

Abstract

**Diaspora Jews in Joyce's Dublin:
Irish Jewish Lives Described in *Ulysses***

Eishiro Ito

This paper aims to focus on Diaspora Jews in Joyce's *Ulysses*. The Jewish population of Dublin in 1866, the year of Leopold Bloom's birth, was about 200: The figure in 1901 became 2,169. This small ethnic group, who had primarily emigrated from the Pale of Settlement, Russia, and Eastern Europe, chose to settle in Dublin rather than in other cities of the United Kingdom because the city was attractive for Jewish immigrants. The Diaspora group could embody a powerful economic principle and became a great threat to the local Irish people, that caused anti-Semitic movements.

The Limerick pogrom occurred in January 1904. Joyce precisely reflected on this mood, but sometimes tactically manipulated it in his fictional world. The reader may believe Bloom's thought that Reuben J. Dodd was "really what they call a dirty jew" (*U* 8.1159) but the real Dodds were not Jewish but English in origin. *John Stanislaus Joyce*, a biography of Joyce's father John Stanislaus by John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello, takes the view that John Stanislaus fabricated Dodd's Jewishness in revenge blaming him for his financial disasters (179). It indicates the common prejudice that moneylending is a typical Jewish job.

In the novel, many "real" Jewish people (Julius Mastiansky, Moses Herzog, J. Citron, etc.) and anti-Semites are often observed. How did Irish Jewish people live in Dublin? How does *Ulysses* reflect the truth? Using some historical and socio-economic data acquired from Cormac Ó Gráda's *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, other sources and Ito's on-site study, Irish Jewish lives in the Jewish quarter called "Little Jerusalem" or other parts of Joycean Dublin are examined.

Since the foundation of Israel in 1948, the Jewish population of Dublin and other parts of Ireland has remarkably declined. However, together with the Irish Jewish Museum, Joyce's *Ulysses* has been greatly evoking Gentile people's attention to Irish Jews.

Keywords : James Joyce, *Ulysses*, Diaspora Jews, Dublin, "Little Jerusalem" (the former Jewish Quarter of Dublin), Anti-Semitism

Diaspora Jews in Joyce's Dublin: Irish Jewish Lives Described in *Ulysses*

Eishiro Ito

Introduction

This paper aims to focus on Diaspora Jews in James Joyce's *Ulysses*. The Diaspora group embodied a powerful economic principle and became a great threat to the local Irish people, that caused anti-Semitic movements. Joyce precisely reflected on this mood, but sometimes tactically manipulated it in his fictional world.

Leopold Bloom is known among his acquaintances to have a Hungarian Jewish background and have inherited a financial competence from his suicidal father. However, he and his wife Molly, who has a suspicious Jewish mother, are not orthodox Jews, so they are isolated from other members of the Jewish community. In the novel, other Jewish people and anti-Semites are often observed. How did Irish Jewish people live in Dublin? How does *Ulysses* reflect the truth? Using some historical and socioeconomic data, Irish Jewish lives in the Jewish quarter called "Little Jerusalem," and other parts of Joycean Dublin will be examined.

I. The Jewish "Invasion" of Ireland

In 1866, the year of Bloom's birth, the Jewish population of Dublin numbered about two hundred and that of Belfast at most a few dozen, before the Litvak "invasion" beginning in the late 1870s. Dublin's Jewish quarter near Bloom's fictional birthplace at 52, Clanbrassil Street Upper was called "Little Jerusalem." By 1904, the estimate was 3,371, most of them (2,200) residing in Dublin, according to Leon Hühner's "Jews of Ireland." The transition in numbers of the Jewish population was more remarkable than that of London, Manchester and Liverpool before the foundation of Israel in 1948.

As Cormac Ó Gráda argues in *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, in economic terms, Ireland's Jewish community made considerable progress between the 1870s and the 1940s, because in Ireland, discrimination did not force the immigrants into typical Jewish jobs, like peddling, money-lending and dealing in scrap and rags and in secondhand furniture (Ó Gráda 210). Jewish people had already acquired trading skills. In addition, the immigrants saved and invested in property, education, and business (Ó Gráda 210-11). Ireland's relative economic backwardness shaped both the number and the choice of occupations of the Jewish immigrants at that time. No one could have imagined the future "Celtic Tiger" then.

As some examples of the negative reactions against the Jewish "invasion," many anti-Semites are described in *Ulysses*. The fictional Garret Deasy tells Stephen that "Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the jews," "Because she never let them in" (*U* 2.437-47). In "Lestrygonians," Bloom watches the notoriously anti-Semitic judge Sir Frederick

Falkiner (1831-1908), going into the Freemason Hall (headquarters) in 17-18, Molesworth Street (*U* 8.1151). In the mood of anti-Semitism of Barney Kiernan's pub in "Cyclops," Bloom faces the anti-Semitic "citizen" who is modeled after Michael Cusack (1847-1907), a Gaelic athletic enthusiast who founded the Gaelic Athletic Association in 1884. In the pub, Bloom is also rumored to give the ideas for Sinn Féin to Arthur Griffith (1872-1922) who became the first president of the newly formed Irish Free State in 1922 (*U* 12.1573-77) and was also known as a notorious anti-Semite.

II. Dublin's "Little Jerusalem"

The first known record of Jews living in Dublin dates to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, probably Jews displaced following the expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula according to *Educational Jewish Aspects of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (or *EJAJJU* 4). The earliest known synagogue dates back to 1660 and was situated in Crane Lane.¹ The Napoleonic Wars brought a further influx of Jews to Dublin, records of the births and deaths were kept by a Rev. J. Sandheim, minister of Stafford Street and Mary's Abbey synagogues (1820-1879) (*EJAJJU* 4).

It was in the late nineteenth century that a new wave of immigrants reached Ireland, many of whom were fleeing Anti-Semitism which was encapsulated by the May Laws in the Pale of Settlement, Russia from 1881. These people came from Lithuania, Latvia, Russia, Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe. They settled all over Ireland, but the largest community settled in the South Circular Road area of Dublin. This area, where the synagogues and Jewish business came into being, was gradually known to non-Jews as "Little Jerusalem" (*EJAJJU* 4).

As Ó Gráda notes, virtually all of Ireland's Jewish immigrants settled in urban areas as other Jewish immigrants did in other European countries in the late nineteenth century. On the eve of World War I nearly nine in ten lived in one of the three major cities: Dublin, Belfast, or Cork. There were also small settlements in Limerick (119), Waterford (62), Derry (38), and most surprisingly in the Armagh linen town of Lurgan (about 75) (Ó Gráda 94).

Naturally, they became traders and skilled artisans who apparently have earned much more money than average Irish workers. In Dublin, the newcomers tended to live in the tenements in central Dublin, near Dublin Castle, or Mary's Abbey where the city's only synagogue functioned until 1892.

Ó Gráda estimates that the Lithuanian Jewish population numbered about twenty-five in the late 1870s (Ó Gráda 97). They did not remain in the tenements so long, but they moved to the complex of small streets off Clanbrassil Street Lower in the early 1880s. As Nick Harris remembers in Dublin's Little Jerusalem, Clanbrassil Street was the heart of the Jewish community (Harris 30). It catered to all the Jewish people in Dublin, and, in the early twentieth century, for at least 95 percent of them it was within walking distance (Harris 30). Clanbrassil Street is located south of St. Patrick Cathedral in the Southside of Dublin. As often discussed, Bloom lives at a tenement of No. 7 Eccles Street in the Northside of Dublin across the River Liffey. The area was traditionally considered as being more working-class, although Clanbrassil Street area then, and also today, is not for the rich. However, the average valuation of the tenements of the eighty houses of Eccles Street rated for each municipal tax per annum was about £ 31.33 while that of the seventy-eight

houses of Lombard Street West was £15.21 and the twenty-five houses of St. Kevin's Parade £14.52 as calculated the assessed values listed in *Thom's Official Directory 1904*.² From the assessed values of the houses, "Little Jerusalem" was much more working-class than Eccles Street.

According to research by Ó Grada, the housing stock, mainly roadside one-story terraced units, was new or almost new. Most units contained outside flush toilets and running water: dwellings incorporating three or four small rooms were typical. The area that would soon come to be known as "Little Jerusalem" included most of the streets between Saint Kevin's Parade and the Grand Canal. At the turn of the century, there were two small clusters with very heavy concentrations of Jews: one around Saint Kevin's Parade/Oakfield Place/Lombard Street West, and the other across the South Circular Road, around Kingsland Parade/Walworth Road/Martin Street by the Grand Canal (Ó Gráda 99). There was a hierarchy of streets within the ghetto and the Jews sharply sensed class distinctions. Although the majority of Jews lived in "Little Jerusalem," the area was not exclusively Jewish, with a number of Gentile neighbors.

Joyce very cautiously selected Bloom's fictional birthplace at 52, Clanbrassil Street Upper and his old address in Lombard Street West in "Little Jerusalem." The Blooms lived in the Jewish quarter until they left presumably in mid-1894, when Bloom was twenty eight and Molly was twenty three after they lost their only son Rudy (*U* 8.608-10).

The List of the Jews of "Little Jerusalem" in *Ulysses*:

- 15.3219. (Bloom, broken, closely veiled for the sacrifice, sobs, his face to the
- 15.3220. earth. The passing bell is heard. Darkshawled figures of the
- 15.3221. circumcised, in sackcloth and ashes, stand by the wailing wall, M.
- 15.3222. Shulomowitz, Joseph Goldwater, Moses Herzog, Harris
- 15.3223. Rosenberg, M. Moisel, J. Citron, Minnie Watchman, P. Mastiansky,
- 15.3224. the reverend Leopold Abramovitz, chazen. With swaying arms they
- 15.3225. wail in pneuma over the recreant Bloom.) (Underlining mine.)

It is to be noted that the above people were real Jewish people. According to *Educational Jewish Aspects of James Joyce's "Ulysses,"* most "real" Jewish figures described in the novel lived in "Little Jerusalem":

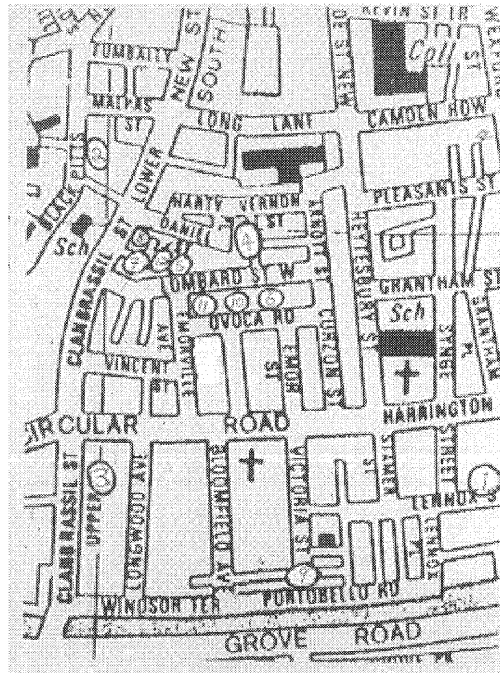
The list of the Jews of "Little Jerusalem" described in *Ulysses*³:

1. Abramovitz, Rev. [Leopold]: Lennox St. Synagogue (No. 32).⁴ (*U* 15.3224). Rev. Leopold Abramovits, Chazen (reader), according to Hyman is the same person as Abraham Lipman Abramovits, Reader of the Lennox Street Synagogue. He came to Dublin in 1887 and served the community as a ritual slaughterer, Mohel (circumciser) and Hebrew teacher (*EJAJJU* 9).
2. Bloom, Joseph: 3, Blackpitts.⁵
3. Bloom, Leopold: 52, Clanbrassil Street Upper (£15).⁶ A plaque in front reads; "Here, in Joyce's imagination, was born Leopold Bloom, citizen, husband, father, worker, the reincarnation of *Ulysses*." An elderly dapper Bennie Bloom (1881-1966) is sometimes mentioned as a model for his Joycean namesake (Ó Gráda 60). On 16 June 1904 he and his wife Molly lives in a tenement at 7, Eccles Street. According to *Thom's 1904*, the house is "Vacant, [valuation of the tenement rated for its municipal tax per annum:] £28."

4. Blum, Isaac: 3, Desmond Street (£17).⁷ (?U 15.721-22 [von Blum Pasha], ?U 17.1748 [Blum Pasha])
5. Citron, Israel: 28, St. Kevin's Parade.⁸ (U 4.204-06, 7.219-20, 8.178, 15.1904-7; with Mastiansky, ?U 15.3223 [J. Citron], 15.4357, 18.573). J. Citron (a misprint for I. Citron) has been identified by Hyman as Israel Citron (1876-1951), a peddler who lived at 17, Kevin's Parade between 1904 and 1908 (Ó Gráda 106). It is also significant that his name was chosen by Joyce because the citron fruit, used in the feast of Tabernacles, is symbolic of all the wandering tribes of Israel and of the coming redemption that will reunite all the tribes (*EJAJJU* 8; Cf. Hyman 168).
6. Goldwater, Joseph: 77, Lombard Street W. (£16). (U 15.3222). "Here the Dublin Hebrew Young Men's Association met. Their officials in 1899 were I.M. Shmulowitz, Isaac Shein, M. Citron, H. Greentuch & Solomon Bloom. Joseph Goldwater lived at 77, Lombard Street West. It was at this address that the Dublin Hebrew Young Men's Association met at the end of the nineteenth century" (*EJAJJU* 8-9).
7. Herzog, Moses: 13, St. Kevin's Parade (£13).⁹ (U 12.17 & 33; U 15.3222 & 4357-58). Moses Herzog, according to Hyman, was a one-eyed bachelor and bibulous peddler who emigrated to South Africa in 1908 (Hyman 329). He lived at 13, St. Kevin's Parade between 1894 and 1906, near to Citron and Mastiansky, and traded as an itinerant grocer (*EJAJJU* 9; Cf. Hyman 168; Ó Gráda 106). Herzog was also an unlicensed moneylender (Ó Gráda 64) who is described so in the beginning of "Cyclops."
8. Masliansky [Mastiansky, Philip or Julius]: 16, St. Kevin's Parade (£16).¹⁰ (U 4.205, 6.770, 15.1904-7; with Citron, U 15.3223, 4357, 17.58 [Julius (Juda) Mastiansky], U 17.2134 [Julius Mastiansky], U 18.417 [Mrs.Mastiansky]). O. Mastiansky may be a misprint for P. Mastiansky (U 15.3223), the same person as Julius Mastiansky, who figures in *Ulysses* as one of Molly Bloom's lovers (U 17.55-59). The name Masliansky appears in the Midwife's register which was the account book of Nurse Shillman who was working in Dublin at the turn of the century (*EJAJJU* 8). According to the entries of Masliansky, two children were born to Philip Masliansky and Florrie Leause in 1899 & 1901 (*EJAJJU* 8).
9. Moisel, Wolf: 24, St. Kevin's Road (£14).¹¹ (U 4.209, ?8.391-92 [Mrs. Moisel], ?U 15.3223 [M. Moisel], U 17.1254 [Philip Moisel (pyemia, Heytesbury Street)]). M. Moisel is probably one and the same as Nisan Mosel, ritual slaughterer and Mohel to the Jewish Community in Dublin. Nisan Moisel was the father of Elyah Wolf Moisel (1856-1904), whose wife Basseh gave birth to a Daughter Rebecca in June 1889, thirteen days after Molly Bloom's daughter Milly was born (U 8.391-92).¹² The name Moisel was originally spelt Moisselle (*EJAJJU* 9). Bloom's father Rudolf Virag changed his Hungarian family name to its anglicized form, Bloom. Name-changing was very common among the members of the Jewish community, usually for ease of spelling or pronunciation.¹³
10. Rosenberg, H. [Harris]: 63, Lombard Street W. (£16).¹⁴ (U 15.3222-23). Little is known of Harris Rosenberg other than he lived at 63, Lombard Street West. However, among the entries of nurse Shillman's register is an entry for the birth of a daughter to a Mrs. H. Rosenberg in 1907 (*EJAJJU* 9).
11. Shulomowitz (Shmulovich), M.: 57, Lombard Street W. (U 15.3221-22). M. Shulomowitz is probably M. Shmulovitch (d.1940) who was the secretary of the Jewish Library, 57, Lombard Street West (£23).¹⁵ He was the Dublin correspondent of the London Hebrew Weekly, *Hayehudi*, who emigrated to South Africa in 1904, returning some years later and settling in Cork, where he married the daughter of Rev. Elyan, Minister of the Cork Hebrew Congregation (Hyman 328).

12. Watchman, Minnie: 20, St. Kevin's Parade (£ 15). (*U* 15.3223). Minnie Watchman was the great-aunt of the author Louis Hyman who lived at 20, St. Kevin's Parade. The inclusion of her name in the list of the circumcised may be a private joke on the part of Joyce due to her appearance in *Thom's 1905* [also in *Thom's 1904*] with the prefix Mr. before her name (*EJAJJU* 9).

The above people all lived in “Little Jerusalem” around 1904. The majority of them still lived in tenements:



Map of Dublin's "Little Jerusalem" (Adapted from *Educational Jewish Aspects of James Joyce's "Ulysses,"* 5)

It is ironic that Leopold Bloom is the only fictional Jewish character in the above list of the residents of “Little Jerusalem.” In fact, there was a Mollie Bloom, who married a Human Wachman, living at 28, Hammond Street, Blackpitts (*EJAJJU* 8).¹⁶ However, his family name “Bloom” (or Blum) itself was a common Jewish name, not only in Dublin but also in other European cities.

Bloom often remembers his childhood friends Citron and Mastiansky, which makes him seem like a real Jew living in “Little Jerusalem.”

[Israel] “poor Citron” & Mastiansky:

- 4.201. He looked at the cattle, blurred in silver heat. Silverpowdered
4.202. olivetrees. Quiet long days : pruning, ripening. Olives are packed in jars,
4.203. eh? I have a few left from Andrews. Molly spitting them out. Knows the
4.204. taste of them now. Oranges in tissue paper packed in crates. Citrons too.
4.205. Wonder is poor Citron still in Saint Kevin's parade. And Mastiansky with

- 4.206. the old cither. Pleasant evenings we had then. Molly in Citron's
 4.207. basketchair. Nice to hold, cool waxen fruit, hold in the hand, lift it to the
 4.208. nostrils and smell the perfume. Like that, heavy, sweet, wild perfume.
 4.209. Always the same, year after year. They fetched high prices too, Moisel told
 4.210. me. Arbutus place : Pleasants street : pleasant old times. Must be without a
 4.211. flaw, he said. Coming all that way: Spain, Gibraltar, Mediterranean, the
 4.212. Levant. Crates lined up on the quayside at Jaffa, chap ticking them off in a
 4.213. book, navvies handling them barefoot in soiled dungarees. (Underlining mine.)



"Poor" Israel Citron's, 28, St. Kevin's Parade, South Circular Road, Dublin 8

In another description in the hallucination of "Circe," both Mastiansky and Citron are described with stereotyped Jewish features. They wear gabardines and long earlocks like Jewish people in the Middle Ages. They approach their friend Bloom wagging their beards.

Mastiansky, Citron and Reuben J. Dodd (English moneylender described as a Jew):

- 15.1897 HORNBLOWER
- 15.1898. (in ephod and huntingcap, announces) And he shall carry the sins of the
 15.1899. people to Azazel, the spirit which is in the wilderness, and to Lilith, the
 15.1900. nighthag. And they shall stone him and defile him, yea, all from Agendath
 15.1901. Netaim and from Mizraim, the land of Ham.
- 15.1902. (All the people cast soft pantomime stones at Bloom. Many bonafide
 15.1903. travellers and ownerless dogs come near him and defile him.
 15.1904. Mastiansky and Citron approach in gaberdines, wearing long
 15.1905. earlocks. They wag their beards at Bloom.)
- 15.1906. MASTIANSKY AND CITRON
- 15.1907. Belial! Laemlein of Istria, the false Messiah! Abulafia! Recant!

- 15.1908. (George R Mesias, Bloom's tailor, appears, a tailor's goose under
 15.1909. his arm, presenting a bill)
- 15.1910. MESIAS
- 15.1911. To alteration one pair trousers eleven shillings.
- 15.1912. BLOOM
- 15.1913. (rubs his hands cheerfully) Just like old times. Poor Bloom!
- 15.1918. (Reuben J Dodd, blackbearded Iscariot, bad shepherd, bearing on
 15.1919. his shoulders the drowned corpse of his son, approaches the
 15.1920. pillory.)
- 15.1921. REUBEN J
- 15.1922. (whispers hoarsely) The squeak is out. A split is gone for the flatties. Nip
 15.1923. the first rattler. (Underlining mine.)

George Robert Mesias was also a real Jew in Dublin. Mesias, Bloom's tailor (see *U* 6.831, 11.881, 15.1302, 15.1908-11, 17.2171) of 5 Eden Quay, was a native of Russia and appears in a parade of false messiahs in "Circe." In the Census of Ireland, 1901, he is listed as a widower of the Jewish persuasion, aged 36, lodging at the home of Hoseas Weiner in Clontarf West. A tall and handsome man, he married Elsie Watson as his second wife, on 5 November 1901 at Clontarf Presbyterian Church (Hyman 168).

Reuben J. Dodd is a moneylender, and the passengers all curse him when the funeral carriage passes him by in "Hades" because they all except Bloom have owed money to Dodd (*U* 6.251). The real Reuben J. Dodd mercilessly collected money from Joyce's father John Stanislaus Joyce when he almost became bankrupt (Davison 58-59). The reader may believe Bloom's thought that Reuben J. Dodd was "really what they call a dirty jew" (*U* 8.1159), but the real Dodds were not Jewish but English in origin. However, in the biography of Joyce's father, *John Stanislaus Joyce*, by John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello the view is that Joyce's father, John Stanislaus, fabricated Dodd's Jewishness, blaming him in revenge for his financial disasters (Jackson & Costello 179).

There are many Jewish figures living in other places in Dublin, such as Dr Hy Franks, an English Jew appearing in *Ulysses* (*U* 15.2633), a "quack" [fraudulent] doctor who had posters stuck up in greenhouses and urinals offering treatment for venereal diseases. "All kinds of places are good for ads" (*U* 8.95-96) is Bloom's observation on Franks' promotional activities. In "Circe," Lipoti Virag, Bloom's grandfather, transforms into a bird butting with its head the fly bill for advertising the pox doctor, and cries, 'Quack' (*U* 15.2627-38). Henry Jacob Franks, born in Manchester in 1852, arrived in Dublin in 1903 after deserting his Turkish-born wife Miriam (*U* 8.350 [Miriam Dandrade], 9.449, 15.2994-3000, 15.4360-61 [Mrs Miriam Dandrade]; nee Mandil) and their four children (Hyman 168).

Maurice E. Solomons (*U* 10.1262), an optician, was a prominent member of Dublin's Jewish community. His business is listed as being at 19, Nassau Street, Dublin as "optician, manufacturer

of spectacles, mathematical & hearing instruments, £56" and also as "The Austro-Hungarian Vice-Consulate-Imperial and Royal Vice-Consul, Maurice E. Solomons, J.P." (*Thom's 1904*). He was appointed to the job by Archduke Ferdinand.¹⁷

The derogative name for Jews "Ikey Moses" (*U* 9.607, etc.), the fictional butcher Moses Dlugacz (*U* 4, *U* 11&*U* 15) and the fictional Bloom the dentist (*U* 12.1638) are also described in the novel, while Bella Cohen, who appears as the madam of the brothel in "Circe," was probably modeled on "Mrs. Cohen" at 82, Mecklenburg Street in the heart of Dublin's then 'red light' district (Hyman 168).¹⁸

Readers may be surprised that Joyce so carefully researched and utilized facts about Irish Jews for *Ulysses*.

III. Jewish Economic "Threats" and Limerick "Pogrom"

Throughout the eighteenth century, Sephardi bankers were prominent in England and remained so even when, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Frankfurt-based Rothschilds provided loans to the British government for the Crimean and Boer Wars and the building of the Suez Canal (Feinstein 42). As often mentioned in many occasions, moneylending is the most stereotyped Jewish job.

In the previous chapter, Reuben J. Dodd, actually an English moneylender, is described as a Jew by Bloom: "Now he's really what they call a dirty jew" (*U* 8.1159). This anecdote also indicates the common sense among the Irish that moneylenders and usurers are typical Jewish jobs which were despised by Gentiles. In "Scylla & Charybdis," Stephen Dedalus presents his theory on Shakespeare saying, "He drew Shylock out of his own long pocket" (*U* 9.741-42). John Eglinton urges Stephen to prove that Shakespeare is a Jew (*U* 7.763). Everyone enjoys Stephen's unconvincing argument in the National Library.

The higher economic status of moneylenders is apparent from a list of Jewish moneylenders prepared by the Dublin police in 1905 (Ó Gráda 61). Some moneylenders doubled as merchants. No Jewish moneylenders' ledgers have been unearthed, and it seems unlikely that any will be uncovered (Ó Gráda 63). Many loans were transacted without any formal paperwork (Ó Gráda 64). The poor who needed to replenish stock relied on moneylenders who knew them to help them. Unlicensed moneylenders like Joyce's Moses Herzog could not pursue defaulters through the courts (cf. *U* 12.13-51).¹⁹

Moses Herzog is mentioned as an unlicensed moneylender:

- 12.13. --Devil a much, says I. There's a bloody big foxy thief beyond by the
- 12.14. garrison church at the corner of Chicken lane - old Troy was just giving
- 12.15. me a wrinkle about him - lifted any God's quantity of tea and sugar to pay
- 12.16. three bob a week said he had a farm in the county Down off a
- 12.17. hop-of-my-thumb by the name of Moses Herzog over there near
- 12.18. Heytesbury street.
- 12.19. --Circumcised? says Joe.

- 12.20. --Ay, says I. A bit off the top. An old plumber named Geraghty. I'm
 12.21. hanging on to his taw now for the past fortnight and I can't get a penny out
 12.22. of him.
 12.23. --That the lay you're on now? says Joe.
 12.24. --Ay, says I. How are the mighty fallen! Collector of bad and doubtful
 12.25. debts. But that's the most notorious bloody robber you'd meet in a day's
 12.26. walk and the face on him all pockmarks would hold a shower of rain. Tell
 12.27. him, says he, I dare him, says he, and I doubledare him to send you round
 12.28. here again or if he does, says he, I'll have him summonsed up before the
 12.29. court, so I will, for trading without a licence. And he after stuffing himself
 12.30. till he's fit to burst. Jesus, I had to laugh at the little jewy getting his shirt
 12.31. out. He drink me my teas. He eat me my sugars. Because he no pay me my
 12.32. moneys?
 12.33. For nonperishable goods bought of Moses Herzog, of 13 Saint
 12.34. Kevin's parade in the city of Dublin, Wood quay ward, merchant,
 12.35. hereinafter called the vendor, and sold and delivered to Michael E.
 12.36. Geraghty, esquire, of 29 Arbour hill in the city of Dublin, Arran quay ward,
 12.37. gentleman, hereinafter called the purchaser, videlicet, five pounds
 12.38. avoirdupois of first choice tea at three shillings and no pence per pound
 12.39. avoirdupois and three stone avoirdupois of sugar, crushed crystal, at
 12.40. threepence per pound avoirdupois, the said purchaser debtor to the said
 12.41. vendor of one pound five shillings and sixpence sterling for value received
 12.42. which amount shall be paid by said purchaser to said vendor in weekly
 12.43. instalments every seven calendar days of three shillings and no pence
 12.44. sterling : and the said nonperishable goods shall not be pawned or pledged
 12.45. or sold or otherwise alienated by the said purchaser but shall be and remain
 12.46. and be held to be the sole and exclusive property of the said vendor to be
 12.47. disposed of at his good will and pleasure until the said amount shall have
 12.48. been duly paid by the said purchaser to the said vendor in the manner
 12.49. herein set forth as this day hereby agreed between the said vendor, his heirs,
 12.50. successors, trustees and assigns of the one part and the said purchaser, his
 12.51. heirs, successors, trustees and assigns of the other part. (Underlining mine.)



Moses Herzog's, 13, St. Kevin's Parade, South Circular Road, Dublin 8

The one-eyed moneylender Herzog was mocked by the I-narrator of "Cyclops" who imitates his broken English. This suggests that Herzog was an immigrant Jew. In the late nineteenth century, moneylending was a sensitive issue for the Jewish community in both Britain and Ireland.²⁰

Anti-Semitism actually existed in Ireland, although it was less severe than that in other European countries. It reached its climax in Limerick in early 1904, when a young Redemptorist preacher, Father John Creagh (1870-1947), who had lived in France at the height of the Dreyfus Affair, led to the boycott that prompted the departure of several households in the city's small Jewish community. At the time, Limerick was a city of about forty thousand people. Poverty was ripe; in the 1890s and 1900s one Limerick family in ten still lived in a one-room tenement (Ó Gráda 191).

Jews in Limerick, like those in other Irish cities, were mainly middlemen traders. Apart from two "dental mechanics" and two clergymen, all male household heads and boarders listed in the 1901 census were described as peddlers, drapers, or shopkeepers. Most of the community lived in small houses on Colooney (now Wolfe Tone) Street, half a mile or so west of the city center (Ó Gráda 191). One household in two could afford a live-in domestic servant in 1901, a sign that Litvak Jewry by then had achieved a modicum of comfort and respectability (Ó Gráda 191).

The events in Limerick are often regarded as the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in recent Irish history (Ó Gráda 192). Creagh's sermons led to a boycott against the city's Jewish traders. This not only prohibited new business; it also led to opportunistic defaulting on outstanding debts. Creagh omitted to mention that Limerick's most prominent moneylenders were Gentiles. In the wake of Creagh's sermons some Jews were physically assaulted and their property threatened (Ó Gráda 192). In the following months several households in the one hundred and seventy member community left the city. The decline from one hundred and seventy in 1901 to one hundred and nineteen a decade later was not entirely due to the boycott, although the boycott was still in force in 1905 (Ó Gráda 192).²¹

The Limerick incident is ambiguously implied in "Penelope" in *Ulysses*: "he [Arthur Griffith] knew there was a boycott" (*U* 18.387). This may refer to the threatened boycott against Jews in Limerick and a press-boycott involving Griffith's paper *United Irishman* in 1904, although the context also suggests a boycott related to the two Boer Wars.

Also, there are some other references possibly conveying the anti-Semitic mood in Ireland at that time. In the graveyard scene in Glasnevin Cemetery in "Hades," Bloom remembers Mastiansky's reference to opium, then associates the blood sinking into the earth and remembers someone saying that those Jews killing the Christian boy is based on the same idea of perversion of fertility:

Mastiansky & LB's reference to the Jewish blood libel:

- 6.768. His garden Major Gamble calls Mount Jerome. Well, so it is. Ought to be
- 6.769. flowers of sleep. Chinese cemeteries with giant poppies growing produce the
- 6.770. best opium Mastiansky told me. The Botanic Gardens are just over there.
- 6.771. It's the blood sinking in the earth gives new life. Same idea those jews they

- 6.772. said killed the christian boy. Every man his price. Well preserved fat corpse,
 6.773. gentleman, epicure, invaluable for fruit garden. A bargain. By carcass of
 6.774. William Wilkinson, auditor and accountant, lately deceased, three pounds
 6.775. thirteen and six. With thanks. (Underlining mine.)

It is significant that Bloom just describes the superstitious anti-Semitic legend without comment. Later, in Bloom's apartment and in the presence of Bloom, Stephen sings the anti-Semitic ballad of "Little Harry Hughes and the Duke's Daughter [Jew's Daughter]" in which a Jewish girl cuts off the head of a Christian boy (*U* 17.810-28).²² Bloom, unsmiling and with mixed feelings, hears the song and silently tries to find "the possible evidences for and against ritual murder" (*U* 17.844-49).

Bloom is not a Jew in strict terms and he "intermarries" a Catholic woman Molly. As Ó Gráda argues, Irish Jewry avoided assimilation through intermarriage (Ó Gráda 213). Bloom moved to a tenement of 7, Eccles Street in North Dublin and lives with his family as a non-Jewish or "assimilated" Jew apart from the Jewish community. Bloom's financial status is comparatively high, although he does not own a home yet. On June 16, 1904, he received a commission of £1 7s 6d, evidently selling an advertisement (*U* 7.113), which is precisely one and two-thirds of Stephen Dedalus's weekly earnings.²³ In total, Bloom possesses almost £1500 in assets (Osteen 92).

Joyce realistically renders Jewish stereotypes by portraying Bloom and his Jewish forebears as examples of every type of perceived economic threat, from immigrant ragman and hawker to assimilated merchant and financier (Feinstein 41).

Conclusion

Having selected an "assimilated" Jewish couple as the novel's central characters with numerous detailed descriptions of real Jewish Dubliners, Joyce's *Ulysses* left a historical record of how Jews and Gentiles regarded each other in early twentieth-century Ireland. Rosemary Horan mentions that "James Joyce once stated that if Dublin were destroyed, it could be reconstructed from the text of *Ulysses*. It is our [Irish-Jewish people's] hope that in some way we can reconstruct the essence of Jewish Dublin of 1904" (*EJAJJU* 4). This is a convincing comment of the accuracy with which Joyce described Irish Jewish people's lives in *Ulysses*.

Now, not so many Dubliners recognize the former Jewish quarter "Little Jerusalem." The number of Irish Jews has remarkably declined and most Dublin Jews moved to the southern suburbs of Dublin in the mid-twentieth century. However, the Irish Jewish Museum was opened on the site of Walworth Road Synagogue (which ceased to function in the mid-1970s) by the Irish-born 6th President of Israel Dr. Chaim Herzog (1918-1997; p.1983-1993) on 20th June 1985. Together with the museum, Joyce's *Ulysses* greatly evoked Gentile people's attention to Irish Jews.

Joyce had many good "assimilated" Jewish friends throughout his life. He definitely knew the tremendous effect of employing a nowhere cosmopolitans or wandering Jew belonging to "a nation without a country" as the protagonist of his Dublin-setting novel. With the Jewish protagonist and other Jewish elements *Ulysses* gained a cosmopolitan status in world literature.

Notes

*This is a revised version of the paper presented at IASIL 2007, University College Dublin, Ireland, July 17, 2007.

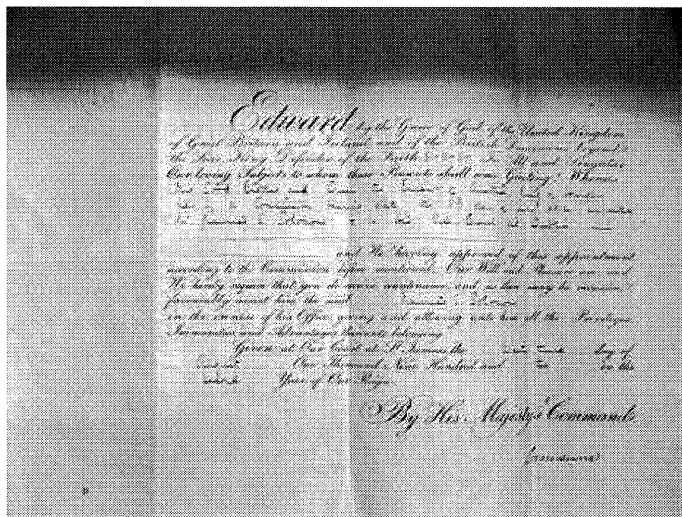
**This research is granted Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science under the title of "Joyce and Orientalism."

1. Cf. *EJAJJU*, 4: "Further evidence of an early date is the fact that Ballybough Cemetery in Fairview, just north of Dublin, was in use from the early 18th century onwards."
2. St. Mary's Private Hospital, 38, Eccles Street, is not included for the calculation because no valuation was shown in the entry.
3. Main reference: *EJAJJU* 4.
4. According to the "List of the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants, and Traders, Public Officers, &c., &c." of *Thom's 1904*, he is noted: "Abramovitz, Rev. Leopold, Jewish minister, 3 Kevin's road."
5. 3, Blackpitts was not recorded in *Thom's 1904*, probably because Blackpitts were full of small cottages for artisans.
6. According to *Thom's 1904*, the house was occupied by Mr. E. Tucker.
7. According to *Thom's 1904*, the house was occupied by Mr. T. Freedman and Mrs. S. Bloom.
8. *Thom's 1904* only records houses from no.1 to no. 25 of St. Kevin's Parade, and it notes, "17 Citron, Mr. J. 16 l. [£16]." However, as Joyce or Bloom purposely (?) used the wrong house number in the text of *Ulysses* (U 7.219-20), Citron is supposed to have lived in 28, St. Kevin's Parade in Joyce's fictional world.
9. His name is recorded as "Herzog, Mr. M." in *Thom's 1904*.
10. As Hyman notes, Philip Masliansky lived at 2, Martin Street in 1896, and at 63, Lombard Street West in 1899-1900, and from 1900 to 1906 at 16, St. Kevin's Parade (Hyman 189). *Thom's Directories* record him as Phinis (sic) Mosliansky in 1899 and 1900, as P. Masliansky in 1901 and as P. Mastiansky in 1902-1906 (Hyman 189).
11. According to *Thom's 1904*, the house was occupied by Mr. Alexander Mitafsky.
12. The Irish Jewish Museum is in possession of a photograph of the Moisel family, which features the daughter Rebecca:



(Courtesy of the Irish Jewish Museum)***

13. A good example of such a change was the name Good. Judge Herman Good was the son of the Rev. Gudansky. The name Bloom may originally have been Blum, Roseblum, etc. (*EJAJJU* 9).
14. Cf. *Thom's* 1904.
15. Cf. *Thom's* 1904.
16. Cf. *Thom's* 1904. Hammond Street, Blackpits had 55 small cottages (£4 15s to £6) for artisans. Probably he lived at one of them.



(Courtesy of the Irish Jewish Museum)***

17. The original documents of this appointment, bearing the seal of Ferdinand, are in the possession of the Irish Jewish Museum (*EJAJJU* 9):
18. See Hyman, 168n; 329: Her name was in *Thom's Directories* between 1890-1905.
19. Cf. Ó Gráda, 64-66: The nature of the unlicensed money lenders' operations almost certainly entailed higher interest charges. They operated outside the law in an equilibrium involving higher costs, higher interest charges, smaller loans, and higher default rates. Most Jewish moneylenders lived within the law, however, and relied on the courts to enforce their contracts. They did not resort to the violent tactics used by some illegal operators (Ó Gráda 66).
20. In 1898, when legislative controls on moneylending were imminent, Sir George Lewis testified to a parliamentary inquiry (Ó Gráda 66):

I know that the Jewish community despise and loathe these men and their trade; they are not allowed any public position in the community; they are utterly ignored; the Jewish clergy preach against them and their usury in the synagogues; and I may say this because I know it of my own knowledge. I am myself a Jew. (Ó Gráda 66)

Lewis continued with remarks that reflected the hostility of many in his own anglicized community to its immigrant coreligionists (Ó Gráda 66):

It is impossible that the community can do anything with these men, who come over from Poland, Jerusalem and other places, and start themselves up on this way, but they would be only glad to see them to put down and abolished altogether, and imprisoned. (Ó Gráda 66)

21. The Catholic bishop of Limerick, Dr. Edward O'Dwyer (1842-1917), was criticized both at the time and later for not condemning Creagh and the boycott publicly. In private, O'Dwyer tried to intervene, but he had little ecclesiastical authority over Creagh. Moreover, he had little sympathy for the local Jewish community (Ó Gráda 193).
22. Cf. Don Gifford, *"Ulysses" Annotated*, 579. Gifford refers to *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (eds. Francis James Child and George Lyman Kittredge, Cambridge, 1904). The ballad "Little Harry Hughes and the Duke's Daughter" is a variant of "Sir Hugh; or, the Jew's Daughter" (No.155). As Gifford notes, its substitutes "Duke's Daughter" for "Jew's Daughter" in genteel avoidance of the ballad's "anti-Semitism." The original story from which the ballad derives is of a boy, High of Lincoln, supposedly crucified by Jews in c.1255 (Gifford 579).
23. Cf. Osteen, 92. Bloom has a £500 life insurance policy, a savings account of £18-14-6, and £900 worth of the Canadian government stock at 4 percent, free of stamp duty (*U* 17.1856-65). His stock earns him £6 per year.

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***I am indebted to Curator Raphael V. Siev of the Irish Jewish Museum for granting permission to reproduce the photograph of the Moisel family and take a photo of the document of Maurice E. Solomons' appointment to use for this article.