference between them being that whereas those outside (most of them) wore poverty's motley, those inside were clad in fine broadcloth, and silks and satins goodly to look upon. From the outside to the door of the Synagogue itself, choice decorations were displayed, and the feet of the maiden trod as dainty a carpet as ever was laid down in the most "fashionable" edifice in the country.' Mark the words 'those outside (most of them) wore poverty's motley'. This certainly tells its own tale.
- 16 Cutting from the *Limerick Journal*, 13 January 1904 in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 17 *ibid.*
- 18 *ibid.* Creagh contrasted the rates of interest charged by Jews with those of other lending institutions:  
The Jews lend money in time of need, but at what rates of interest? Let me enter into a few figures. If you want £5 you get not the 5 but 4.1s.3d. or 18s.9d. less, which means 75 per cent at the end of the year. In the Perry Jubilee office you are only charged 4d. in the pound. In the banks the charge is 5 per cent, so you only pay 5.5s.0d. at the end of the year, whereas you have to pay something like double the amount borrowed from the Jews. Is not this robbery?
- 19 *ibid.*
- 20 *ibid.* This sermon was delivered again the following night. It may even have been given on the Wednesday evening.
- 21 *ibid.*
- 22 *ibid.*
- 23 The letter was published on 18 January. Cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 24 *ibid.*
- 25 *ibid.*
- 26 *ibid.*
- 27 *ibid.* Davitt said that Limerick had a 'Bishop of splendid intellectual powers, who is a great Churchman, whatever faults some of us occasionally find with him in relation to other questions'. He said that a mind as clear as that of Bishop O'Dwyer's 'will not allow the fair name of Catholic Ireland to be sullied through an anti-Jewish crusade, under his spiritual jurisdiction, to the injury and shame of a city of which every Irish man is historically proud'.  
A letter from 'a Limerick Confraternity man', dated 20 January 1904, attacked Davitt for his defence of Jews:  
Limerickmen love their native land, and its grand traditions, many of which are immortalised in song and story, but which we well know would not improve by affinity with aliens to our Faith and Fatherland, aye, not only aliens but avowed enemies. One tradition I would especially draw attention to as sung by Tom Moore, viz. – 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore' – as testifying to the purity of the Irish character. How many such are to be found in the mishna? Or I wonder how long would those precious gems remain unsullied in the midst of a Jewish population. This strikes me all the more forcefully, as while I write a matter comes to hand which informs me that an old Jew – grey and decrepid – standing in his doorway a few evenings ago, invites into his parlour some young women passing by, offering as a gift a new dress. One came on who no sooner heard the invita-

tion than like a true daughter of Limerick hurled the old wretch from his battlement with the same old weapons as of yore.

Davitt was also attacked in the letters columns of the *Limerick Echo* and the *Munster News* but he was defended in the *London Times* on 23 January 1904. See also Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (Irish University Press, Shannon, 1972), p. 216 and Bernard Shillman, *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (Eason, Dublin, 1945), p. 137. For a brief description of Davitt's views on the persecution of the Jews, see T. W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1848–82* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982).

28 Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

29 Levin to Hayes, 13 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI. Emphasis added by RIC.

30 *ibid.*

31 O'Hara Report, 16 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

32 County Inspector Thomas Hayes to Dublin Castle, 27 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

33 *ibid.*

34 *ibid.*

35 *ibid.*

36 O'Hara report, 18 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI. Emphasis added by Dublin Castle. These events were fully reported in 'Excitement in the city', *Limerick Chronicle*, 19 January 1904.

37 District Inspector O'Hara also forwarded cuttings from the *Freeman's Journal* which contained correspondence on Limerick, including the letter from Michael Davitt. O'Hara report, 18 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

38 *ibid.* Emphasis added by Dublin Castle.

39 *ibid.* Emphasis added by Dublin Castle. He confirmed again that special measures had been taken to protect the houses in the Jewish quarters.

40 Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 37.

41 'Hear all sides', *Limerick Leader*, 18 January 1904.

42 See 'A Limerick priest's attack on the Jews', *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1904, quoted in Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 37.

43 Cutting from *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1904, Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick; the article is date-lined 17 January, but there can be little doubt that it was sent on the evening of the 18th after the intimidation and the threats of violence, and in fact the report refers to 'today' as Monday.

44 *ibid.*

45 'Mischief-making in Limerick', *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1904.

46 Among those who criticised Creagh were I. Julian Grande, director of the Irish Mission to Jews. At a meeting in Dublin he said he was sorry to find that a strong feeling of anti-Semitism had made itself felt in Limerick. A resolution was unanimously passed condemning the unjust and unchristian attacks made on the Jewish community in Limerick. Undated cutting from the *Limerick Journal*, probably 19 January 1904, in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

47 Ryan 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 37.

48 'Jewish trade in Limerick – reply by the Rev. Father Creagh, C.S.S.R.', *Limerick Echo*, 19 January 1904, cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

49 *ibid.*

50 *ibid.*

51 *ibid.*

52 *ibid.*

53 On this issue Creagh based his arguments on a very uncritical reading of the anti-Semitic work of l'Abbé Rene F. Rohrbacher, *Histoire universelle de l'église catholique*, 5 vols. (no publisher, 1842). The later edition of 1856 has 29 volumes. Both editions are in the Library of Congress, Washington DC. See also reference in press cutting, Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

54 Cutting from *Limerick Echo*, 19 January 1904, in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

55 *ibid.*

56 O'Hara report, 19 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

57 Considine minute, 19 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

58 Considine minute, 21 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.

59 O'Hara report, 22 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI; for full report of the petty sessions, see *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 23 January 1904.

60 Undated cutting from the *Limerick Journal* in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.

61 Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 37.

62 A file marked 'Jews' containing two letters from David Alexander, president of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, is what remains in the archives. See File 35, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer papers, Limerick Diocesan Archives. I am grateful to Bishop Donal Murray for giving me access to the O'Dwyer papers.

63 The Redemptorist Holy Family Chronicle is not particularly helpful in this regard while the Domestic Chronicle merely recorded the following at the time:

Rev. J. Creagh denounced the Jews of Limerick at the Confraternity meeting for their extortions. Mr Davitt replied by an angry and abusive letter in the *Freeman's Journal*. At the next meeting the men clapped their hands when Fr Creagh appeared in the pulpit. A meeting was held to protest against Davitt's letter and letters were published in the city newspapers attacking him. Assaults were made in some places on the Jews, and some of those who did so were fined heavily by the Magistrates.

Mt St Alphonsus, Domestic Chronicle, Vol. 3 (1899–1911), Redemptorist Archives, Redemptorist House, Limerick.

64 Two-page excerpt entitled 'an Extract from the Provincial Chronicles 1904', in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick. It began:

Fr Creagh preached many sermons to the Confraternity at Limerick on the Jews; showing how extortionate they were: giving details of their evil deeds in every country in Europe from the earliest times. Soon afterwards the Jews were assaulted in the streets and Jewish families were reduced to such distress that they had to leave Limerick. The Jews were doing great harm by their extortions and the sale of immoral pictures. However their defence was taken up by the Protestants of Limerick and violent attacks were made on Fr Creagh. Some English newspapers published most violent attacks both on Fr Creagh and the Catholics of Limerick. 'The Times' had leading articles on the subject in which they defended the Jews and attacked the Catholic Church. At the Protestant Synod of Bishops in Dublin Dr Bunbury the Protestant Bishop of Limerick spoke strongly against Fr Creagh and expressed his astonishment that he was not silenced by his Superiors. He was called a *pulpit firebrand* and an *ecclesiastical incendiary* [sic].

65 *ibid.*

66 This is speculation on my part, but it would appear that O'Dwyer was angry at having his diocese a centre of anti-Semitic outbursts which would be an indirect criticism of his handling of affairs.

- 67 Two-page excerpt entitled 'an Extract from the Provincial Chronicles 1904', in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 68 Alexander to Logue, 8 April 1904, File 35, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer papers, Limerick Diocesan Archives.
- 69 Alexander to O'Dwyer, 25 April 1904 (enclosing a copy of his letter to Logue), File 35, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer papers, Limerick Diocesan Archives.
- 70 Fr Brendan Mc Convery to author, 3 May 1997. Fr Mc Convery, who has written on the history of the Redemptorists in Ireland, gave me generous assistance in the writing of this chapter. He recounts a saying among Redemptorists of an earlier generation about the three superior generals whose rule spanned the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: 'Mauron was all head, Raus was all heart, Murray was neither head nor heart.'
- 71 Mt St Alphonsus, Domestic Chronicle, Vol. 3 (1899–1911), Redemptorist Archives, Redemptorist House, Limerick.
- 72 *ibid.*
- 73 Address to Raus by the Hebrew Congregation of Limerick, Synagogue Chambers, 63 Coloonay Street. Original kept in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 74 Two-page excerpt entitled 'an Extract from the Provincial Chronicles 1904', in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 75 Letter from P. Hayes, secretary of the Mechanics' Institute, Bank Place, 22 January 1904, in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 76 'The Jews – action by archconfraternity', *Limerick Leader*, 25 January 1904.
- 77 *ibid.*
- 78 Undated press cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 79 See *Northern Whig*, 8 February 1904, republished in the *Limerick Leader*, 17 February 1904 and quoted in Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 38.
- 80 *ibid.* The same interview was the subject of an editorial in the *Derry Journal*, 12 February 1904.
- 81 Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 82 Two-page excerpt entitled 'an Extract from the Provincial Chronicles 1904', in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 83 Cutting from the *London Times* and from the *Cork Examiner*, 6 April 1904, in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 84 *United Irishman*, 23 April 1904.
- 85 *ibid.*
- 86 *ibid.*
- 87 *United Irishman*.
- 88 *ibid.*
- 89 Cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick. Jaffe went on to explain an incident which occurred in Killaloe, Co. Clare, about six or seven years before. A missionary gave such a fiery sermon on the crucifixion that the following day Jews who had come to the town to trade were shunned like lepers and in other cases beset by a wild and infuriated mob. Jaffe sent a letter to the local bishop and that had the effect of restoring peace.
- 90 Church of Ireland clergyman E. H. Lewis-Crosby had a critical letter in the *London Times* on 11 April 1904. There were further critical reports in the *Irish Times*, 13 April 1904 and in the *Northern Mail*, 15 April 1904. The *London Times*, carrying many letters critical of the priest in its correspondence columns, condemned the attacks on the Limerick Jews in an editorial on 5 April. An article in the *Birmingham Post* of 15 March 1904 was critical of the outbreak of intolerance and intimidation in Limerick.
- 91 Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 38.

- 92 County Inspector Thomas Hayes to Dublin Castle, 28 January 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI. Emphasis added by Dublin Castle.
- 93 List of allegations investigated by the police, January–March 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 94 *ibid.*
- 95 *ibid.*
- 96 Statement by Isaac Sandler, 25 March 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 97 Statement by Norah Keffe, Kilbradran, 29 March 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 98 Statement by Isaac Sandler, 25 March 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 99 Report by Sergeant William McEvoy, 29 March 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 100 *ibid.*
- 101 *ibid.*
- 102 Considine minute, 8 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 103 Dublin Castle minute, 9 April 1904, CSORP 1905/23538, NAI.
- 104 Draft letter to London Committee of Deputies of British Jews (undated but probably late March 1904), CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI. The reply had been toned down considerably. An earlier draft had phrases such as: 'that however reprehensible the language attributed to the Revd Mr Creagh may be there is not available evidence sufficient to bring home to him the commission of any crime'.
- 105 Dublin Castle minute (undated) and copy of letter, 5 April 1904, from Charles H. Emanuel, secretary, London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 106 I. Julian Grande, letter 'The Jews in Limerick', *Irish Times*, 1 April 1904.
- 107 *Daily Express*, 1 April 1904.
- 108 *ibid.*
- 109 Considine minute, 9 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 110 O'Hara report, 7 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 111 O'Hara report, 13 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI. Emphasis added by Dublin Castle.
- 112 *ibid.*
- 113 Considine minute, 14 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 114 Cutting of House of Commons debate, 14 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 115 'The Jewish troubles – boy sent to jail', *Limerick Leader*, 15 April 1904.
- 116 'A new Irish industry – the manufacture of "intolerance"', editorial in *Limerick Leader*, 15 April 1904.
- 117 'The Jewish question – action of the corporation', *Limerick Chronicle*, 21 April 1904.
- 118 O'Hara report, 14 May 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 119 'The Jewish trouble – release of the boy Raleigh', *Limerick Leader*, 13 May 1904.
- 120 *ibid.*
- 121 *Irish Times*, 16 April 1904.
- 122 *ibid.*
- 123 *ibid.*
- 124 *ibid.*
- 125 *ibid.*
- 126 *Freeman's Journal*, 16 April 1904.
- 127 O'Hara report, 22 April 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 128 'The Jewish question – action of the corporation', *Limerick Chronicle*, 21 April 1904.
- 129 *ibid.*



- 130 'Dr Bunbury's speech', editorial in *Munster News*, 20 April 1904. The relationship between Protestants and Catholics lies outside the scope of this study. But Dr John Long was a controversial figure. In Limerick since 1897, he ran a free medical clinic. He suffered intimidation from those who objected to his attempts to make converts to Protestantism. Reference to his activities may be found in Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 38. See also Anon. (An Irishman), *Intolerance in Ireland – Facts not Fiction* (Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London, 1913), pp. 36–49.
- 131 William J. Moloney, 'The libel of Limerick', *Leader*, 30 April 1904, p. 148.
- 132 *ibid.*
- 133 William J. Moloney, 'Limerick and the Jews', *Leader*, 7 May 1904, p. 71.
- 134 William J. Moloney, 'The libel of Limerick', *Leader*, 30 April 1904, p. 150.
- 135 Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, pp. 216–17.
- 136 Ryan, 'The Jews of Limerick', p. 39.
- 137 *Limerick Echo*, 1 October 1904.
- 138 *ibid.*
- 139 Dublin Castle minute, 6 October 1904, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 140 Hayes report, 12 March 1905, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 141 Dublin Castle report, 13 March 1905, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 142 *ibid.* District Inspector O'Hara had filed a very detailed report on this topic on 12 March 1905. Of the total of 49 who had left, 16 were men, 8 were women and there were 25 children. The three families who left for private reasons were that of 'Rabbi Goldberg' (possibly a reference to Louis Goldberg, who was not a rabbi but who did have a synagogue in his house during the split), who left owing to the settlement of 'an inter-Jewish schism during the prevalence of which two Rabbis were employed in Limerick', and two families called Weinronk who left to join the heads of that family in South Africa. Of the 26 families that remained, 18 were in 'poor circumstances'. Their trade in the city as pedlars and traders was 'gone' and not likely to return. O'Hara said that the statement that the Jews were left severely alone was true in general, but people still dealt with a dentist called Jaffe and a furniture dealer called Tuohy.
- 143 Cutting from House of Commons debate, 4 July 1905, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 144 Levin to Long, 11 July 1905, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 145 Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, p. 217.
- 146 See copy of article by Asher Benson, 'Storm before the Storm', about the divisions within the Jewish community in Limerick over the purchase of a Jewish burial ground. There is also correspondence between Benson and one of Levin's sons, Salmond, in Box 39, Irish Jewish Museum Archives, Dublin.
- 147 O'Hara report, 12 March 1905, CSORP, 1905/23538, NAI.
- 148 See press cutting circa November 1905, Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick. As director of the arch-confraternity, he was also expected to play a role as mediator in trade disputes. On 19 March 1906, for example, he received the text of a resolution from the secretary of the Mechanics' Institute, J. Hayes, thanking him for 'the noble and businesslike way he brought to a close the protracted dispute in the mason trade'.
- 149 'A loss to Limerick', editorial in *Limerick Echo*, 24 April 1906.
- 150 Undated and unidentified cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 151 'Father Creagh's departure', editorial in *Limerick Leader*, 27 April 1906.
- 152 'Rev. Father Creagh', editorial in *Munster News*, 9 May 1906.
- 153 *ibid.*
- 154 Undated and unidentified cutting in Holy Family Chronicles, Limerick.
- 155 *ibid.*

- 156 *ibid.*
- 157 After the Philippines, Creagh worked in Northern Australia and in New Zealand, all the time in the service of poorer sections of those societies. Wherever he went, controversy dogged him. In any future study, it would be worth attempting to place Creagh in his wider intellectual and cultural context by examining his family background, his formation in the seminary, the ethos of the Redemptorist order at the time, the links through his order with French Catholicism, the place of the order in the contemporary debate on anti-Semitism, and the nature and structure of Limerick society at the turn of the century. This wider study may reveal Creagh to be at once villain and victim – the prey of the intellectual anti-Semitism of his church and of his time.
- 158 Interview with Richard Haslam, Cork, November 1997.
- 159 *ibid.*
- 160 Information kindly supplied by Denis Leonard, Limerick Civic Trust.
- 161 See invitation card, Limerick Civic Trust archives, Limerick.
- 162 *Irish Times*, 15 November 1990.
- 163 *Limerick Leader*, 17 November 1990.
- 164 *Irish Times*, 15 November 1990.
- 3: Leopold Bloom, the Jewish community and independent Ireland
- 1 One of the future leaders of the 1916 Rising, James Connolly, had an appeal issued on his behalf in Yiddish during his campaign in 1902 for election to Dublin Corporation. He was standing for Wood Quay Ward where Jews were in the majority in a number of streets. See Manus O'Riordan, 'Connolly, Socialism and the Jewish Worker', *Saothar*, Vol. 13 (1988), pp. 120–30.
- 2 See *Leader*, 16 July 1904. An earlier edition of the *Leader*, 25 June 1904 (p. 275), refers to the refusal of the *Evening Telegraph* and the *Evening Herald* to publish an advertisement from the Dublin tailor John S. Kelly Ltd which included the words: 'No connection with Jews'.
- 3 William Bulfin, *Rambles in Eirinn* (Gill & Son, Dublin, 1907), pp. 307–8.
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 308.
- 5 *ibid.*, p. 309.
- 6 Oliver St John Gogarty, 'Ugly England', *Sinn Féin*, 24 November 1906.
- 7 Oliver St John Gogarty, 'Ugly England', *Sinn Féin*, 1 December 1906.
- 8 Michael Noyk, 'Statement Regarding 1910–1921 Period' given to the Military History Bureau, Dublin. See MS 18,975, NLI.
- 9 'United Irishman' entry in Robert Welch (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996), p. 580.
- 10 Richard Ellman, *James Joyce* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983), p. 373.
- 11 *ibid.*, p. 144.
- 12 *ibid.*, p. 156; Joyce's chance meeting with his future wife Nora Barnacle walking down Nassau Street on 10 June 1904 may be described as a defining moment in the personal life of that artist. They walked together for the first time on 16 June at Ringsend. He set the entire action of *Ulysses* on that date.
- 13 Louis Hyman argues that Joyce was misled by his brother, Stanislaus, into believing that Hunter was a Jew. See Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (Irish University Press, Shannon, 1972), p. 169.
- 14 'Ulysses' entry in Welch (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, p. 577.
- 15 Ira B. Nadel, *Joyce and the Jews: Culture and Texts* (University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1996), p. 139.
- 16 Ellman, *James Joyce*, p. 373.
- 17 James Joyce, *Ulysses*, annotated students' edition (Penguin, London, 1992), p. 798.