

Joyce and the Twoheaded Octopus of *judéo-maçonnerie*

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One of the questions which continues to exercise readers of *Ulysses* is whether 'Bloom really is or was a freemason'.¹ In attempting to answer this question, critics have tended to treat Joyce's engagement with Freemasonry in general terms, in line with Joyce's own request to Frank Budgen in a letter of 6 November 1921 to send him 'any little handbook' on 'British Freemasonry', which might suggest negligible acquaintance with the subject previous to this point.² However, this article not only examines Joyce's precise deployment of Masonic terminology in light of the specific context of the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the higher orders of Irish Freemasonry affiliated to it, but also the resurgence of interest in *judéo-maçonnerie* in France during his initial visits to Paris in 1902-3, which reaches its apogee in the *Affaire des Fiches* of 1904-5. This preoccupation with *judéo-maçonnerie* informs one of the most cryptic images in *Ulysses*, which Bloom himself fails to understand, the bicephalous octopus mentioned in passing by Æ in 'Lestrygonians', who reappears in 'Circe' in Highland dress, mirroring that affected by 'seventh of Edward' (*U* 4370-1).

Certainly, Bloom's wife seems clear in her mind that 'he was a freemason', and as a cradle Catholic, albeit from a British military background, she mistrusts the 'freemasons' as much as she does 'those Sinner Fein' (*U* 18.382-3).³ However, whether Bloom finally left the Freemasons due to his reception into the Catholic church, in accordance with the apostolic constitution, *Quo Graviora* (13 March 1826) – more strictly enforced in Ireland than previous papal decrees from *In Eminenti* (28 April 1738) onward) – or whether he was asked to leave after 'there was that lodge meeting on about those lottery tickets' (*U* 8.184-5), is a great deal more difficult to determine.⁴ It is not unlikely that a Jewish Dubliner should become a Freemason: since the eighteenth century, the Grand Lodge of Ireland 'provided an

important sphere for contacts between Jews and the Protestant minority'.⁵ These contacts were bulwarked by the general tendency for Jewish families to send their children to Protestant schools, at primary and particularly at secondary level, including Bloom's *alma mater*, 'the high school, funded by the Erasmus Smith Trust and under Church of Ireland management, which had been operating on Harcourt Street since 1870'.⁶ There would be nothing in Bloom's educational background as a nominal member of the 'Irish (protestant) church' (*U* 17.1636) to prevent him becoming a Freemason, and many prominent members of the Erasmus Smith Trust were Freemasons, such as 'The right honourable Hedges Eyre Chatterton' (*U* 7.262). Joyce makes a point of changing the sporting colours of the High School from black and red, reflected in Bloom's 'red schoolcap with badge' (*U* 15.3318) and 'the muffler in the Zingari colours' (*U* 18.295-6), to 'blue and white football jerseys and shorts' (*U* 15.3325-6).⁷ This serves to remind us of the shared Masonic ties among such families as 'Turnbull', 'Chatterton', Meredith', and 'Apjohn', to name some of Bloom's putative friends in the High School, though no Apjohn is on record as having attended the school and there is no 'Goldberg' (*U* 15.3326-8) listed as an active member in any Irish lodge between approximately 1870 to 1895.⁸ Joyce's use of disguised symbolism to indicate Bloom's Masonic past is also emphasized by 'the blue and white checker inlaid majolicatopped table' (*U* 17.1283-4, 1289-90), which still stands, albeit displaced by Molly's afternoon tryst with Boylan, in Bloom's front parlour.⁹

Bloom's eidolon of the 'Halcyon Days' (*U* 15.3325) of school in 'Circe' encapsulates the fraternal ideal of liberty and equality – the original motto of the Grand Orient de France, embraced by such Freemasons and United Irishmen as 'Napper Tandy' (*U* 3.259) and 'Henry Joy M'Cracken' (*U* 12.180) – if not the reality of Irish Freemasonry from the eighteenth century onward.¹⁰ If Bloom sought to transcend prejudice through embracing Freemasonry like the men of 'ninetyeight' (*U* 12.481), particularly the religious tolerance espoused by the

Grand Lodge of Ireland, ‘Ancient free and accepted’ (*U* 8.962), there is an irony bitter as herbs in this aspiration. It is Bloom’s very status as an erstwhile Freemason, bound under oath to espouse ‘universal brotherhood’ (*U* 15.1691-2), that feeds into the suspicion that he is an ‘anythingarian seeking to overthrow our holy faith’ (*U* 15.1712-13), sprung from ‘an elder in Zion’ (*U* 15.248-51). Indeed, the spectral vision of Rudolf Virag in ‘Circe’, sheathed in a caftan and spitting forth the yellow poison of laicization, not only reflects contemporary anti-Semitic polemic which culminates in the vitriolic fabrications of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1903-7), but also reminds us of the charges laid against Freemasonry in papal anathemas since the eighteenth century.¹¹ Later decrees, especially the encyclical *Humanum Genus* (20 April 1884) promulgated by Leo XIII, laid a particular emphasis on the anti-clericism stemming from the Grand Orient’s pursuit of *laïcité*: the absolute separation of church and state.¹² As Joyce would have been aware, the role of the Grand Orient in the anti-clerical excesses perpetrated during the premiership of *le petit père*, Émile Combes (1902-05), came as a reaction to the Dreyfus Affair, and culminated in the *Affaire des Fiches*. This anti-clericism formed the background to Father John Creagh’s first anti-Semitic sermon in Limerick city, delivered on the evening of 11 January 1904 to the Mens’ Confraternity of the Redemptorist church, Mount St Alphonsus. The sermon became the wellspring of ‘a boycott’ (*U* 18.387) that would in time extend as far as ‘the assembled multitude in Shanagolden’ (*U* 12.1313-14).¹³ Creagh warned his congregation that ‘The Jews are in league with the Freemasons in France, and have succeeded in turning out of that country all nuns and religious orders ... that is what the Jews would do in our own country if they are allowed to get into power.’¹⁴

Creagh’s virulent anti-Semitism was fed by the putative Jewish role in formulating the anti-clerical Law of Associations of 1 July 1901, which drastically curbed the influence of religious orders in France. The Law of Associations was the brainchild of the centrist,

Dreyfusard premier, Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau, and when Combes succeeded him as prime minister in 1902, this legislation allowed the new premier to pursue a relentless extirpation of the religious orders in France. Within eighteen months, Combes had applied the letter of the law to close over 12,000 Catholic schools and disperse and exile some 50,000 members of religious congregations.¹⁵ On 18 March 1903, twenty-five teaching congregations were suppressed, involving 11,841 *congréganistes* divided into 1689 houses.¹⁶ This was followed by the suppression of twenty-nine preaching orders on 24 March, including the Benedictines, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Barnabites, the Capuchins, the Passionists, the Society of the Oratory of Jesus, the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate and, most importantly for Creagh, the Redemptorists, who lost twenty houses across France. In addition to the dissolution of these fifty-four orders of men, eighty-five female congregations were dispersed in one fell swoop on 26 June 1903, due to a *bloc des gauches* vote.¹⁷ Leading up to the publication of Combes's anti-clerical manifesto, *Une campagne laïque*, on 5 January 1905, with its preface by Anatole France attacking Jesuit Anti-Semitism, the government passed a further bill on 7 July 1904.¹⁸ This bill not only prohibited all Catholic teaching congregations from any involvement in education, but also provided for their total dissolution within ten years and the confiscation of their property.¹⁹ However, the most notorious expulsion was that of the monks from the Grande Chartreuse on 29 April 1903, which conjured up memories of their first expulsion 'by riotous men, commissioned to expel / The blameless inmates.'²⁰ This 'repellent task', as Maurice Larkin described it, caused Colonel de Coubertin, the officer in charge, to resign his commission, and was reported throughout the English speaking world.²¹ As Bloom reflects in passing, 'They had a gay old time while it lasted. Healthy too, chanting, regular hours, then brew liqueurs. Benedictine. Green Chartreuse' (*U* 5.406-7).²² Combes tried to divert attention from the dissolution of the Grande Chartreuse by alleging the liqueur-wealthy Carthusians attempted

to bribe him via his son, Edgar, in order to secure authorization and avert expulsion. The results of a parliamentary inquiry into the *Affaire des Chartreux* nearly toppled Combes and resulted in flying inkpots in the Chamber of Deputies on 14 June 1904.²³ Indeed, the lead story for 16 June 1904 in *La Libre parole* is ‘L’Affaire Combes; Les Millions des Chartreux.’

For Creagh and likeminded Catholics, Combes was an apostate viper nourished in the bosom of the Assumptionists; a spoiled priest turned Freemason like his *confrère* in impiety, Ernest Renan, who packed his cabinet with Freemasons: an Antichrist in league with the Jews of the Grand Orient:

M. Combes! It is a name of ill omen, which echoes like the sound of a funeral bell among the cloisters in the empty convents, and by the firesides of Christian homes. The aged mutter the name and grow pale as if they had said an unholy thing. The little ones shrink to their mother’s side as the horror of that name strikes upon their innocent ears, for it brings back the memory of dear sisters who have vanished, engulfed as it were in the cavernous jaws of the antichrist.²⁴

Combes’s affiliation with the Grand Orient finally led to his political downfall in 1905 in the wake of the *Affaire des Fiches*. The flashpoint of this crisis occurred on 28 October 1904 when the nationalist deputy for the Seine, Jean Guyot de Villeneuve, revealed to the Chamber of Deputies that the Masonic order had supplied the Ministry of War with information, stored on over 20,000 paper slips, on the private lives of army officers in order to preclude practicing Catholics from advancement.²⁵ That the *Affaire des Fiches* was a Jewish-Masonic plot was attested by Jean-Baptiste Bidegain, the ‘Judas of the Grand Orient’: an ambivalent Freemason, but a committed anti-Semite, who passed some 2000 fiches to De Villeneuve in exchange for 40,000 francs. His testimony to the existence of *judéo-maçonnerie*, expressed

in various works published by ‘Monsieur Drumont, gentleman journalist’ (U 3.230-1) and other contributors to the *Librairie antisémite*, draw directly on allegations concocted by the founder of the *Librairie anticléricale*: that poster boy for a good Jesuit education gone bad, ‘M. Léo Taxil’ (U 3.167; 14.306).²⁶ As Marvin Magalaner points out, although the works and pomps of Taxil ‘are mentioned only twice in *Ulysses*’, they are ‘inconspicuously present throughout’. Indeed, ‘For the reader who knows of the Taxil-Freemasonry fiasco, the “exposure” of the Masons by Joyce in his novel acquires an additional dimension.’²⁷

On 19 April 1897, at a press conference in the great hall of the Société de géographie, boulevard Saint-Germain, Taxil revealed that his campaign against *judéo-maçonnerie*, which had extended to editing the weekly periodical *La France chrétienne* between 1887 and 1895, was a hoax.²⁸ The *Affaire Taxil* purported to expose such anti-Semitic clerics as Léon Meurin, but also succeeded in mocking the good intentions of Thérèse of Lisieux or ‘the Little Flower’ (U 6.161).²⁹ Meurin was the Jesuit archbishop of Port-Louis, Mauritius; a father of the First Vatican Council and a learned Orientalist, who had nonetheless supported Taxil’s cause, publishing the oft-cited *La franc-maçonnerie, synagogue de satan* in 1893.³⁰ Even though the concept of *judéo-maçonnerie* is found as early as Abbé Augustin Barruel’s *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du Jacobinisme* of 1797, and Henri-Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux’s *Le juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* of 1869, the idea that it had spread its tentacles throughout the world was preached from the pulpit across the confessional divide once the Dreyfus Affair became public knowledge. As Bloom reminds us in a striking reversal of Zola’s defense of Dreyfus, ‘They accuse’ (U 16.1116). However, this idea was resisted most staunchly by Arthur Edward Waite, Freemason and erstwhile member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Waite not only refuted the salacious claims of Taxil and his *alter ego* Dr Bataille in his serialized effort to discredit Freemasonry, *Le diable au XIX^e siècle* (1892-5), but also those of Meurin.³¹ Waite was particularly

troubled by Meurin's misrepresentation of the Jewish aspects of the Scottish rites of Freemasonry, actually formulated in France and Germany during the course of the eighteenth century. This *maçonnerie écossaise* was characterized by such esoteric, elitist and rigidly hierarchical systems as the German Rite of Strict Observance and the French Rectified Scottish Rite, each purporting to be the distillation of medieval Templar traditions, which although preserved in Scotland and Ireland, were ultimately of Jewish origin.³² Joyce burlesques this tradition by ascribing to Major Tweedy, '*the pilgrim warrior's sign of the knights templars*' (U 15.4615-16), which also recalls the Great Priory of Knights Templar based in Freemasons' Hall, Molesworth Street. Similarly, Swift gently lampoons the Irish dimension of this tradition in 'A Letter from the Grand Mistress of the Female Freemasons', first printed in 1724, whose very title suggests a satiric reference to Elizabeth St Leger: the celebrated Lady Freemason mentioned by Nosey Flynn in 'Lestrygonians'.³³ Here, in a bravura display of hibernocentrism worthy of the Citizen, Swift, who is thought to have joined a lodge while at Trinity in 1688, tells of the 'Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem', traditionally identified with the seventh-century Alexandrian patriarch, John Eleemosinarius in Masonic lore.³⁴ This is 'the Antientest and Purest now on Earth', that gave rise to the 'famous old Scottish Lodge of Kilwinning':

of which all the Kings of Scotland have been, from Time to Time Grand Masters without Interruption down from the days of Fergus, who Reign'd there more than 2000 Years ago, long before the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem or the knights of Maltha; to which two Lodges I must nevertheless allow the Honour of having adorn'd the Antient Jewish and Pagan Masonry with many Religious and Christian rules.

Fergus, being eldest Son to the chief King of Ireland, was carefully instructed in all the Arts and Sciences, especially in the natural Magick, and the Caballistical Philosophy

(afterwards called the Rosecrution), by the pagan Druids of Mona, the only true Cabalists then Extant in the Western World ...

Fergus, before his Descent upon the Picts in Scotland rais'd that famous Structure, call'd to this Day Carrick-Fergus, the most misterious Piece of Architecture now on Earth, (not excepting the Pyramids of the Egyptian Masons, and their Hieroglyphicks or Free Masons signs) ... he built it as a Lodge for a College of Free Masons in those days call'd Druids.³⁵

From this perspective, it is no accident that down in Green Street, 'the erudite and worshipful chairman of quarter sessions sir Frederic Falkiner, recorder of Dublin' (*U* 12.1874-5), dispenses summary justice according 'the law of the brehons' with 'the high sinhedrim of the twelve tribes of Iar' including 'the tribe of Fergus' (*U* 12.1122-7), as Joyce's brilliant, Swiftian parody of eighteenth-century speculative antiquarianism puts it. Green Street Courthouse was associated with Freemasonry from its inauguration on 14 June 1792, as Falkiner notes in his wide-ranging 'annals of the bluecoat school' (*U* 8.1153).³⁶ Similarly, it seems no 'coincidence' (*U* 8.525) that when Bloom, of all people, is overtaken by *Æ* and his frumpy acolyte outside Sexton's at the bottom of Grafton Street, he overhears *Æ* holding forth on a bicephaleous variation on the principal symbol of contemporary *judéo-maçonnerie*:

– Of the twoheaded octopus, one of whose heads is the head upon which the ends of the world have forgotten to come while the other speaks with a Scotch accent. The tentacles ... (*U* 8.520-2)

This is not merely some 'Joycean parody of occultism'.³⁷ Rather, it refers to the growing tendency in the latter decades of the nineteenth century to refer to Judaism and/or

Freemasonry as a monstrous octopus, most recently recalled with Joycean irony in Umberto Eco's *The Prague Cemetery*: 'that great octopus whose tentacles extended across the whole civilized world'.³⁸ The Irish were no strangers to an octopus being deployed in a pejorative context, as evinced by Tenniel's vision of a heroic Gladstone wrestling with the 'Irish Devil-Fish', endowed with Paddy's emblematic attribute, the 'headless caubeen' (*U* 9.295). In informing the readers of *Punch* (18 June 1881) that this peculiar cephalopodic genus, with its tentacles of Terrorism, Rebellion, Anarchy, Sedition, Lawlessness, Outrage, Intimidation and Destruction, 'is only vulnerable through the head', Tenniel quotes in English from Victor Hugo's *Les travailleurs de la mer*, published in 1866. This work, particularly Hugo's use of the Guernésiais word for an octopus, *pieuvre*, was repeatedly cited by French caricaturists in an anti-Semitic or an anti-Masonic context.³⁹ Hugo crystallized the image of the octopus as 'Devil-fish, le Poisson-Diable', and 'Blood-Sucker, Suceur de sang', which is reaffirmed by his haunting, sepia-tinted drawing of this monster in the manuscript (Paris, BN MS NAF 24745, fol. 382).⁴⁰ This image was deployed within a year in a vaguely anti-Semitic context by an acquaintance of Hugo's, Ernest Chatelain, who associates the malevolent reach of the octopus with that of the Wandering Jew and that other well-worn cliché of evil Jewry, the hydra: all metaphors of the tentacular railroad ensnaring the world.⁴¹ All too soon the image of the diabolic, bloodsucking *pieuvre juive* is found not only in the integralist publications of Action française, *La Libre parole*, and the illustrated weekly, *La Bastille*, but also in *La Croix*, the daily newspaper associated with the Assumptionist order.⁴² It occurs repeatedly in the Jesuit journal, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which also refers to 'le strette della vorace piovra del giudaismo massonico'.⁴³ The banal proverbiality of this slander is borne out by its appearance in the fortnightly publication, *La Jeune fille et le conseiller des familles*, which in addition to featuring embroidery patterns and examples of crochet from the more nimble-fingered convents, warns its readership about 'la pieuvre juive aux mille tentacules' that

sucks ‘le sang de la patrie française’.⁴⁴ The Jewish Octopus was also deployed in an anglophone context. In the infamous cartoon of 1894 from *Coins Financial School*, all inhabited continents are ensnared in the tentacles of the ‘great English devil fish’, also known as ‘Rothschilds’.⁴⁵ We are reminded of Deasy’s trenchant belief that Jewish influence extends to ‘all the highest places’ of a nation: ‘her finance, her press’. For an unregenerate anti-Semite like Deasy, Jews ‘are the signs of a nation’s decay. Wherever they gather they eat up the nation’s vital strength’ (*U* 2.347-9).

Meanwhile, the image of the Masonic octopus, epitomized by the Luciferian practitioners of ‘Palladianism’, a putative offshoot of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, became increasingly common in a French context after the publication of Taxil’s *Le diable au XIX^e siècle*, reaching its apogee during the *Affaire des Fiches*. By the time Joyce arrived once more in Paris on 9 October 1904, caricatures of the Masonic octopus were ubiquitous, exemplified by a poster for *La Bastille* warning against ‘La pieuvre, c’est la Franc-Maçonnerie.’ This monster, whose head takes the form of a ‘goldskinned’ (*U* 2.364) Jewish caricature wearing a Masonic jewel on the collar of the Grand Orient, engulfs ‘l’Armée, la Justice, l’Instruction publique, le Clergé, la Jeunesse, l’Administration, toutes les forces vives de la Nation’, which leaves her ‘sans défense au Juif et à l’Étranger’.⁴⁶ The Mantuan Catholic periodical *Cittadino* went one better than *Æ* as early as 1900 when it likened Freemasonry, Judaism and Socialism to a triple-headed octopus with innumerable tentacles, but *Æ*’s double-headed octopus is particularly apt in this context.⁴⁷ Just as the alchemical symbol of the twin-headed eagle is emblematic of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, particularly associated with the thirtieth and thirty-second degree, *Æ* conjures up this twin-headed rebus of eschatological ill omen whose Jewish, antichristic head may herald the end of the world.⁴⁸ As Deasy puts it, ‘As sure as we are standing here the jew merchants are already at their work of destruction’ (*U* 2.349-50). However, as *Æ* points out to his slack

stockinged companion, this Jewish-Masonic monster does not precipitate the apocalypse, which never fails to disappoint, as borne out by innumerable parousias postponed, anticipated by generations of benighted bigots not in touch with their ‘planes of consciousness’ (*U* 7.786-7).

Bloom, naturally enough, is confused by this quintessence of archness: ‘What was he saying? The ends of the world with a Scotch accent. Tentacles: octopus. Something occult: symbolism’ (*U* 8.529-30). Yet his blithe ignorance of this bicephaleous peril stems from the fact that he neither frequents All Hallows in Westland Row or St Francis Xavier’s in Upper Gardiner Street on the one hand, or the Theosophical ‘Yogibogeybox in Dawson chambers’ (*U* 9.279) on the other. Bloom’s dismissal of these ‘literary etherial people’, who only eat ‘weggebobbles and fruit’, but no steak for fear ‘the eyes of that cow will pursue you through all eternity’ (*U* 8.535-6) is invested with an added irony when we consider his schooling. Many of the leading lights of the Dublin Theosophical Society were either educated at the High School, most notably W.B. Yeats (1881-3), W.K. Magee (1882-4) or ‘John sturdy Eglinton’ (*U* 9.660), Charles Johnston (1881-6) and his brother Lewis (1881-3), who is thought to have founded the first ‘Vegetarian’ (*U* 8.534) restaurant in Dublin, or even taught in the High School like ‘Cousins’ (*U* 2.257). Æ’s sons, Brian and Diarmuid Russell, also attended the High School during the period that James Henry Cousins taught English and Geography (1905-13), before he finally decamped to India in 1915, inspired by the author of ‘*Isis Unveiled*’ (*U* 9.279).⁴⁹

Joyce highlights Bloom’s distance from this ‘hermetic crowd, the opal hush poets’ (*U* 7.783-4) by rendering him impervious to the influence of Yeats. It is telling that Bloom passes out of the High School just before Yeats’s arrival, and his exclusion from Dublin hermeticism is encapsulated by his failure to recognize Æ’s subtle, knowing reference to *judéo-maçonnerie*.⁵⁰ Moreover, this failure also points to the precise nature of Bloom’s

engagement with Freemasonry, which does not pierce the succession of veils that shield the higher degrees. For the Citizen – a native ‘of the province of Desmond and Thomond’ (*U* 12.1309) like Creagh – to identify Bloom with Freemasonry ‘is to metonymically identify him as Jewish’, as Marilyn Reizbaum puts it.⁵¹ However, this would certainly not be the opinion of the contemporary Anglo-Irish establishment, particularly the membership of those ‘other Masonic Degrees and Orders superimposed on the basis of the three Craft Degrees, which have been worked so long as to be held in the highest esteem, and eagerly sought after by the most eminent and learned members of the Craft’.⁵² In ‘Circe’ the octopus does a star turn as part of the apocalyptic signs and wonders ‘*in gillie’s kilts, busby and tartan filibegs*’ (*U* 15.2177-8) that serves to remind us of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.⁵³ In a contemporary context, there was much discussion in hermetic circles of the alleged Jacobite provenance of *maçonnerie écossaise*, promulgated by Hackney’s finest Highlander in a Hiberno-Scottish ‘saffron kilt’ (*U* 9.310-11): Samuel Liddell Mathers.⁵⁴ Much more so than Yeats and Maud Gonne, Æ was wary of this self-appointed ‘pimander of Hermes Trismegistos’ and was determined not to have his ‘leg pulled’ (*U* 15.2269-71).⁵⁵ However, the tartan outfit of the octopus – reminiscent of several infantry regiments garrisoned in Ireland in the wake of the Jacobite War, if not as worn by ‘our ancient Panceltic forefathers’ (*U* 15.906-7) – is also a potent reminder of the ersatz nature of the reigning king’s Scottish identity as the progeny of ‘George the elector’ (*U* 12.1391-2).⁵⁶ The arrogation of Royal Stewart tartan by ‘Edward Guelph-Wettin’ (*U* 12.1401) is just as questionable as the Jacobite pretensions of Mathers, regardless of the *portrait d’apparat* that graces Mr Deasy’s mantelpiece wall, ‘the shapely bulk of a man in tartan filibegs: Albert Edward, prince of Wales’ (*U* 2.266-7).⁵⁷ In this context it is also telling that although Joyce was proud enough of his mother’s name to wear a tie of Murray tartan, he elected to focus on the Jacobite loyalties of some of the Murrays, describing it as that ‘highly treasonable Stuart royal tie’.⁵⁸

Yet both Mathers and ‘the German lad’ (U 12.1392) are *echt* Freemasons, if not true Scotsmen like the Scottish Borderers who helped extirpate the Jacobite cause at Culloden only for it to bloom again in Masonic tradition, embraced in time by Hanoverian monarchs who were indeed ‘The King’s own’ (U 5.74).⁵⁹ Bloom’s allusive speculations on the origin of George Russell’s pseudonym are not only suggestive of Waite, who was an extremely prolific apologist for Freemasonry, but also of Edward VII, ‘who, during his Masonic reign of a quarter of a century, displayed his zeal for the Craft continuously and in divers directions’.⁶⁰ As Bloom reminds us, ‘Never see him dressed up as a fireman or a bobby. A mason, yes’ (U 5.74-5). Yet the carnivalesque image of the Jewish-Masonic octopus in ‘Circe’ is drained of the creeping, insidious menace that characterizes the united force of ‘joupin’ and ‘casserole’ in the French press of 1904.⁶¹ Here, the octopus which still stalks the covers of innumerable copies of the *Protocols*, as it does the pages of *Mein Kampf*, is transmogrified into the triskelion of Manannán MacLir, only to become part of Joyce’s remorseless pulling of all of Æ’s eminently extendable legs.⁶²

As far as Arthur Griffith was concerned, if the Austro-Hungarian eagle had two heads, the corporationist octopus had three.⁶³ As he warned the readership of *The United Irishman* on 23 September 1899: ‘the Three Evil Influences of the century were the Pirate, the Freemason, and the Jew’.⁶⁴ Similarly, Griffith’s erstwhile colleague in Sinn Féin, W.J. Brennan-Whitmore, warned the readers of *An Gael* (26 February 1916) that Jews and Freemasons were virulently opposed to ‘building up a nation once again’ (U 12.891), because the Irish were destined to lead the laicized Continent back into the fold of ‘our holy mother the church’ (U 5.439-40), just as they had done during Ireland’s early middle ages of ‘saints and sages’ (U 12.1642-3). The prominence accorded the Magen David in an oculus window on the new Masonic Female Orphan School in Ballsbridge (1880-2) fostered the belief that Freemasonry was merely a blind for Jewry in more than one generation of Dubliners on the

outside looking in.⁶⁵ However, such a belief failed to recognize the supersessionist aspect of Masonic iconography whereby the highest, invitational orders affiliated to the Grand Lodge of Ireland appropriated Jewish iconographic tradition, but excluded Jews. Nosey Flynn has heard from one of the legions of unnamed but unimpeachable sources endemic to the city that Bloom himself is ‘in the craft’ (*U* 8.960), but Flynn’s gossip is devoid of the vitriolic *judéo-maçonnerie* that fuels Creagh’s ire in Mount St Alphonsus or the Citizen’s in Kiernan’s. Flynn knows a lot less about ‘Light, life and love’ (*U* 8.963): the divine manifestations particularly associated with the installation of a Masonic grand master, than he lets on.⁶⁶ He points out that ‘they did right to keep the women out of it’, apart from ‘one of the saint Legers of Doneraile’ (*U* 8.973-4).⁶⁷ However, Flynn is unaware of the rumours bedevilling contemporary Freemasonry, thanks to Taxil’s fabrication of the most infamous female Freemason, Diana Vaughan, and Drumont’s increasingly frenzied reportage of her Luciferian past and the putative role of women in pornographic, satanic rituals as described in Taxil’s *Le diable au XIX^e siècle*.⁶⁸ Flynn’s reference to ‘ancient’ and ‘accepted’ might be interpreted as an allusion to the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, or rather, the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland established in 1826 ‘by the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction’ of the United States, ‘the Mother Council of the World’.⁶⁹ However, Flynn merely alludes to the official title of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and given the contemporary Dublin context, it seems likely that Bloom has only worked the blue degrees of Craft Masonry: ‘the foundation, but not the completion and perfection of Masonry’.⁷⁰

By the Edwardian era, Irish Freemasonry encompassed the six orders extant today. Blue Badge or Craft Masonry consists of the three degrees of Entered Apprentice Mason, Fellow Craft and Master Mason, as determined by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The degrees of Mark Master Mason, the Passing of the Veils ceremony and the Royal Arch degree, which constitute the completion of Craft Masonry in Ireland, are governed by the Supreme Grand

Royal Arch Chapter. The degrees of Knight of the Sword, Knight of the East, and Knight of the East and West are governed by the Grand Council of Knight Masons since 1923, albeit previously by the Great Priory of Knights Templar. The degrees of Knights Templar, Mediterranean Pass, and Knights Malta are governed by the Great Priory of Knights Templar. The Knight of the Eagle and the Pelican, Prince Grand Rose Croix degree, which is the eighteenth degree in the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland, is governed by the Grand Chapter of Prince Masons. Finally, the Irish working of the twenty-eighth, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-second and thirty-third degrees is governed by the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland.⁷¹ Of the twenty lodges in the metropolitan district that moved into Freemasons' Hall in Molesworth Street on its completion in 1869, there were long-established societal and professional distinctions which dictated the character of each of these lodges sharing the same building, often dating back to the eighteenth century. This remained the case with regard to the forty lodges active in Dublin by 1904, which had increased to fifty-nine by 1920.⁷² 'Old Chatterton, the vicechancellor' (*U* 7.262) was a member of Leinster Lodge, No. 141, while the City Analyst and Chief Medical Officer of Dublin, 'Sir Charles Cameron' (*U* 10.538) was initially a member of Fidelity Lodge, No 125, then the Duke of York Lodge, No 25, rising to Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland (1911-20). 'Mr Justice Fitzgibbon, the present lord justice of appeal' (*U* 7.794) was a member of Trinity College Lodge, No 357. Thus we are not dealing with a single 'Freemason Lodge on Molesworth Street' as Benstock maintained, nor is it the case that 'Bloom's speculation whether Tom Kernan is a Mason' is 'a question that could hardly exist if he himself is a fellow member'.⁷³ Moreover, the select nature of the highest, invitational orders affiliated to the Grand Lodge of Ireland would preclude the admittance of the likes of Bloom. In Edwardian Dublin, the Great Priory of Knights Templar (and thus the degrees worked by the Grand Council of Knight Masons since 1923); the Grand Chapter of Prince

Masons, where Rose Croix or Prince Masons as they are known in Ireland might ‘*exchange in amity the pass of knights of the redcross*’ (U 15.4681-2), and the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland, were exclusively Christian.⁷⁴ Although converted Jews, or Christians of Jewish descent, could in theory be invited to become members, in reality there is little to suggest that this was the case.

As an ‘excellent brother’ (U 8.863) Bloom might adopt, at least in ‘Circe’, ‘the attitude of most excellent master’ (U 15.2854-5), that is, the sixth or Royal Arch degree, or ‘the attitude of secret master’ (U 15.4956), that is, the fourth degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, not worked in Ireland. However, this is merely a form of wish fulfilment. Only in his fantasies might he aspire to being made ‘an elected knight of nine’ (U 15.3461), which recalls the title, ‘Elect of Nine’, bestowed on those who have obtained and worked the ninth degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, not worked in Ireland. Similarly, he can dream of being made a Rose Croix or Prince Mason of the eighteenth degree, or even to attain the thirty-third degree: the highest degree of Freemasonry worked in Ireland.⁷⁵ However, as the *somnium* of ‘Circe’ evinces, this is in much the same way as he might envision himself as Lord Mayor of Dublin, Chief Magistrate of Dublin, or Honorary Freeman of his native city. Bloom’s civic elevation in ‘Circe’ would appear to parody that of Sir Charles Cameron, granted the Freedom of the City in 1911 for his contribution to public health administration, who not only served as Deputy Grand Master of the Great Priory of Knights Templar, but also as Sovereign and Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland, as well as his Grand Lodge duties.⁷⁶ In addition to his presidency of the Grand Chapter of Prince Masons of Ireland, Gerald Fitzgibbon also served as Sovereign and Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland. In his presidential address to the Triennial Convocation of the Grand Chapter of the Prince Masons of Ireland on 19 May 1909, Fitzgibbon opined that ‘genuine Freemasons were *made in*

Germany, and in England too, throughout the Middle Ages'. This is a sardonic reference to contemporary mass production in the Ruhr valley, resulting in 'Germans making their way everywhere' (*U* 8.555), which paradoxically stresses the exclusive nature of Freemasonry by tracing its lineage to the medieval *Bauhütte*. Speculative Freemasonry can trace its origin to the cathedral builders of the middle ages who preserved the secrets of those first masons of Accad and Egypt brought back to Europe by the first Crusaders, the Templars: 'possibly even before the days of Solomon, the Craft existed as an organized Society or Guild'.⁷⁷

Fitzgibbon's wry turn of phrase, characteristic of his 'courteous haughtiness' (*U* 7.805-6), was proverbial in Masonic publications during the following decade, only to be repeated once more by the Jesuit Edward J. Cahill: the leading light of the 'anti-Mason/anti-Jewish' movement in Ireland', in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Independent* on 'Masonic Oaths of Secrecy' (5 November 1929).⁷⁸ Joyce employs it in 'Circe' in order to highlight the inherent irony of Edward VII's espousal of *maçonnerie ecossaise*, which finds an echo in his adoption of Royal Stewart Tartan. Having obtained and worked the *grand ecossais* or fourteenth degree of the Scottish Rite, the monarch 'is robed as a grand elect perfect and sublime mason with trowel and apron', albeit 'made in Germany' (*U* 15.4454-5) like his lambskin. Moreover, it is significant that Joyce modifies John F. Taylor's comparison of the Lord Justice's deliberative oratory to that of an Egyptian 'intellectual' or 'learned Professor' of literature, as recorded in the *Freemans Journal*, 25 October 1901, and as 'a fashionable professor with an attachment to the Egyptian Court', as paraphrased in Roger Casement's pamphlet, 'The Language of the Outlaw', published around 1905.⁷⁹ Joyce's comparison of Fitzgibbon's speech to that of an 'Egyptian highpriest raised in a tone of like haughtiness and like pride' (*U* 7.838-9) is invested with an added dimension when we consider his pre-eminence in Masonic circles, allied to his position as 'the most influential layman in the Church of Ireland'.⁸⁰ Indeed, Fitzgibbon had written on the putative source of some aspects

of Freemasonry in the sanctuaries of Memphis and Thebes, recalled in the Egyptianesque decoration of the Royal Arch Chapter Room in Molesworth Street.⁸¹ Fitzgibbon died on 14 October 1909, and was hailed as ‘The greatest Irishman of his day and generation’ in a tribute delivered to the Grand Lodge of Ireland by Sir James Creed Meredith on 27 December 1909. According to Meredith, who was then Deputy Grand Master (1898-1911), ‘His loss has been felt by his country, his university, his church and above all, by his brethren of the Masonic order. He was eminent as jurist, as educator, as churchman and as Mason.’ Fitzgibbon was succeeded as Sovereign Grand Commander of the Thirty-third Degree by Chatterton. Like Meredith, Chatterton was also a member of the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland, as was another prominent Mason, ‘Judge Barton’ (*U* 9.519-20).

But Bloom does not move in these exalted wheels within wheels, which bind the civic and legal elite of the city with the University of Dublin, the Church of Ireland and the invitational orders of Irish Freemasonry. ‘Ikey Moses’ (*U* 9.607) is not on the level over in Molesworth Street with the likes of Falkiner: the ‘stonebearded’ (*U* 15.1163), horned Moses of the bench, whose *terribilitas* recalls ‘the Moses of Michelangelo’ (*U* 7.756-7).⁸² This is acknowledged by Bloom himself, ‘After his good lunch in Earlsfort terrace. Old legal cronies cracking a magnum ... I suppose he’d turn up his nose at that stuff I drank. Vintage wine for them’ (*U* 8.1152-5). Given the active role he played in the University of Dublin and the general synod of the Church of Ireland, we might expect Falkiner to be a Freemason, and a likely candidate for membership of the invitational orders affiliated to the Grand Lodge. It has generally been assumed by readers of *Ulysses* that Falkiner is a Freemason. According to Benstock, this would have been ‘common knowledge accessible to anyone in Dublin’,⁸³ while Conner states that Falkiner was ‘an unquestionably influential member’ of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.⁸⁴ However, there is no evidence in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Ireland to suggest that Falkiner was ever a member, which would go a long way to explain

why Bloom does not comment on Falkiner's membership when he sees him 'going into the freemasons' hall. Solemn as Troy' (*U* 8.1151).⁸⁵ As Schneider remarks, Bloom's 'thoughts do not turn to Masonry at all, but rather to Sir Frederick's legal profession and consumption of alcohol'.⁸⁶ Moreover, although Falkiner acknowledges the prominent role that Freemasonry played in the inauguration of 'the new Recorder's and City Court in Green Street' – which Joyce alludes to by means of the 'skull and crossbones brooch' (*U* 12.663-4) distributed to the ladies during the parodic trial in 'Cyclops' – Falkiner shows no particular interest in 'the craft of the order'.⁸⁷ The fourteen Dublin lodges who worked the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland were characterized by a societal and religious exclusivity very different to Bloom's vision of 'Union of all, jew, moslem and gentile' united in a 'a free lay church in a free lay state' (*U* 15.1686-93), and this is perhaps why Joyce associates Falkiner, who was an anti-Semite, if not a mason, with Freemasons' Hall. Bloom's opinion that 'Poor old sir Frederick' (*U* 12.1096) was a 'Wellmeaning old man' (*U* 9.1156) was generally upheld by Dubliners and his propensity for almost dissolving 'in tears on the bench' (*U* 12.1098-9) is fondly recalled in contemporary memoirs.⁸⁸ Yet his anti-Semitism was not only queried by Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, but was also the subject of a parliamentary question. On this occasion, the harsh sentence meted out to a tobacconist and illegal bookie of Polish origin, Henry Kahn, especially Falkiner's castigation of the plaintiff as 'a specimen of your nation and your race that cause you to be hunted out of every country', was defended by Joyce's lifelong paradigm of treachery, 'Mr Healy the lawyer' (*U* 14.494).⁸⁹

It would seem that Bloom has obtained and worked the third degree of Craft Masonry, that of Master Mason, at the very most. This is not only suggested by his vow to 'always hail, ever conceal, never reveal, any part or parts, art or arts' lest his body be found 'in the rough sands of the sea ... a cabletow's length from the shore ... where the tide ebbs and flows ' (*U* 15.4953-4), but also by his '*blue masonic badge*' (*U* 15 450-1). To a goodly

proportion of contemporary Dublin society, namely those impervious to papal anathema, such a badge would seem no more sinister than a Catholic wearing the pin of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, satirized as the ‘Ballyhooly blue ribbon badge’ (*U* 12.689) in ‘Cyclops’. Yet whatever ‘flahoolagh entertainment’ (*U* 12.691-2) might be provided in Freemasons’ Hall – as opposed to old dry buns to the tune the old cow died of in the considerably less ornate surroundings of Father Matthew Temperance Hall – Bloom does not need to wear a Masonic badge to be identified as a ‘bloody freemason’ (*U* 12.300) in Barney Kiernan’s pub. Bloom is not given to total abstinence, notwithstanding his conviction that drink is ‘the curse of Ireland’ (*U* 12.684), but his temperance is a matter of suspicion as far as the denizens of Kiernan’s are concerned, in a way it would not be if he were sporting a pioneer pin and ‘spiffing out of him in Irish’ (*U* 12.689).⁹⁰ Here, he is cast as a Zionist *Illuminatus*, fresh out of the pages of *La Libre parole*, attempting to fix the *nec and non plus ultra* of Ireland’s nationhood through his Austro-Hungarian connections. In the very year that saw the publication of *The Resurrection of Hungary*, Bloom, in common with Arthur Griffith, is under surveillance by the G-Men (Special Branch, G Division, Dublin Metropolitan Police), with whom Cunningham and Power also serve, ‘He’s a perverted jew, says Martin, from a place in Hungary and it was he drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system. We know that in the castle’ (*U* 12.1635-7).⁹¹ This casts him in the same, vaguely sinister light as Maurice Solomons, as observed ‘through a fierce eyeglass’ by Tisdall Farrell, in the window of what is purposefully described in ‘Wandering Rocks’ as ‘the Austro-Hungarian viceconsulate’ (*U* 10.1261-3), but more generally known to contemporary Dubliners as Solomons’s consulting room.⁹² We are immediately reminded of the rumour that ‘it was Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper all kinds of jerrymandering, packed juries and swindling the taxes off the government and appointing consuls all over the world to walk about selling Irish industries’ (*U* 12.1574-7): an ironic

recapitulation of Griffith's historic address to the first annual convention of the National Council in the Rotunda, 28 November 1905, which inaugurated the Sinn Féin policy. Much has been made of the inherent irony of Bloom's surveillance as a suspected collaborator of Griffith's, given the leader of Sinn Féin's virulent anti-Semitism at this point in his career.⁹³ Moreover, as Dominic Manganiello points out, 'Just as the Citizen could not tolerate Bloom's freemasonry, Griffith could not have done so either.'⁹⁴ However, the crowning irony rests in the fact that Bloom's alleged collaboration with Griffith on Austro-Hungarian matters and subsequent surveillance by the Special Branch, which the assembled company in Kiernan's are all too willing to accept, does not increase his standing from the Citizen's perspective, in spite of his cries of '*Sinn Fein! ... Sinn fein amhain*' (*U* 12.523).

Yet all of this watchful suspicion on the part of nationalist and unionist alike is in spite of Bloom's best, apotropaic efforts to distance himself from 'what they call a dirty jew' (*U* 9.1159). Here, Bloom refers to Falkiner and his legal *confrères*; many of whom were brethren of those elect, Muscular Christian brotherhoods presiding in Gothic Revival splendour over the top floor of Freemasons' Hall. However, that Bloom is equally concerned about how Reuben J. Dodd, reflects on his standing in Catholic nationalist circles is borne out by his alacrity in repeating 'the awfully good one' he heard about Dodd 'and the son' (*U* 6.264-5) on the way to Paddy Dignam's funeral. At this stage in the day at least, Bloom is eager to demonstrate to his fellow mourners that he is anything but a 'Barabbas' (*U* 6.274; 10.950), or, most especially, a 'blackbearded Iscariot, bad shepherd' (*U* 15.1918).⁹⁵ Here, Joyce recalls the patristic tradition that Judas came from the agrarian 'tribe of Reuben' (*U* 6.251), reflected in the medieval concept of Antichrist as the hireling shepherd of John 10:12-13, as foreshadowed in Zechariah 11:15-17. Bloom is anxious to assure them he is not really a Jew, just Jewish, and not possessed of the 'Ikey touch' he himself ascribes to Griffith, which ironically illumines Sinn Féin's sunshine days 'rising up in the northwest' (*U* 4.103).⁹⁶

But this approach only has the desired effect in ‘Circe’, where Bloom is lauded in the style of the Litany of Loreto as a ‘Charitable Mason’ (U 15.1945) by an unlikely chorus drawn from the nationalist organization, Inghínidhe na hÉireann or the ‘Daughters of Erin’ (U 8.10341), closely affiliated to Sinn Féin.⁹⁷ Here, Joyce belies the eminently Boulangist credentials of its founder, ‘Maude Gonne, beautiful woman’, lover of ‘*la Patrie*’ and ‘M. Millevoye’ (U 3.233).⁹⁸ The epithet itself is curiously reminiscent of Walter Harte’s poem, ‘Eulogius or, the Charitable Mason’.⁹⁹ Joyce’s recollection of Wright’s dedicatory introduction to the poem, which speaks of ‘Six cubic feet of earth are all their lot; / Mourned with hypocrisy, with ease forgot’, may inform Bloom’s ‘Eulogy in a country churchyard’ and his mistaken attribution of Gray’s elegy to ‘Thomas Campbell’ (U 6.940-1), who included ‘Eulogius’ in his *Specimens of the British Poets*.¹⁰⁰

However that might be, Bloom is certainly mindful of the eleemosynary traditions of Freemasonry, which not only honour the patron saint of the Templars, or rather, the Hospitallers, but are also in keeping with the Jewish tradition of *tzedakah*, and the societal advantages attached to doing one’s bit for charity under the protection of the monarch himself. Yet, for the Citizen, Bloom’s ‘Charity to the neighbour’ (U 12.1665) is damning evidence of his unholy alliance with such ‘those tinkers in the city hall’ (U 12.1181): such Corporation worthies as Sir Charles Cameron and ‘Mr Spencer Harty, C. E.’ (U 17.173), himself a Past Master of Nassau Lodge, No. 75, and a member of the Great Priory of Knights Templar, for whom it is always a case of ‘Shake hands, brother. You’re a rogue and I’m another’ (U 12.785). It also allies Bloom with a pox-ridden, ‘Satanic Majesty’ who is ultimately responsible for the ‘strangers in our house’ (U 12.1151) and the protector of a tentacular, secret organization, involved in an international conspiracy to defile ‘that mother Church’ (U 14.258), and undermine her most faithful daughter, ‘the nation at home’ (U 12.1370). As far as the Citizen is concerned, Bloom remains the living embodiment of the

twin-headed octopus of *judéo-maçonnerie*, although Bloom himself fails to recognize the significance of the image when he initially overhears *Æ*. That Bloom is no longer a Lodge Mason is a thing indifferent to his critics, because ‘Once a Mason, always a Mason.’

It is entirely likely Bloom feels the same way about Freemasonry itself because it would appear that ‘Bloom’s religion is Freemasonry’, as Conner states.¹⁰¹ However, one of the most poignant, and hitherto unexplored aspects of his Freemasonry is the sense of exile and isolation his status as an unaffiliated Mason, or an excluded brother in Irish Masonic nomenclature, entails.¹⁰² Bloom senses a similar feeling of isolation in Tom Kernan’s ‘quick bloodshot eyes. Secret eyes, secretsearching. Mason, I think: not sure. Beside him again. We are the last. In the same boat’ (*U* 6.661-3). Kernan is a fellow convert to Catholicism, as described in ‘Grace’, who would also have been expected to break with his lodge upon reception into the Catholic church, were he a Freemason. For the Citizen and his cronies in Kiernan’s, the spectre of *Judeo-Maçonnerie* renders Bloom a type of Antichrist preaching ‘Universal love’ (*U* 12.1489), as opposed to the eschatological octopus conjured up by *Æ*, ‘Ahasuerus I call him. Cursed by God’ (*U* 12.1667). However, this commination also has its origin in *fin-de-siècle* France where Ahasuerus increasingly ‘symbolized the conspiracy of Jews and Masons against the nation’.¹⁰³ In paradoxical similarity, unaffiliated Masons such as Bloom and possibly Kernan were often described as the Wandering Jews of the Craft in Masonic lore. Many of ‘the grave elders of the most obedient city, second of the realm’ (*U* 12.1185-6) would regard Bloom as that most abject of creatures: a Masonic Ahasuerus. As an excluded brother he is doomed to roam the streets of Dublin in spiritual exile, remembering the joys that his lodge once afforded, in a manner reminiscent of the *earm anhaga*: the wretched, solitary figure of the Wanderer cursed by Anglo-Saxon society.¹⁰⁴ Bloom’s Freemasonry is ‘Bred in the bone’ (*U* 13.918) and he remains a Mason in the witnessbox enclosing his heart, as his mock trial under Falkiner in ‘Circe’ evinces. Yet he is

also the very epitome of ‘Some man that wayfaring was stood by housedoor at night’s oncoming. Of Israel’s folk was that man that on earth wandering far had fared’ (*U* 14.71-3).

¹Fritz Senn, 'Dogmad or dubliboused?', *James Joyce Quarterly* 17 (1980), 237-61: 245.

²*Letters of James Joyce I*, ed. Stuart Gilbert (New York, 1957), 177.

³All references are to James Joyce, *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition*, edd. Hans Walter Gabler *et al*, 3 vols (New York, 1984), hereafter cited parenthetically as *U* with chapter and line number.

⁴Cf. Ulrich Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs and Passwords in the "Circe" Episode', *James Joyce Quarterly* 5 (1968), 303-11; Bernard Benstock, 'Leopold Bloom and the Mason Connection', *James Joyce Quarterly* 15 (1978), 259-62; Patrick W. Conner, 'Bloom, the Masons and the Benstock Connection', *James Joyce Quarterly* 17 (1980), 217-20.

⁵Louis Hyman and Isaac Cohen, 'Ireland', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edn, 22 vols (New York, 2007), X, 25-7: 25. The Grand Lodge was constituted by 26 June 1725; cf. John Herron Lepper, Philip Crossle and Richard E. Parkinson, *History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1925-57).

⁶Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton, 2006), 124.

⁷*Pace* Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, rev. edn (Berkeley, 1988), 613, 'the Zingari colours' do not simply mean 'gypsy colors', but refer proverbially to the red, black and gold sported by the exclusive Zingari amateur cricket club. However, Bloom is probably wearing a High School scarf as per the coat of arms of the Erasmus Smith Trust and the school crest.

⁸Although Donald Munro Turnbull, John W. Meredith and Owen Goldberg did not attend the High School, Alfred Walter Turnbull (b. 21 October 1884), James William Turnbull (b. 12 November 1877), Fredrick Meredith (b. 6 March 1860), Jacob Goldberg (b. 2 April 1883), Bernard Goldberg (b. 15 September 1891), and Louis Goldberg (no d.o.b. listed) were past pupils. *Pace* Gifford, *Ulysses Annotated*, 507, there is no evidence that Abraham Chatterton (1862-1949) was 'educated at Erasmus Smith'; rather, he attended Charterhouse and Trinity College Dublin. He was Registrar and Bursar of the High School, 1900-08, and the actual nephew of Hedges Eyre Chatterton; cf. *U* 7.260-7.

⁹Although Masonic chequered floors or mosaic pavements are generally black and white, as in Freemasons' Hall in Dublin, nineteenth-century commentators trace their origin to the floor of the crypt of York Minster

which was thought to have ‘a mosaic pavement of blue and white tiles laid after the form used in the 1^o of Masonry’ (John Yarker, *The Arcane Schools* (London, 1909), 268).

¹⁰Cf. Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004), 365: ‘the easy equality apparently upheld by continental lodges is not evident in the early accounts of masonic gatherings in Dublin. There, the titled were seated away from mere commoners. In theory, Catholics might join Protestants at meetings but it is unlikely that this happened.’ However, in addition to Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge*, 247-8; cf. A.T.Q. Stewart, *A Deeper Silence: The Hidden Roots of the United Irishmen* (London, 1993), 164-78; Jim Smyth, ‘Freemasonry and the United Irishmen’, in *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*, edd. David Dickson, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (Dublin, 1993), 168-75; Petri Mirala, *Freemasonry in Ulster, 1733–1813: A Social and Political History of the Masonic Brotherhood in the North of Ireland* (Dublin, 2007).

¹¹*The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* (London, 1920) was printed ‘privately’ by Eyre and Spottiswoode. Cf. the recent collection of essays in *Reconsidering ‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’: 100 Years After the Forgery*, edd. Steven T. Katz and Richard A. Landes (New York, 2009).

¹²Cf. Jean Baubérot, ‘Laicity’, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *The French Republic: History, Values, Debates*, edd. Berenson, Vincent Duclert, Christophe Prochas (Ithaca, NY, 2011), 127-35.

¹³Molly’s oblique reference recalls Joyce’s veiled allusion to the prolongation of the 1904 Boycott in rural Limerick by Fr James Gleeson, parish priest of Kilcolman and Coolcappa, Shanagolden; cf. Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, 1998), 43-4, and Dermot Keogh and Andrew McCarthy, *Limerick Boycott 1904: Anti-Semitism in Ireland* (Cork, 2005), 71-6. Ironically, the Citizen is reputedly boycotted by this village because he is a land grabber: the most reviled figure in Irish society and folk memory; cf. U 12.1312-16. However, in *The Consciousness of James Joyce* (Oxford, 1977), 86-7, Richard Ellmann states that Molly refers to an alleged boycott of British goods by Sinn Féin in 1906; cf. Letter to Stanislaus Joyce, 25 September 1906, *Letters of James Joyce II*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York, 1966), 167, n.1. Here, Ellmann conflates Arthur Griffith’s inaugural address to the first annual convention of the National Council in the Rotunda, 28 November 1905, with three resolutions passed on 6 September 1906 at ‘the second annual convention’. Griffith’s inaugural address, which called on all Irish people to ‘pay if necessary an enhanced price for Irish goods, and to use whenever possible none but Irish goods’, was published in ‘his paper’, as Joyce puts it; cf. *The United Irishman*, 9 December 1905, reproduced as *The Sinn Féin Policy* in 1906. Ellmann’s declaration that Griffith ‘moved for a boycott of certain British goods’ is heavily reliant on

Robert Mitchell Henry, *The Evolution of Sinn Féin* (Dublin, 1920), 78. In fact, not only did Griffith refrain from using the word ‘boycott’ in the 1906 resolutions, published in *Sinn Féin*, 8 September 1906, he makes it clear that he did not demand a boycott and sought simply a reduction in consumption of spirits, beer, tobacco, tea and wines.

¹⁴‘Jewish Trading: Its Growth in Limerick. Address to the Confraternity by Father Creagh, C.S.S.R.’, *Munster News*, 13 January 1904; repr. in Keogh and McCarthy, *Limerick Boycott 1904*, 36. In addition to Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-century Ireland*, 27-30, cf. Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland: From Earliest Times to 1910*, rev. edn (Dublin, 1997), 212. Cf. also Marvin Magalaner, ‘The Anti-Semitic Limerick Incidents and Joyce’s “Bloomsday”’, *PMLA* 68 (1953), 1219-23.

¹⁵Cf. *The Statesman’s Yearbook, 1906* (London, 1906), 836-40.

¹⁶Cf. Daniel Moulinet, ‘Les Publications françaises relatives à l’histoire des congrégations religieuses’, in *Religious Institutes in Western Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Historiography, Research and Legal Position*, edd. Jan de Maeyer, Sofie Leplae and Joachim Schmiedl (Louvain, 2004), 203-42: 227, n.59.

¹⁷Cf. Moulinet, ‘Publications françaises’, 227, n.62. Cf. also Sarah A. Curtis, ‘Lay Habits: Religious Teachers and the Secularization Crisis of 1901-1904’, *French History* 9 (1995), 478-98, and ‘Persécution et résistance: Les congrégations enseignantes face à la loi sur les associations de 1901’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 88 (2002), 175-95.

¹⁸Anatole France’s preface was originally published in *L’Aurore* at the end of December, 1903, while a revised, expanded version was published as *L’Église et la république* (Paris, 1904), esp. 34-5.

¹⁹Cf. Louis Capéran, *L’Invasion laïque de l’avènement de Combes au vote de la séparation* (Paris, 1935); Charles Stanley Phillips, *The Church in France, 1848-1907: A Study in Revival*, 2nd edn (New York, 1966), 259-75; Malcolm O. Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes and the Church: The Politics of Anticlericism, 1899-1905* (Durham, NC, 1969); Maurice Larkin, *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair: The Separation Issue in France* (London, 1974); Nicholas Atkin, ‘The Politics of Legality: The Religious Orders in France, 1901-45’, in *Religion, Society, and Politics in France since 1789*, edd. Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (London, 1991), 149-65; *Les Congrégations hors la loi? Autour de la loi du 1^{er} juillet 1901*, edd. Jacqueline Lalouette and Jean-Pierre Machelon (Paris, 2002); André Lanfrey, *Sécularisation, séparation et guerre scolaire: Les catholiques français et l’école (1901-1914)* (Paris, 2003); Christian Sorrel, *La République contre les congrégations: Histoire d’une passion française (1899-1914)* (Paris, 2003); *Le Grand exil des congrégations religieuses*

françaises, 1901-1914: Colloque international de Lyon Université Jean-Moulin-Lyon-III 12-13 juin 2003, edd. Patrick Cabanel and Jean-Dominique Durand (Paris, 2005).

²⁰William Wordsworth, 'Book VI: Cambridge and the Alps', ll. 425-6, *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind* (London, 1850), 153-4. The vote leading to the dissolution was taken on 26 March 1903.

²¹*Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890: La Belle Epoque and Its Legacy* (Cambridge, 2002), 51.

²²Cf. 'France Banishes Carthusian Monks: Combes Ministry's Programme of Expulsion Completed', *New York Times*, 27 March 1903. Cf. also Paul Dreyfus, *La vie quotidienne en Dauphiné sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1974), 214-24; René Bourgeois, *L'expulsion des Chartreux: 29 avril 1903* (Paris, 2000); Christian Sorrell, 'Le monachisme masculin en France a la fin du XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), 23-54.

²³Cf. 'French Premier Tells of \$400,000 Bribe Offer: His Son was Approached on Behalf of Carthusian Monks', *New York Times*, 11 June 1904; 'Combes Bribery Scandal: Commissioner Lagrave Testifies', *New York Times*, 17 June 1904; 'French Cabinet Shaken by Testimony: Lagrave's Allegations May Cause Its Early Downfall', *New York Times*, 21 June 1904; 'M. Combes and the Carthusians', *New York Times*, 24 June 1904; 'The Carthusian Scandal', *New York Times*, 24 July 1904. Cf. also Elizabeth Goulding, 'Combes et le million des Chartreux', *Cahiers Jean Giraudoux* 13 (1984), 150-4; Paul Dunex, *L'Affaire des Chartreux: La première enquête parlementaire du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 2001).

²⁴Cf. Francis A. Cunningham, *The War Upon Religion* (Boston, 1911), 326.

²⁵In addition to Larkin, *Religion, Politics and Preferment*, 29-52, and 'Fraternity, Solidarity, Sociability: The Grass Roots of the Grand Orient de France', in *The Jacobin Legacy in Modern France*, ed. Sudhir Hazareesingh (Oxford, 2002), 89-114, cf. Mildred J. Headings, *French Freemasonry under the Third Republic* (Baltimore, 1949); François Vindé, *L'Affaire des fiches (1900-1904): Chronique d'un scandale* (Paris, 1989); Douglas Porch, *The March to the Marne: The French Army 1871-1914*, rev. edn (Cambridge, 2003), 92-104. On Joyce's exposure to the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair see Neil R. Davison, *James Joyce, Ulysses, and the Construction of Jewish Identity* (Cambridge, 1998), 86-91.

²⁶Cf. Jean-Baptiste Bidegain, *Le Grand Orient de France* (Paris, 1905), 114.

²⁷*Time of Apprenticeship: The Fiction of Young James Joyce* (London, 1959), 50, 70. On Léo Taxil, born Marie Joseph Gabriel-Antoine Jogand-Pagès, but also known as Dr Bataille and Diana Vaughan, see Henry Charles Lea, *Léo Taxil, Diana Vaughan et l'église romaine, histoire d'une mystification* (Paris, 1901); Eugen Weber,

Satan franc-maçon: La mystification de Léo Taxil (Paris, 1964); W.R. Jones, 'Palladism and the Papacy: An Episode of French Anticlericalism in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Church and State* 12 (1970), 453-73; Gordon Wright, *Notable or Notorious?: A Gallery of Parisians* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 86-147; David Allen Harvey, 'Lucifer in the City of Light: The Palladium Hoax and "Diabolical Causality" in *Fin De Siècle France*', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1 (2006), 177-206.

²⁸Cf. 'Discours du 19 avril 1897, tiré du journal "Le Frondeur"', in *Léo Taxil et la franc-maçonnerie*, ed. Leslie Fry (Chatou, 1934), 158-9.

²⁹At the press conference Taxil humiliated the Little Flower by projecting a slide of her playing Joan of Arc in the second of her convent plays on Joan's life; cf. Thomas R. Nevin, *Thérèse of Lisieux: God's Gentle Warrior* (Oxford, 2006), 216-20; Mary Frohlich, 'Thérèse of Lisieux and Jeanne d'Arc: History, Memory, and Interiority in the Experience of Vocation', *Spiritus* 6 (2006), 173-94. Cf. Taxil's article, 'Maçonnerie et juiverie', in *La France chrétienne*, 18 December 1889, where the apparently reformed pornographer castigates Sarah Bernhardt for having the importunity to play Joan in spite of her Jewishness; cited by Drumont, *Le testament d'un Antisémit* (Paris, 1891), 407-8.

³⁰Abbé Emmanuel Chabauty, *Francs-maçons et juifs: Sixième âge de l'église d'après l'apocalypse* (Paris, 1880), and *Les juifs nos maîtres* (Paris, 1882), argued that Satan was working through *judéo-maçonnerie* to prepare the way for the Jewish Antichrist. Cf. Abbé Jean Anselme Tilloy, *Le péril judéo-maçonnique: Le mal, le remède* (Paris, 1897), and Abbé Isidore Bertrand, *La franc-maçonnerie: Secte juive* (Paris, 1903).

³¹Cf. Arthur Edward Waite, *Devil-Worship in France or the Question of Lucifer* (London, 1896). Taxil's serial musings were finally published in one work, *Le diable au XIX^e siècle ou les mystères du Spiritisme. La franc-maçonnerie luciférienne, révélations complètes sur le palladisme, la théurgie, la goétie et tout le satanisme moderne*, 2 vols in 4 (Paris, 1894), replete with copious, lurid illustrations of satanic rituals including 'Les juifs dans la franc-maçonnerie' (Fig. 5), along with a depiction of the Jewish Antichrist (Fig. 6).

³²Waite challenges Meurin's allegations; cf. *Devil Worship*, 60-2, and *The Doctrine and Literature of the Kabbalah* (London, 1902), esp. 425-8. On the development of *maçonnerie écossaise* see Albert Lantoine, *Le rite écossais ancien et accepté* (Paris, 1930); Paul Naudon, *Histoire et rituels des hauts grades maçonniques: Le rite écossais ancien et accepté* (Paris, 1966); René Le Forestier, *La franc-maçonnerie occultiste au XVIII^e siècle et l'Ordre des Elus Coens* (Paris, 1928, repr. 1987), and *La franc-maçonnerie templière et occultiste aux XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècles*, ed. Antoine Faivre (Paris, 1970, repr. 1987).

³³*A Letter from the Grand-Mistress of the Female Free-Masons to Mr Harding the Printer* was ‘Printed by John Harding in Molesworth’s Court in Fishamble-Street, 1724’, although in such later editions as George Faulkner’s *Miscellanies* (London, 1745-8) and *Works* (Dublin, 1760-9), it is addressed to Faulkner. Harding was imprisoned for publishing the first five of the *Drapier’s Letters* and was popularly understood to have died in prison on 19 April 1725, hence the later emendation; cf. Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, 3 vols (London, 1962-83), III, 779-86; Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2000), 274-6.

³⁴According to George Kenning, John Eleemosinarius was ‘the real patron saint of Freemasonry’ because he was ‘the patron saint of the Knights Templar’ (*Kenning’s Masonic Encyclopaedia and Handbook of Masonic Archaeology* (London, 1878), 363), but in fact, he was the patron saint of the Knights Hospitaller. Cf. the particular role ascribed to the John Eleemosinarius in Irish Templar Masonry, W.J. Chetwode Crawley, ‘The Templar Legends in Freemasonry’, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 26 (1913), 45-70, 146-81, 221-36: 49.

³⁵*Prose Works*, V, 324-33: 328-9. In addition to Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge*, I, 35-7, 448, cf. W.J. Chetwode Crawley, ‘Early Irish Freemasonry and Dean Swift’s Connection with the Craft’, in *Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations*, ed. Henry Sadler (London, 1898), vii-xxxvi.

³⁶Cf. *The Foundation of the Hospital and Free School of King Charles II, Oxmantown, Dublin, Commonly Called the Blue Coat School* (Dublin, 1906), 218-19. Cf. also Charles Peake, *James Joyce: The Citizen and Artist* (Stanford, CA, 1977), 240; Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam, 1998), 145-6.

³⁷Thornton, *Allusions in Ulysses: An Annotated List* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1968), 140.

³⁸Umberto Eco, *The Prague Cemetery*, trans. Richard Dixon (London, 2011), 193. For an alternative reading cf. Hugh Kenner, ‘Taxonomy of an Octopus’, *James Joyce Quarterly* 18 (1981), 204-5: 205: ‘Joyce’s AE was discoursing of British economic power, its tentacles stretched toward Ireland, its two heads London and Edinburgh, the latter of course characterized by a Scotch accent’.

³⁹Victor Hugo, *Les Travailleurs de la mer*, ed. Yves Gohin (Paris, 1975), 933: ‘Dans les Iles de la Manche on le nomme la pieuvre.’ Cf. Roger Caillois, *La pieuvre, essai sur la logique de l’imaginaire* (Paris, 1973); Alan S. Weiss, ‘The Epic of the Cephalopod’, *Discourse* 24 (2002), 150-9: 150-1, who localizes the birth of the octopus ‘as a creature of nightmares and terror, an icon of the horrors of death’ in Hugo’s substitution of the Norman word *pieuvre* for the more usual term *poulpe*: ‘in French, the word for the living animal is usually different from that of the carcass to be transformed into foodstuff; Hugo’s differentiation between *poulpe* and *pieuvre* takes

this transformative logic one step further, for while normally man eats *poulpe*, in *Les travailleurs de la mer* the opposite is true, *pieuvre* threatens to eat man.’

⁴⁰*Les travailleurs*, 933. Cf. Pierre Georgel, *Les dessins de Victor Hugo pour les travailleurs de la mer* (Paris, 1985), no. 32.

⁴¹Jean Baptiste François Ernest Chatelain, ‘Devenez qui je suis’, *A travers champs, flâneries, par le chevalier de Chatelain* (London, 1867), 53.

⁴²Cf. ‘La pieuvre juive’, *La Croix*, 6 September 1894; ‘L’Affaire Barrême: La Pieuvre Juive’, *La Libre parole*, 16 September 1894; *Revue de L’Action française*, 15 December 1906, 695: ‘A bas de la pieuvre Juive!’; *La Bastille*, 29 June 1912, 4: ‘des innombrables tentacules de la Pieuvre Juive’. Cf. also Pierre Sorlin, *La Croix et les juifs 1880-1899: Contribution à l’histoire de l’antisémitisme contemporain* (Paris, 1967).

⁴³‘La Francia: Un secolo dopo la sua rivoluzione’, *La Civiltà Cattolica* 8 (1887), 5-15: 20. Cf. Taradel Ruggero and Barbara Raggi, *La segregazione amichevole: ‘La Civiltà Cattolica’ e la questione ebraica 1850-1945* (Rome, 2000), 32.

⁴⁴*La Jeune fille et le conseiller des familles*, 22 November 1899, 523.

⁴⁵‘The English Octopus’, in W.H. Harvey, *Coins Financial School* (Chicago, 1894), 124.

⁴⁶Cf. *La Bastille*, 18 August 1906, 4; 13 February 1909, 4; 18 September 1909, 2; 18 December 1909, 3; 15 January 1910, 2; 23 March 1912, 5-6.

⁴⁷Cf. Ulrich Wyrwa, ‘Anti-Semitism in Europe and the Italian-Jewish Response: The Coverage of the Journal *Il Vessillo Israelitico* (1879-1914)’, *Studia Judaica* 15 (2007), 205-18.

⁴⁸Albert Pike, *The Statutes and Regulations, Institutes, Laws, and Grand Constitutions of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite* (New York, 1859), 141-5, and *Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: The Constitutions and Regulations of 1762* (New York, 1872), 267; 295, 350; Charles T. McClenachan, *Book of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*, rev. edn (New York, 1914), 441-5; 474, 486.

⁴⁹Cf. W.J.R. Wallace, *Faithful to our Trust: A History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and the High School, Dublin* (Dublin, 2004), 141-7. On Cousins’s Indian career see Gauri Viswanathan, ‘“Synthetic Vision”: Internationalism and the Poetics of Decolonization’, in *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, edd. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton, 2005), 326-45.

⁵⁰Cf. *U* 15.3308, and *U* 17.1194-5: ‘his ultimate year at High School (1880)’. Pace Gifford, *Ulysses Annotated*, 162, Yeats was enrolled in the High School in the autumn of 1881; cf. Roy Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1997-2003), I, 27, and Wallace, *Faithful to our Trust*, 143.

⁵¹James Joyce's *Judaic Other* (Stanford, CA, 1999), 152, n.9.

⁵²Frederick J.W. Crowe, *The Irish Master Masons' Handbook* (London, 1895), 75.

⁵³Cf. David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members* (Aberdeen, 1988), and *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 232-3. However, cf. also John Hamill, *The History of English Freemasonry*, rev. edn (Addlestone, 1994), 22-23, 31.

⁵⁴In addition to Le Forestier, *Le Franc-Maçonnerie Templière*, 11, 103-11, 135, cf. Philippe Morbach, 'Les régiments écossais et irlandais a Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Mythe ou réalité maçonnique?', in *L'autre exil: Les Jacobites en France au début du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Edward T. Corp (Montpellier, 1993), 143-55; Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), 300-5; André Kervella, *La maçonnerie écossaise dans la France de l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1999).

⁵⁵Cf. James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London, 1984), 611.36, 'his fellow saffron pettikilt look same hue of boiled spinasses' (hereafter cited parenthetically as *FW* with page and line number). On MacGregor Mathers, also known as Chevalier MacGregor and Comte de Glenstrae, see Ithell Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the Golden Dawn* (London, 1975); Lawrence W. Fennelly, 'W.B. Yeats and MacGregor Mathers', in *Yeats and the Occult*, ed. George Mills Harper (London, 1986), 285-306; Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago, 2004), 51-84.

⁵⁶For the Seaforth Highlanders cf. *U* 10.352-3; 64-6; 1249-50, while the King's own Scottish Borderers and the Cameron Highlanders are mentioned at *U* 15.1402-3.

⁵⁷Cf. Willy Maley, "'Kilt by kelt shell kithagain with kinagain": Joyce and Scotland', in *Semicolonial Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Elizabeth Howes (Cambridge, 2000), 201-18, esp. 210-11.

⁵⁸Cf. Letter to Herbert Gorman, 30 October 1930, *Letters of James Joyce III*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York, 1966), 206. *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo*, ed. Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout, 2001-), contain notes concerning the Jacobite William Murray, second duke of Atholl (1689-1746): 'Murray of Tullibardin', 'Knight of Thistle'; 'committed to Tower' (VI.B.32.87; VI.C.8.28-9). Cf. Melville de Massue de Ruvigny, *The Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Grants of Honour* (Edinburgh, 1904), 44, 152-3.

⁵⁹The King's own Scottish Borderers became infamous in Dublin history as 'the King's Own Scottish Butchers', or 'the King's Own Scottish Murderers', for opening fire on civilians after the Howth gun running, killing three men and one woman on Bachelor's Walk, 26 July 1914.

⁶⁰*Times*, 25 October 1922. As Prince of Wales, Edward VII served as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, 1874-97.

⁶¹*Casserole* ('saucepan') was a slang term for 'spy' ascribed to Freemasons during the *Affaire des Fiches*. During a parliamentary debate on 13 January 1905, the anti-Semitic deputy for the Vendée, the Marquis de Baudry d'Asson, attempted to crown Combes with a large copper saucepan, as reported by 'Fred Ryan' (*U* 9.1082); cf. 'Church Disestablishment in France and Ireland', *Dana* 10 (1905), 289-94: 290-1. Cf. also Maurice Tournier, 'La graisse vorace: Petits mythes populaires au service des désignations sociopolitiques à la fin du 19^e siècle', *Langage et société* 113 (2005), 93-123.

⁶²Cf. *U* 15.2179: 'in the form of the Three Legs of Man'.

⁶³Images of the corporate octopus are also common throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the *locus classicus* depicting Standard Oil engulfing all due to its monopoly of the market; cf. Udo J. Keppler's lithograph, 'Next!', published in *Puck*, 7 September 1904, and L.D. Bradley, 'Before the Trojan Horse is Admitted', *Chicago Daily News*, 3 February 1909.

⁶⁴Cf. Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-century Ireland*, 22.

⁶⁵Cf. Reizbaum, *Joyce's Judaic Other*, 152, n.9, where this building, latterly home to the School of Irish Studies, is erroneously identified as 'the old Masonic temple of Dublin', which is not to be confused with Freemasons' Hall in Molesworth Street.

⁶⁶Cf. *U* 15.760, 'light of love', which is neither an 'unconscious parody of Masonic principles' (Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 305), or a 'Freudian slip that transgresses the code of character and points to a purely textual origin' (R.G. Hampson, "'Toft's Cumbersome Whirligig": Hallucinations, Theatricality and Mnemotechnic in V.A.19 and the First Edition Text of "Circe"', in *Reading Joyce's 'Circe'*, ed. Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam, 1994), 143-78: 170-1) as the phrase had been proverbial in Dublin lodges since the eighteenth century. Cf. the eight volumes of the earliest Craft periodical in English, *The Sentimental and Masonic Magazine*, edited by William Paulet Carey, published by John Jones of Grafton Street, from July 1792 to August 1795, *passim*.

⁶⁷According to the plaque commemorating her death (given here as 1775) in the rebuilt St Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork, Elizabeth St Leger, daughter of Arthur, first viscount Doneraile, later Elizabeth Aldworth of Newmarket and Ballyhooley, Co. Cork, was initiated into the first and second degrees of Freemasonry at Lodge No 44, Doneraile Court in 1712. Cf. Edward Conder, 'The Hon. Miss St Leger and Freemasonry', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 8 (1895), 16-23, and W.J. Chetwode Crawley, 'Supplementary Note on the Lady Freemason', *Ars*

Quatuor Coronatorum 8 (1895), 53-7; John Harty, 'The Woman who Hid Inside a Clock', *James Joyce Quarterly* 31 (1994), 566-8.

⁶⁸Cf. James Smith Allen, 'Sisters of Another Sort: Freemason Women in Modern France, 1725-1940', *Journal of Modern History* 75 (2003), 783-835, and 'Rebelles Without a Cause? Images of Masonic Women in France', *Labour History Review* 71 (2006), 43-56.

⁶⁹Crowe, *Irish Master Masons' Handbook*, 85.

⁷⁰McClenachan, *Scottish Rite*, 134.

⁷¹Cf. Crowe, *Irish Master Masons' Handbook*, 75-90.

⁷²Cf. Robert Freke Gould, *A Concise History of Freemasonry* (London, 1904), 448, and *A Concise History of Freemasonry*, rev. edn Frederick J.W. Crowe (London, 1920), 267-8: 'There are about 28,000 members under the Irish Constitution.'

⁷³'Leopold Bloom', 259.

⁷⁴However, Joyce could be alluding to the degree of Knight of the East, formerly known as Jordan Pass: one of the three degrees once known as Red Cross degrees, governed by those 'commonly, but erroneously, called Knights of the Red Cross of Ireland' (Crowe, *Irish Master Masons' Handbook*, 83), now governed by the Grand Council of Knight Masons.

⁷⁵A list of the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite is found in Crowe, *Irish Master Masons' Handbook*, 88.

⁷⁶Cf. McClenachan, *Scottish Rite*, 668. In this context, Joyce's reference to 'an elected knight of nine' (*U* 15.3461) may well be intended to remind at least some of his readers of the nine, elected members of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for Ireland, which included Cameron.

⁷⁷Quoted in 'Prince Masons of Ireland', *An Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences*, edd. Albert G. Mackey et al., rev. edn, 2 vols (Chicago, 1921), 803-5.

⁷⁸Davison, *James Joyce*, 55. Cahill's letter is reproduced in *Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1930), 189-90.

⁷⁹Cf. Abby Bender, 'The Language of the Outlaw: A Clarification', *James Joyce Quarterly* 44 (2007), 807-12: 811, n.10.

⁸⁰Henry E. Patton, *Fifty Years of Disestablishment* (Dublin, 1922), 242.

⁸¹Cf. 'The Classic Writers on the Mysteries', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 8 (1895), 190-2.

⁸²Falkiner is likened to the Horned Moses created for the tomb of Julius II (1513-16, San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome). The motif stems from St Jerome's translation of the Hebrew word *queren*, which means 'horns' as well as 'rays of light', as *cornula* in Exodus 34:29; cf. Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley, 1971). The depiction of Falkiner as Moses, 'a man supple in combat: stonehorned, stonebearded, heart of stone' (*U* 7.853-4), may recall his family's association with the dolerite quarries south of Arklow established by Charles Stewart Parnell. John Howard Parnell ran the quarries after his brother's death, before selling them to Travers Hartley Falkiner, the Recorder's elder brother.

⁸³'Leopold Bloom', 259.

⁸⁴'Bloom, the Masons', 217.

⁸⁵His son, Frederick Richard Henry Falkiner, a Lieutenant in the Royal Horse Artillery, joined Grand Masters Lodge in 1886, only to be drowned at Kirkee (Khadki) on 20 April 1888, aged 26.

⁸⁶'Freemasonic Signs', 303. In addition to Benstock, 'Leopold Bloom', 259, cf. Anton Kirchhoffer, 'The Text in the Closet: Concealment and Disclosure in James Joyce's *Ulysses*', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 44 (1996), 27-43, esp. 37.

⁸⁷*Foundation of the Hospital*, 218-19.

⁸⁸Cf. Elizabeth P. O'Connor, *Herself: Ireland* (New York, 1918), 204-6.

⁸⁹Cf. *The Official Report, House of Commons* (4th ser.), 23 January 1902, vol. 101, c 689: 'Dublin Recorder and prisoner'. Falkiner reviles Kahn as a Jew even though he lists himself as 'Catholic' on the 1901 census return, having converted on his thirty-fifth birthday, 28 September 1890. Cf. Bernard Shillman, *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (Dublin, 1945), 104; Gerald Goldberg, "'Ireland is the Only Country": Joyce and the Jewish Dimension', *The Crane Bag* 6 (1982), 5-12. On Montefiore's letters to Falkiner see Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, 163; Ira Nadel, *Joyce and the Jews: Culture and Texts* (London, 1989), 59; Davison, *James Joyce*, 251, n.82; Reizbaum, *Joyce's Judaic Other*, 44-5. Although he was known as the 'poor man's judge' who had Joseph Chamberlain's Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 (60 & 61 Vict. c.37) extended to Ireland, that Joyce chose to illustrate this through the leniency shown 'an ancient Hebrew Zaretsky or something weeping in the witnessbox with his hat on him, swearing by the holy Moses he was stuck for two quid' (*U* 12.1091-3) is highly ironic and parodied by Bloom's appearance in the witnessbox in 'Circe'. Falkiner did not actually try *Wought v. Zaretsky*, which came up before the Chief Metropolitan Police Magistrate, Ernest Godwin Swifte.

⁹⁰The mature Bloom echoes his father's distaste for drunkenness; cf. *U* 8.49, where the rats in barrels of Guinness 'Drink till they puke again like christians', and *U* 15.253-4: 'Second halfcrown waste money today. I

told you not go with drunken goy ever. So you catch no money.’ Cf. also Con Leventhal’s recollection of one street rhyme from Little Jerusalem, quoted by Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-century Ireland*, 64: “Two pennies, two pennies”, the Christian did shout / “For a bottle of porter or Guinness’s stout; / My wife’s got no shawl and my kids have no shoes, / But I must have my money, I must have my booze.””

⁹¹Bloom is all too aware of Power’s acquaintance with surveillance and interrogation techniques: ‘Jack Power could a tale unfold: father a G man. If a fellow gave them trouble being lagged they let him have it hot and heavy in the bridewell’ (*U* 8.419-21). The headquarters of G Division were, however, located at 1-8 Great Brunswick Street.

⁹²Solomons was an optician and Justice of the Peace, ‘duly recorded in the court directory’ (*U* 16.1611-12) as a prominent and respected member of Dublin society. Cf. *FW* 524, 27-8, which refers to his son, the eminent obstetrician and Master of the Rotunda, ‘in my bethel of Solyman’s I accouched their rotundaties’.

⁹³However, Griffith’s later relationships with Michael Noyk and Bethel Solomons belie his unabashedly anti-Semitic stance at the turn of the century; cf. Brian Maye, *Arthur Griffith* (Dublin, 1997), 19-20, 362-72.

According to Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999), 233, his anti-Semitic remarks are ‘expressions of a youthful bigotry which he outgrew’.

⁹⁴*Joyce’s Politics* (London, 1980), 173.

⁹⁵Yet cf. Robert Boyle, ‘A Note on Reuben J. Dodd as a “Dirty Jew”’, *James Joyce Quarterly* 3 (1965), 64-6; Patrick A. McCarthy, ‘The Case of Reuben J. Dodd’, *James Joyce Quarterly* 21 (1984), 169-75; Stanley Sultan, *Eliot, Joyce, and Company* (New York, 1987), 80-2, who argue that the fictional Dodd is not Jewish, which I find unconvincing.

⁹⁶Cf. Davison, *James Joyce*, 1: ‘While *fin-de-siècle* discourse about “the Jew” informs Bloom’s character throughout the text, within the framework of Judaic law, he cannot of course be considered *Halachically* Jewish.’

⁹⁷Cf. *U* 15.1936-52, where Inghinidhe na hÉireann adopt the widow’s weeds affected by the ‘Irish Joan of Arc’ (Letter to Stanislaus Joyce, 15 March 1905, *Letters II*, 85) in memory of the martyrs of 1916, as Bloom is immolated by his own ‘phoenix flames’ (*U* 15.1935-6), which mimic the *relaxado en persona* of an *Auto da Fé*. Joyce is also parodying the role played by Inghinidhe na hÉireann in the staging of *Cathleen ni Houlihan*; cf. Antionette Quinn, ‘Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish National Theater’, in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, edd. Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst, 1997), 39-59.

⁹⁸Cf. Victory Pomeranz, ‘Maud Gonne and M. Millevoeye’, *James Joyce Quarterly* 11 (1974), 169.

⁹⁹*The Amaranth, or Religious Poems* (London, 1767), 159-211: 161.

¹⁰⁰*Specimens of the British Poets with Biographical and Critical Notices, and an Essay on English Poetry*, 7 vols (London, 1819), VI, 311-22. As Robert H. Bell points out: ‘Though he mistakes the poet, he wittily revises the title: “Eulogy in a country churchyard.” That’s not simply an error, as many annotators assume and proclaim; it’s a joke, funny and telling, as Bloom knows’ (‘“Preparatory to Anything Else: Introduction to Joyce’s “Hades”’, *Journal of Modern Literature* 24 (2001), 363-499: 368).

¹⁰¹‘Bloom, the Masons’, 220.

¹⁰²On exclusion under the Irish Constitution see W.J. Chetwode Crawley, ‘Daniel O’Connell and Irish Freemasonry’, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 24 (1911), 125-31.

¹⁰³George L. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York, 1978), 115.

¹⁰⁴On the traditional use of the formula *earn anhaga* see the Old English *Maxims* II, l. 19a; *Beowulf*, l. 2368. From this perspective, Bloom is indeed the lone ‘wolf in sheep’s clothing’ (*U* 12.1666), even though he views himself as ‘a sheep’ (*U* 16.1640).