The entire graphic is framed by a dark grey border with intricate white scrollwork. The top and bottom features large, symmetrical scroll designs with small floral motifs. The sides consist of vertical scroll patterns. The central area is a teal rectangle with a distressed, torn-paper edge effect.

THE ROSENBACH 

GALLERY GATEWAY

The Global Other

Race and Empire in James Joyce's Ulysses

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Rosenbach thanks Professor Vincent Cheng, author of the book *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) for his advisement in the curation of this installation.

Installation graphic design by Olivetree Design (olivetreedesign.com)



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WELCOME TO THE GALLERY GATEWAY

WHAT IS A GALLERY GATEWAY?

Welcome to the Gallery Gateway for The Rosenbach's Bloomsday 2021 installation *The Global Other: Race and Empire in James Joyce's Ulysses*. This Gallery Gateway provides all of the content presented on-site in The Rosenbach's gallery in an easily accessible, easily viewable and printable, online format.

The Gallery Gateway is a hybrid of a traditional museum exhibition catalogue and a digital exhibition. The Gallery Gateway presents a large amount of visual and text-based content in a PDF format that makes installation content as accessible as possible. The document can be viewed online or downloaded to a personal device for viewing or printing.

The purpose of the Gallery Gateway is to make installation content available to those who cannot visit The Rosenbach in person and to create a permanent record of the information shared in the installation.

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- Engage with the interpretive text that accompanies artifacts on display in the exhibition.

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ON VIEW IN
THE ROSENBACH'S
PROGRAMS
GALLERY

June 3–September 5, 2021

James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* is considered a classic of British literature, and an iconic Irish story. Yet Joyce wrote the book outside the boundaries of British imperial rule, far away from Ireland. His writings advocated for the equality of Irish people, and against corrosive imperialism and ethnic nationalism. Using the plight of the Irish as an exemplar, Joyce noted and critiqued racial inequality among other oppressed peoples, which was a common feature of imperialist societies. Leopold Bloom, the main character of *Ulysses*, is a Jew, who himself occupied racialized and oppressed status in the Ireland of the novel. As a Jew, and thus a perennial outsider, Bloom asks readers to experience the real world as if they, too, are one of many global others.

Objects on display include pages from the *Ulysses* manuscript, an important early edition of *Ulysses*, and selections from our British illustration and literary manuscripts, American history, and Judaica collections, as well as plays by William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe.

THE GLOBAL OTHER

*Race and Empire
in James Joyce's Ulysses*

THE GLOBAL OTHER

Race and Empire in James Joyce's Ulysses

James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* is considered a classic of British literature, and an iconic Irish story. Yet Joyce wrote the book outside the boundaries of British imperial rule, far away from Ireland. Equipped with this global viewpoint, Joyce critiques the oppression of the Irish people by English authorities, and he questions the violent imperial rule of his time. The ethnicity-based oppression, or "othering," of Irish people, shaped Joyce's politics—and his writings.

Readers often assume that Joyce was apolitical. In fact, in his writings he advocated for the equality of Irish people, and against corrosive imperialism and ethnic nationalism. Moreover, using the plight of the Irish as an exemplar, Joyce noted and critiqued inequality among other oppressed peoples, a process of "othering" that was a common feature of imperialist societies. Leopold Bloom, the main character of *Ulysses*, is a Jew, who himself occupied an "othered" status in the Ireland of the novel. Themes of being outside the ruling center—on the fringes of social and civic power—shape *Ulysses*. The character of Bloom, a Jew and thus a perennial ethnic and religious outsider, asks readers to experience the real world as if they, too, are one of many global Others.

Episode I:
Othering as a Product
of Empire

Historical Context for Joyce's Work



1. George Cruikshank (1792-1878), "Preparing John Bull for general congress"

London, 1812-1813
1954.1880.0330

Objects in the Rosenbach collection predating James Joyce's life by decades and even centuries shed light on the political work he undertakes in the novel *Ulysses*.

In Great Britain in the 1800s, ethnic othering and empire-building were closely linked, and often mutually reinforcing, enterprises. As the empire, based in the North Atlantic, expanded to include cultures around the world, English insistence on the superiority of Anglo-Saxon peoples over the residents of other territories provided a strategic justification for conquest abroad. Espousing a belief in a strict hierarchy of races, with Anglo-Saxon residents of Great Britain at the top of the human family tree, the English believed that lower orders lacked not only the right but even the capability to govern their own affairs effectively.

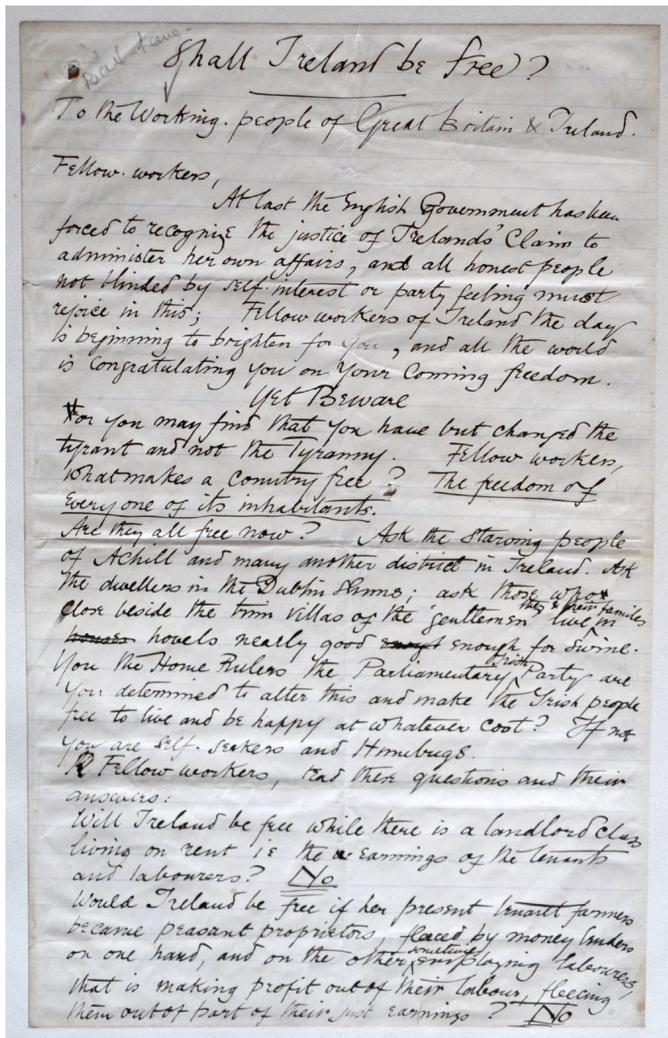
Great Britain's struggle to maintain a vast and often-hostile empire found expression in English political cartoons of the 1800s, which also underscore the constant presence of Irish political agitation for freedom from imperial rule. Here, the famous cartoonist and caricaturist George Cruikshank depicts the body of "John Bull," a personification of Great Britain, being torn apart. The East and West Indies, Guadelupe, Hanover (a part of Germany) and other British dominions are under threat from imperial instability. Note that a small man in a green coat with a Roman Catholic rosary dangling from his pocket chops of John Bull's arm. He severs the arm, labeled "Ireland," with an axe named "Catholic Bill," a reference to legislation before the British Parliament that would have granted greater freedom to Roman Catholics in Ireland. The Irish figure seems almost non-human—a visual metaphor for Irish otherness that intensified through the 1800s as English scientists, artists, and thinkers represented the Irish as an entirely separate

Continued...

species, occupying evolutionary territory between ape and human. Far from an artistic exaggeration, Cruikshank's depiction of an Irishman reflects how English society sought to downgrade the Celtic Irish as nonhuman, and thus unworthy of self-government.

Beliefs as to the racial superiority of Anglo-Saxons and racist theories positing the inferiority of the Irish reached their height in Europe at the very end of the 1800s, just the time that James Joyce launched his writing career. It is little surprise, then, that Joyce compared the Irish to other colonized peoples around the world and expressed sympathy with their plights. "For so many centuries the Englishman has done in Ireland only what the Belgian is doing today in the Congo Free State," Joyce wrote in a published essay in 1907, noting the similarity between English imperial rule in Ireland to Belgium's colonization efforts in Africa. Joyce continues to call out stereotypical views of the Irish before noting that England systematically suppressed Irish economic, social, and political freedoms. "The English now disparage the Irish because they are Catholic, poor, and ignorant. ... Ireland is poor because English laws ruined the country's industries."

In his book *How to Be an Antiracist* (2019), Ibram X. Kendi notes that "Antiracist ideas argue that racist policies are the cause of racial inequities." To the extent that Anglo-Irish relations of the early 20th century were bound in a racialized discourse, then Joyce took what we now understand to be an antiracist stance in arguing for Irish liberation.



2. William Morris (1834–1896), “Shall Ireland be free? To the working people of Great Britain & Ireland”

England, ca. 1886
EL3 .M877 MS1

England colonized the whole of Ireland between 1169 and 1536, though the Irish possessed their own parliament until the English dissolved it in 1800. Since those early days, many famous figures in English literature have offered commentary on Anglo-Irish relations. The famous poet Edmund Spenser, for example, inquired of the possibility of “reducing that salvage [sic] nation to better government and civility” as early as 1596, openly entertaining the hope of committing genocide against the inhabitants of the island. Other figures, however, have taken a more charitable stance toward England’s colonized neighbor. Perhaps it is unsurprising that William Morris, with his radical socialist politics, took a perspective on Anglo-Irish relations that emphasized economics and class.

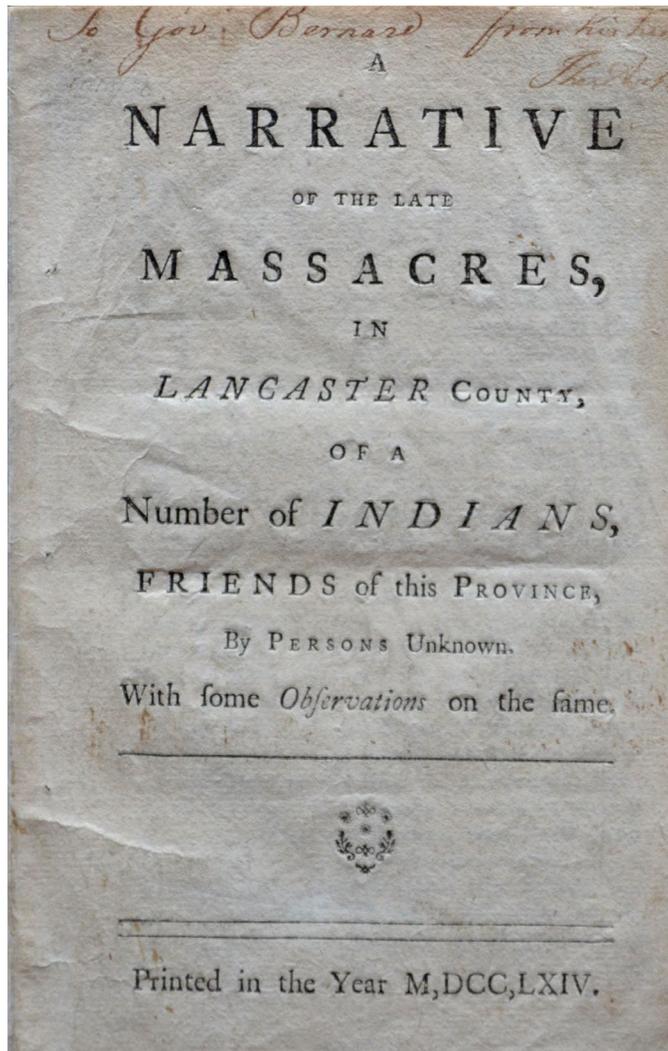
In 1886, the British Parliament passed the Government of Ireland Bill, informally known as the First Home Rule Bill, which established an Irish assembly and devolved some power to the Irish—a major achievement for Irish activists, though the legislation still kept Ireland very much under English authority. Parallel efforts to reform land ownership practices in Ireland—where tenancy held farmer-laborers in a state of perpetual poverty and subservience to a wealthy upper class—did not succeed.

In this manuscript, Morris asks the question “Shall Ireland be Free?” and directly addresses “the working people of Great Britain and Ireland.” “Fellow-workers,” Morris begins, continuing:

“At last the English Government has been forced to recognize the justice of Ireland’s Claim to administer her own affairs, and all honest people not blinded by self-interest or party feeling must rejoice in this. ... Yet Beware For you may find that you have but changed the tyrant and not the Tyranny. Fellow workers, what makes a Country free? The freedom of Every one of its inhabitants.”

Continued...

Morris proceeds to point out the dramatic poverty that afflicted Ireland at the time. "Are they all free now? Ask the starving people of Achill and many another district in Ireland. Ask the dwellers in the Dublin slums." Morris highlights the same economic dependency that Joyce noted in his later reflection on the political state of Ireland (object label 1). "Will Ireland be free while there is a landlord class living on rent i.e. the Earnings of the tenants and labourers?" Morris asks. "NO." He calls on all residents of the British Isles to reject economic suppression: "Irishmen, Scotchmen, Welshman, Englishmen, remember that you are men first by the title of your labour and your rightful wish to be happy, and refuse to be Slaves." In Morris's approach to social organization, the racialized difference that divided Englishmen from Irishmen by the 1880's receded in view of the similarity of the working class's shared state of economic dependency.



3. [Benjamin Franklin], *A narrative of the late massacres, in Lancaster county, of a number of Indians, friends of this province, by persons unknown. With some observations on the same*

Philadelphia: [Printed by Anthony Armbruster], 1764

A 764n

This pamphlet was both written and printed by Benjamin Franklin, although Franklin did not reveal himself as its author.* He writes in horror about the killings of 20 innocent, Indigenous people in what became known as the Conestoga Massacre, a violent and unwarranted retaliation for the events of Pontiac's Rebellion immediately following the French and Indian War.**

As a printer, Franklin highlights the ethnicities, religions, and races of those his readers might have expected to perform violent acts, as well as those they would have assumed to be "civilized"—all in an italic type. We see *Turks, Moors, Saracens, Popish Spaniards*, and the *Pagan Negroe* compared to *Whitemen, enlightened Protestants, and Christians*.

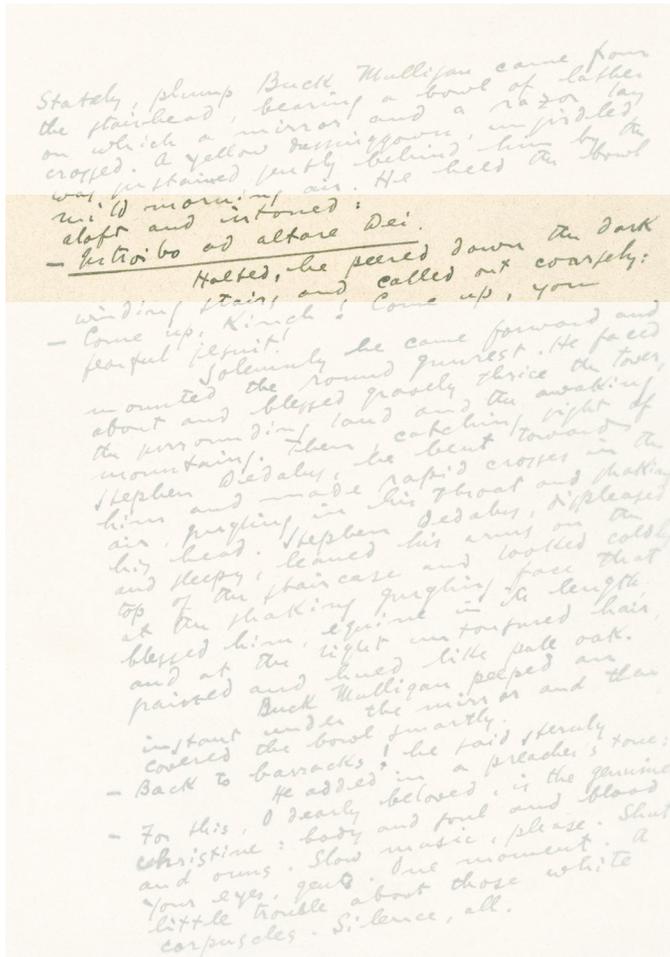
He eventually reveals the perpetrators as immigrants or descendants of those from *Peckstang* [Paxton] and *Donegall*, two counties in Ulster Province in Northern Ireland, that were heavily Protestant. Franklin's revelation to his readers of their own kind as the killers, noted in all capital letters as CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES, when all of the aforementioned marginalized groups would usually have been associated with such violence, would have seemed as shocking as Franklin makes it appear visually in his text.

Such othering of populations deemed "uncivilized" would have seemed familiar in 18th-century British America, just as it was elsewhere in the empire and helps us understand the background of James Joyce's critique of a British colonialism dependent on the perceived innate inferiority of the conquered and the outsider.

*Having enslaved Black people until 1781, Franklin's own life suggests that deeply-engrained prejudices and assumptions about ethnic and racial difference could evolve over time. With exposure to the ideas of other Philadelphians, he gradually changed his mind about the inferiority of Blacks and the institution of slavery itself, and became the head of Philadelphia's Abolition Society in 1787.

**The conflict often called the "French and Indian War" (1754-1763) was the precursor of the worldwide Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

Episode II:
Revealing Ethnic Othering
in *Ulysses*
Evidence from the Manuscript



4. James Joyce (1882-1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, "Telemachus" episode

Zürich and Paris, [1917-1921]

Manuscript page 1

EL4 J89ul 922 MS

The novel *Ulysses* famously opens with a scene at the Martello Tower in Dublin. Although the Tower was already a local landmark by the time Joyce wrote his book, the novel established it as an iconic literary site. Distant as most modern U.S. readers are from the social significance of Martello Towers in Irish history, however, one can easily overlook the political overtones that infuse *Ulysses* beginning with the novel's opening lines.

Martello Towers were constructed by English imperial authorities in the 1700s to fend off naval attacks that threatened the stability of the growing empire. Thus, the towers were owned by the British government. One of them, at Sandymount in Dublin, was rented for a brief period to a young writer named James Joyce (just as in *Ulysses* it was rented to the fictional Stephen Dedalus, one of the novel's main characters). This significant site of Irish history becomes a stand-in for English domination over the lives of everyday Irish people across the country. On the book's first page, Dedalus recites a Latin line from Scripture: "Introibo ad altare Dei" ("I will go up to the altar of God"), a quotation translated from a Hebrew psalm sung by the ancient Jews while in exile. (These same words also open the Roman Catholic Mass, highlighting the religious difference between Catholic Ireland and Protestant England.) The recitation of this line by an Irishman within an English military complex is the first of many parallels Joyce draws between Jews oppressed by ancient imperial powers, and the Irish oppressed by modern British imperial rule.

5-6. James Joyce (1882-1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, "Telemachus" episode

Zürich and Paris, [1917-1921]. Manuscript pages 26 and 27. EL4 .J89ul 922 MS

In *Ulysses*, the Roman Catholic Irishmen Dedalus and his comrade Buck Mulligan live at the tower with Haines, a wealthy student from the University of Oxford who came to Ireland to study Celtic culture—a man who thus functions as a symbol of English cultural domination. Ostensibly fond of Irish culture, Haines hopes to create a book of traditional Irish sayings, but his interactions with Dedalus reveal that Haines actually looks down on the Irish and chooses not to perceive the violence of English rule over the island, both before and during his lifetime. In a telling conversation, Haines says to Dedalus, "You are your own master, it seems to me." Dedalus replies: "I am a servant of two masters...an English and an Italian." When Haines fails to understand, Dedalus becomes angered, explaining just who his civic and spiritual masters were. "The imperial British state, Stephen answered, his color rising, and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church" (object 5). Sensing Dedalus's anger, Haines replies in an effort to absolve himself—someone who directly benefited from British Empire's wealth and power—from responsibility for conditions in Ireland. "I can quite understand, he said calmly. An Irishman must think like that, I daresay. We feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems that history is to blame" (object 6).

By laying blame at the feet of past English people rather than present-day imperialist policies enacted by present-day English people, Haines, who figuratively and literally lived within the English military complex, showed that even he, someone with a fondness for Irish culture, could not extricate himself from a worldview tinged with conceptions of ethnic and religious superiority. At one point in *Telemachus*, Haines says: "Of course I'm a Britisher ... and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews [sic] either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now." With these passages in *Ulysses*, Joyce shows how sweeping histories of cultural imperialism play out in everyday interactions of ordinary people—in this case, non-elite young Irishmen in Dublin.

Continued...

they went on again. Either you believe or you don't, isn't it? Personally, I couldn't stomach that idea of a personal God. You don't stand for that, I suppose?

- You behold in me, Stephen said with grim displeasure, a horrible example of free thought.

He walked on, waiting to be spoken to, trailing his abplant by his side. Its female followed lightly on the path, squealing at his heels. My familiar, after me, calling, "Speeeeeeeeee-phen! A wawering line along the path. They will walk on it tonight, coming here in the dark. He wants that key. It is mine. I paid the rent. Now I eat at his food. Give him my key too. He will ask for it. That was in his eyes.

- After all, Haines began and saw Stephen turned which had that the cold gaze which had measured him was not all unkind.

- I should think you are able to free yourself. You are your own master, it seems to me.

- I am a servant of two masters, Stephen said, an English and an Italian.

- Italian? Haines said. A crazy queen, old and jealous. Knelt before me.

- And a third, Stephen said, there is who wants me for odd jobs.

- Italian? Haines said again. What do you mean?

- The imperial British state, Stephen answered, his colour rising, and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church.

Haines detached from his underlip some fibres of

N.B. Haines on 12's km

26)

tobacco before he spoke. that, he said calmly. I can quite understand, the said calmly. An Irishman must think little that, I dare say. We feel in England that, we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems history is to blame.

The proud potent titles changed over Stephen's memory, the triumph of their brazen bells; et in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Symbol of the apostles in the mass, for pope Marcellus, the voices blended, singing alone, loud in affirmation, and behind their chant the vigilant angel of the church militant, disarmed and menaced her heresiarchs. A horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry: Photinus and the brood of mockers, of whom Mulligan was one, and Arius, warring his life long upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father and valuing the Son with the Father and valuing spurning Christ's terrene body, and the subtle African heresiarch Sabellius who held that the Father was Himself His own Son. Words Mulligan had spoken a moment since in mockery to the stranger. Idle mockery. The void awaits surely all them that weave the wind: a menace, a disarming and a warping from those embattled angels Michael's host, who defend her eyes in the hour of conflict with their lances and their shields.

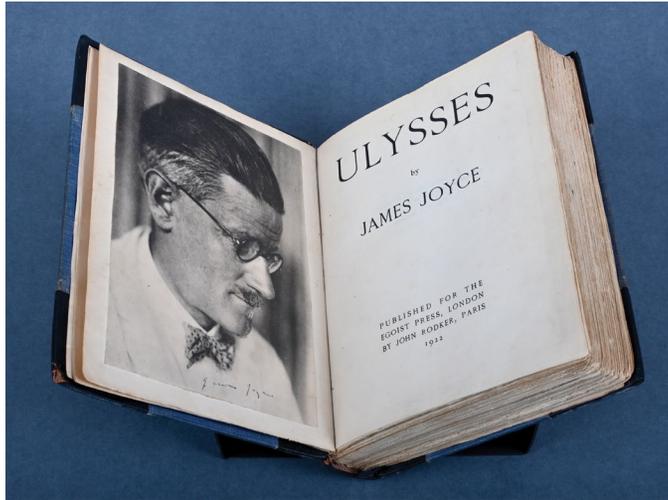
Hear, hear! Prolonged applause. Zut! Non de Dieu! - Of course I'm a Britisher, Haines's voice said, and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German Jews either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now.

27)

Object 5

Object 6

Episode III:
The Jew as Metaphor and
Mirror in *Ulysses*
Leopold Bloom as Perennial Outsider



7. James Joyce (1882-1941), *Ulysses*

Printed for The Egoist Press, London, by John Rodker, Paris, 1922. 2d ed.
EL4 .J89ul 922b

In the Telemachus episode of *Ulysses* (see objects 5 and 6, and this second edition, which was the first published in Great Britain), Haines aligns antisemitism with the larger British nationalist/colonial enterprise. "Of course I'm a Britisher ... and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews [sic] either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now" (p. 21). Joyce asks us to equate the diminution of Irishness reflected in Haines's patronizing, upper-class, British privilege with his antisemitism. When the Empire is divided into "us" and "them," the Irish and the Jews are equally "them."

since in mockery to the stranger. Idle mockery. The void awaits surely all them that weave the wind: a menace, a disarming and a worsting from those embattled angels of the church, Michael's host, who defend her ever in the hour of conflict with their lances and their shields.

Hear, hear. Prolonged applause. *Zut! Nom de Dieu!*

— Of course I'm a Britisher, Haine's voice said, and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now.

Two men stood at the verge of the cliff, watching: businessman, boatman.

— She's making for Bullock harbour.

The boatman nodded towards the north of the bay with some disdain.

— There's five fathoms out there, he said. It'll be swept up that way when the tide comes in about one. It's nine days today.

The man that was drowned. A sail veering about the blank bay waiting for a swollen bundle to bob up, roll over to the sun a puffy face, salt white. Here I am.

They followed the winding path down to the creek. Buck Mulligan stood on a stone, in shirtsleeves, his unclipped tie rippling over his shoulder. A young man clinging to a spur of rock near him, moved slowly frogwise his green legs in the deep jelly of the water.

— Is the brother with you, Malachi?

— Down in Westmeath. With the Bannons.

— Still there? I got a card from Bannon. Says he found a sweet young thing down there. Photo girl he calls her.

— Shapshot, eh? Brief exposure.

Buck Mulligan sat down to unlace his boots. An elderly man shot up near the spur of rock a blowing red face. He scrambled up by the stones, water glistening on his pate and on its garland of grey hair, water rilling over his chest and paunch and spilling jets out of his black sagging loincloth.

Buck Mulligan made way for him to scramble past and, glancing at Haines and Stephen, crossed himself piously with his thumbnail at brow and breastbone.

Although the action in *Ulysses* takes place in early 20th-century Dublin, the characters' anti-Jewish behaviors toward Leopold Bloom have deep roots in British history, and thus a longstanding impact on Ireland, as well. The causes of these lasting inequities can be traced to the relationship between the ruling class and the Jewish minority who had inhabited England since the Norman Conquest. The place of Jews in the socio-economic order of early England, like that of all non-aristocratic inhabitants, was to support the upper classes with labor and money (taxes). Rather than working for—and being protected by—local lords, as Christian serfs were, Jews were protected by—and worked for—the king himself.

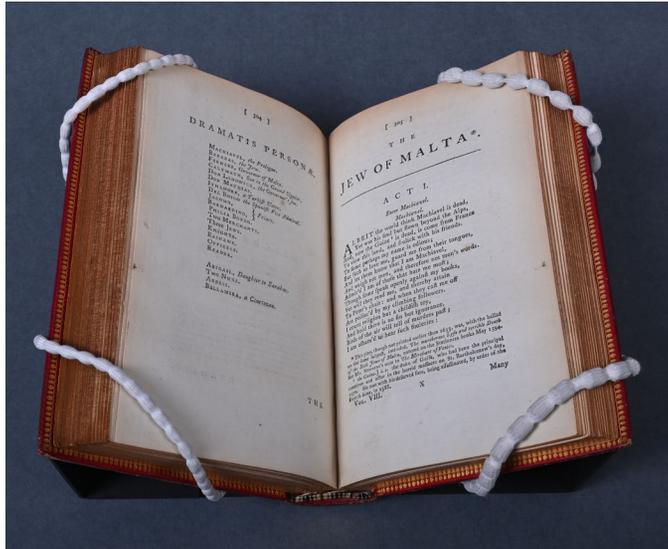
Jews were able to charge interest on loans, a practice the church forbade to Christians, making Jewish lenders an asset to the ruling class, which required large sums to finance land and other holdings. Kings were able to tax Jews at any rate without the permission of Parliament, making Jews at times the majority-payers of taxes. As Jews were his direct subjects, the king could seize their unpaid debts and foreclose on them. Despite these liabilities, Jews prospered for a time under this relationship to the crown, but were

Continued...

also isolated from the Christian majority by their unusual status. This isolation—and their othering as non-Christians—was exacerbated by the Crusades between the 11th and 13th centuries.

Increasingly negative perceptions of Jews gave way to centuries of antisemitism, including harmful tropes (such as the association with usury, the myth of the “wandering Jew,” and incitements to violence based on “blood libels”). In the 13th century, economic hardships due to governmental failures pressured Jews to sell off their debts, causing violent retribution by their debtors and, eventually, under Edward I, restrictive laws on Jewish commerce and property. Edward expelled the Jews entirely in 1290. Their return to England was not permitted for over 350 years.

The historical experience of Jews under British rule mirrors Joyce’s description of the circular relationship between British oppression and anti-Irish hatred (object 1.)

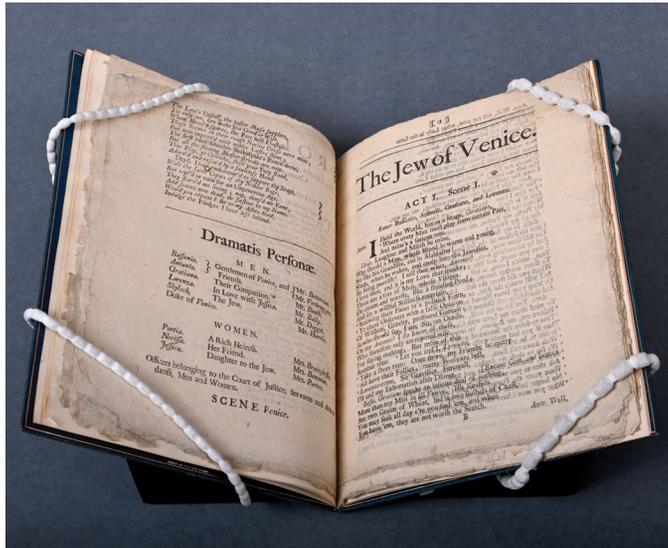


8. Christopher Marlowe (baptized 1564-1593), *The Jew of Malta*, in Dodsley, Robert, 1703-1764, ed., *A select collection of old plays*

London, Printed by J. Nichols for J. Dodsley, 1780. 2d ed., corrected and collated with the old copies, with notes critical and explanatory. EL2 .D647s

9. William Shakespeare (1564-1616), [*The merchant of Venice*] *The Jew of Venice*.

London: printed for Ber. Lintott, 1701. EL1 .S527merc



In his book *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (1995), Professor Vincent Cheng notes that James Joyce understands the power of imperialist politics to shape attitudes toward the Other as expressed in popular culture, creating a “pervasive...mind-set absorbed (and recycled) by members of the culture” (p. 170). Cheng recognizes the power of popular culture to ingrain derogatory views of othered people, a force that plays out in *Ulysses* and across history.

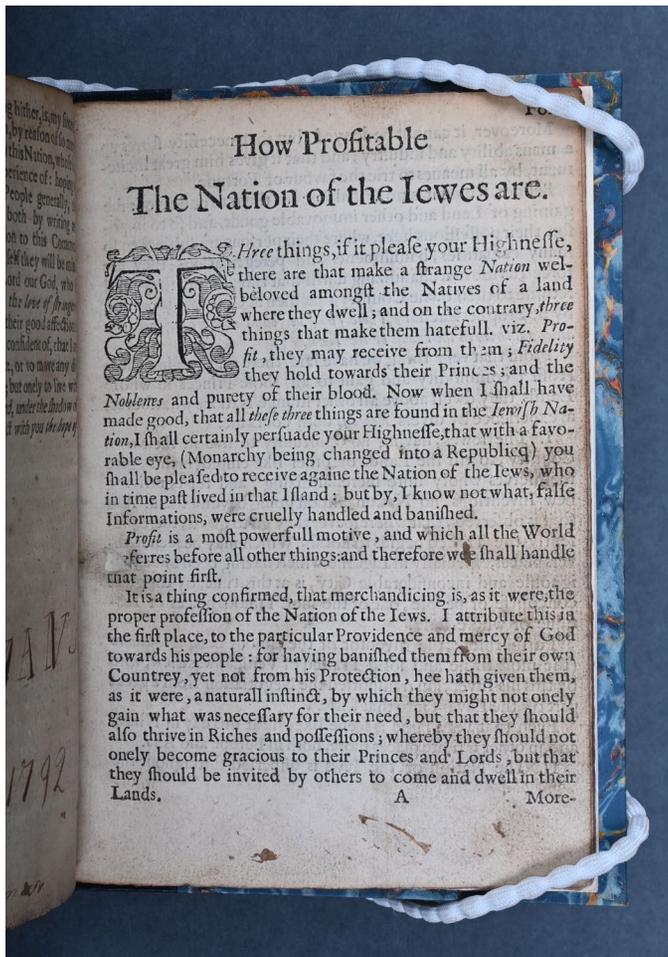
Anti-Jewish behaviors outlasted the Jewish presence in England for centuries. British literature, from Chaucer to Dickens and beyond, recycled and reimagined antisemitic tropes, both reflecting and reinforcing assertions of Christian, Anglo-Saxon superiority. The two plays displayed here exemplify the survival of antisemitic tropes over generations, even when personal contact with Jews in England was nearly impossible.

Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (written 1589-90 and originally called *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta*), a play centered on acts of revenge, deceit, murder, and the suspect national loyalties of a Jewish merchant, remained popular on the stage for 50 years after its premier in 1592. Some critics believe the play may have influenced Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (written 1596-98, and also called *The*

Continued...

Jewe of Venyce in the period, and among numerous references to Shakespeare in *Ulysses*). Critics also dispute whether these works reinforced anti-Jewish tropes, or if they are sophisticated critiques of contemporary antisemitism.

If, as Cheng suggests, popular culture propagates and recycles the othering created by colonialist societies, wouldn't the very presence of anti-Jewish sentiment in these two plays reinforce existing antisemitism regardless of the author's intent? Identifying this self-perpetuating and mutually reinforcing relationship helps us better understand Leopold Bloom's role in *Ulysses*.



10. Menasseh ben Israel, To the Lord protector ... humble addresses...

London, 1656
J 656m

Jews returned to England in 1657 following this appeal to Oliver Cromwell by Menasseh ben Israel, the leader of the Jewish community in Amsterdam. His request fed into interdependent goals, among them the Jews' desire to reside more widely around the globe in hopes of encouraging the arrival of their Messiah, and the zeal of British Puritans to convert the empire's "heathens" (including Jews and Indigenous people in British America) to Christianity in a millennialist hope of encouraging their faith's Second Coming.

Menasseh appeals to Cromwell, whose national economy was suffering, using reasoning that was the obverse of ongoing English anti-Jewish bias. In the introduction to his "humble addresses," titled "How Profitable the Nation of the Jewes are," Menasseh frames his plea on the profit Jews will bring to England, their fidelity to their leaders, and their nobleness. It is ironic that negative implications of these very attributes (financial mis-dealings, divided loyalties; and questionable, even violent, character and behaviors) were both central causes of the Jewish expulsion from England and fodder for antisemitic tropes promulgated by popular culture. While Menasseh writes that the Jews had lived in England in the past, he asserts that they were cruelly handled and banished due to some "false informations [sic]," as if to deny England's habitual antisemitism to benefit his cause.

Since the expulsion in 1290, social and political changes in England, including the Reformation and subsequent rise in anti-Catholicism, the embrace of Hebrew language study by English intellectuals (called "Hebraicism"), and the brief replacement of Cromwell's Republic for the monarchy (mentioned in this introduction) were contributing

Continued...

factors in favor of Jewish immigration. Some who opposed the Jewish return investigated resettling them outside England proper in such places as Jamaica and Ireland. Jews had likely remained in Ireland after their formal expulsion by moving outside the areas ruled by England, particularly those inhabited by the Gaelic Irish. Their history in Ireland was relatively peaceful until an eruption of violence against the Jews of Limerick in 1904, condemned by the *All Ireland Review*, noting that the Jews and the Irish were “brothers in a common struggle.”

11. James Joyce (1882–1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, “Aeolus” episode

Zurich, [Jan. - May 1918]
Manuscript page 15
EL4 .J89ul 922 MS

12. James Joyce (1882–1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, “Aeolus” episode

Zurich, [Jan. - May 1918]
Manuscript page 25
EL4 .J89ul 922 MS

With this historical and literary background in hand, we can now consider how Joyce uses Leopold Bloom’s Jewishness in *Ulysses*.

Jewish othering at the hands of the British power structure from early on was not a unique experience. Perpetual outsiders since antiquity, Jews endured violence, exile, oppressive and targeted policies, and communal confinement within the nations they inhabited. Joyce employs Bloom, the embodiment of this enduring othering, as both a metaphor and a mirror. Historic Jewish subjugation by imperial powers positions Bloom as a metaphor for British oppression of the Irish. At the same time, the abuse Bloom endures from Irish nationalists holds up a mirror to an envisioned, ethnically pure, future nation that trades its freedom from British colonial rule for the ability to oppress the perceived impure in its midst. Bloom’s poor treatment at the hands of nationalists underscores James Joyce’s deep-seated discomfort with the burgeoning Irish cultural nationalism of his own time.

Joyce repeatedly references the oppression of the Jews in antiquity, as he does here, in Aeolus (object 11), overtly comparing Roman rule over the Jews with British rule in Ireland. His reference to building “an altar to Jehovah” recalls the psalmist’s mention of the altar of God in Telemachus (object 4) as both memory of Jewish exile and reference to British religious oppression in Ireland. Yet, as Cheng notes (p. 189ff.), the “Irish/Jewish analogy” of exile in Egypt—with an equivalent hope of redemption—when used to promote Irish ethnic nationalism, only serves to mirror British cultural domination. Here (object 12), a speech by John F. Taylor* addressing the nationalist desire to revive the Irish language, conjures this question an Egyptian high priest poses to Moses, “Why will you jews [sic] not accept our culture, our religion and our language?” Seen through a nationalist lens, this invitation to accept the dominant culture equates Egyptian tyranny with the British Empire—and equates the righteous desire by Jews for liberation from Egypt with the Irish quest for Home Rule.

*John F. Taylor (1885?-1902), barrister and Dublin correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. In October 1901, he gave this celebrated speech—which Joyce seems to have committed to memory and later recorded on a phonodisc.

Continued...

13. James Joyce (1882–1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, “Cyclops” episode

Zurich, [Sept. 1919]
Manuscript page 37
EL4 .J89ul 922 MS

14-15. James Joyce (1882–1941), *Ulysses*: autograph manuscript, “Cyclops” episode

Zurich, [Sept. 1919]
Manuscript pages 44-45
EL4 .J89ul 922 MS

Returning to “Britisher” Haines in Telemachus, we might consider how this comment both reflects and predicts the novel’s treatment of the Jewish Leopold Bloom: “Of course I’m a Britisher ... and I feel as one. I don’t want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews [sic] either. That’s our national problem, I’m afraid, just now.”

Haines “feels” his Britishness as the colonialist superiority that enables him to think of Jews as outsiders and even potential invaders. He calls this possibility “a national problem” for a “nation” he perceives as comprising those like him while othering those who differ from him and are, therefore, not part of his imagined “nation.” The subject of nationhood in *Ulysses* comes to its fullest expression in the Cyclops episode.

The main action in Cyclops takes place in Barney Kiernan’s Pub. Bloom, looking for Martin Cunningham on an errand of charity, finds Hynes, the Citizen, and others inside. Hynes tries to engage Bloom in the competitive, masculine social behavior of standing rounds (i.e., buying drinks), asking several times. Bloom’s refusal, and his moderate drinking habits, set him outside the cultural habits shared by the other Irishmen.

Bloom’s isolation is a theme throughout the novel but is intensified in this episode. The Citizen—and the narrator’s commentary—repeatedly frame Bloom as an Other through derogatory language aimed at his Jewishness, and rumors of his questionable behavior.

The Citizen, the most vocal of the group, is described by Joyce using a pile-up of cojoined adjectives to create a verbal giant. This technique echoes Virgil’s description of the Cyclops in his epic, *The Aeneid*. (For more information, see [rosenbach.org/blog/making-a-verbal-monster-cyclops-in-virgils-aeneid-3-and-joyces-ulysses](https://www.rosenbach.org/blog/making-a-verbal-monster-cyclops-in-virgils-aeneid-3-and-joyces-ulysses)). It also associates the Citizen not only with Virgil’s version of the gigantic, one-eyed belligerent, but with the nationalistic purpose of his epic itself. *The Aeneid*, written to establish a mythical/historic past for the Roman Empire, creates a foundation for this episode’s reflections on Irish nationalism.

Continued...

In Joyce's estimation, Irish nationalism could be as culturally oppressive as British colonialism. The Citizen, as the one-eyed Cyclops, can see the oppressive nature of imperial rule, but can't see how he enacts this same behavior upon those deemed foreign or lesser. Here (object 13), the Citizen accuses Bloom of "coming over here to Ireland filling the country with bugs" and "swindling the peasants ... and the poor of Ireland. We want no more strangers in our house." Again, we see the historical themes of physical harm to the inhabited nation, financial misdealing, and exile imposed by the state.

But Bloom makes Joyce's point against both colonialism and ethnic nationalism, saying, "Persecution ... all the history of the world is full of it. Perpetuating national hatred among nations" (object 14). When John Wyse Nolan asks him what a nation is, Bloom explains (as if in answer to Haines's earlier, imagined nation), "A nation is the same people living in the same place." Despite the mocking of the men in the bar and despite the Citizen's confrontational challenge ("What is your nation if I may ask?"), Bloom responds to the Citizen as though he is the "same" as everyone else: "Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland And I belong to a race too ... that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant Robbed Plundered. Insulted. Persecuted. Taking what belongs to us by right I'm talking about injustice." Although he is speaking about his Jewishness, the description could well be that of the Irish. When encouraged by John Wyse Nolan to "stand up to it by force," Bloom says, "It's no use Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life for men and women, hatred. And everybody knows that it's the very opposite of that that is really life Love, says Bloom. I mean the opposite of hatred" (object 15). Bloom's recognition of his othered status across time and place supports his more tolerant view of humanity than that of single-minded nationalists like The Citizen.

Bloom turns his othering into a plea for "universal love," the opposite of the common experience of hatred, persecution, and violence experienced by so many for so long. In our world today, which is still grappling with the legacies of European imperialism and the daily realities of ethnic, racial, and religious injustice, James Joyce's globalist critique of the colonial enterprise in *Ulysses* resonates today with a surprisingly vital and modern message.

Continued...

WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN MORE?

This installation was inspired by the book *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, written by Professor Vincent Cheng of the University of Utah and published by the Cambridge University Press in 1995. A copy of the book is available for consultation in The Rosenbach's reading room. Visit [rosenbach.org/research/make-an-appointment](https://www.rosenbach.org/research/make-an-appointment) to schedule a visit to consult this book, as well as other materials in The Rosenbach's Joyce collections.

Dr. Cheng's article "Of Canons, Colonies, and Critics: The Ethics and Politics of Postcolonial Joyce Studies" is available via the online article database JSTOR. Mark Wollaeger's article "Joyce in the Postcolonial Tropics" is also available via JSTOR. For an engaging discussion of James Joyce's interest in Judaism, see Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A New Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011). Contact your local public library for details about how to access these titles.

For more information regarding the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid* on the Cyclops episode of *Ulysses*, see [rosenbach.org/blog/making-a-verbal-monster-cyclops-in-virgils-aeneid-3-and-joyces-ulysses](https://www.rosenbach.org/blog/making-a-verbal-monster-cyclops-in-virgils-aeneid-3-and-joyces-ulysses).



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