The Masonic Allusions in James Joyce's *Ulysses*

Tim Blakemore

One hundred years ago in 1922 one of the most celebrated novels of the twentieth century was published. It contained numerous references to Freemasonry but did not defame Masons or Freemasonry at all. The book in question was entitled *Ulysses* and had been written by the Irish writer James Joyce who was then living and writing in various cities on the continent of Europe.[1] Its significance was noted immediately, and it has since become universally recognized as one of the most important novels in English literature, if not in world literature.

The book was controversial from the start. Some of the first chapters were available for publication from 1918 onwards, but the only magazine which was prepared to print them was the *Little Review* in the USA. The United States postal authorities promptly seized and destroyed them and in 1921 a criminal prosecution was launched. The charge was one of obscenity, although the modern reader would be forgiven for wondering what all the fuss was about. Nevertheless the publishers were convicted and so it was not until 1922 that the book was eventually published in full in (perhaps inevitably) Paris. Its publi-

[1] James Augustine Aloysius Joyce 1882–1941. For a brief biography see M. Drabble, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 529.

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cation history thereafter is complicated,[2] but it should be noted that the foremost writers of the time were largely unanimous in their recognition of its genius, acknowledging that 'the shape of fiction had been altered'.[3] Posterity has not altered that opinion, and the opening statement in a recent biography of Joyce states simply:

In almost every poll taken in recent years, Ulysses has been acclaimed the greatest novel of the twentieth century.[4]

It is only fair to add that the novel has other less desirable attributes which were neatly summarized in a magazine review about ten years ago: '*Ulysses* — that most admired, loved, hated, mystifying, misunderstood and popularly unread novel.'[5]

A brief outline of *Ulysses*

The novel recounts the events in one day in the life of its central character Leopold Bloom, and in particular his interaction with the two other major characters, a young man called Stephen Dedalus and Bloom's wife Molly. All the action takes place in Dublin and as Bloom and Dedalus travel around the city every event occurs in a specific place, clearly identified by Joyce; so much so that it has been said that the whole novel is 'saturated with "consciousness of place"'.[6] The day in question is also quite specific: 16 June 1904. Bloom's wanderings around the city are meant to reflect the wanderings of Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey*. The book is divided into 18 sections or chapters, each section corresponding to an event in the *Odyssey* and in the first drafts each chapter was given a title taken from one of those events. This explains the title of the novel itself, as 'Ulysses' is the Roman version of the Greek name Odysseus.[7]

Although the text itself is barely recognizable to the average reader as a 'novel', and so not really readable as such, nevertheless it has seized the popular imagination. If you are in Dublin on 16 June in any year you will find that 'Bloomsday' is celebrated throughout the city, as the story's main events are re-enacted at the principal places named by Joyce.

The book is notoriously difficult to read because much of it is written as an internal monologue, as a 'stream of consciousness', often with minimal use of punctuation.

[2] The convoluted history of publication is recounted by R. Ellman, 'Ulysses: a short history', 705 in Ulysses, at 711–719. See also S. Herbert, 'Composition and publishing history of the major works: an overview', 3 in J. McCourt, *James Joyce in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 8–11.

[3] Ellman, 'A Short History', 715. He notes that among the literary greats who praised it were Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Arnold Bennett, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner and F. Scott Fitzgerald (ibid. 715). See also Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 528, noting that it was 'received as a work of genius by writers as varied as T. S. Eliot [*etc.*]'.

[4] G. Bowker, *James Joyce: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2012), 5.

[5] An on-line book review by B. Wightman, 'James Joyce: A New Biography' (*Washington Independent Review of Books*, 25 July 2012, http://www.washingtonindependentreviewofbooks.com/index.php/bookreview/james-joyce-a-new-biography accessed 10 May 2023).

[6] H. Levin, 'Editor's Introduction' in *The Essential James Joyce* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 10.

[7] Joyce removed the chapter titles before publication, but they are often used when discussing the book, so Appendix A specifies the original heading for the relevant chapter where the Masonic references occur.

This method of writing is an attempt to reproduce the way in which a person thinks – disjointed, flitting from subject to subject as one thought suggests a tenuous link to a different topic, often moving on mid-subject. The text is also full of references and allusions: historical, literary, cultural, linguistic. Finally, apart from interior monologue, Joyce wrote in a variety of literary styles, so that some chapters imitate the script for a play, others newspaper journalism. One chapter is written in a series of different styles, reflecting the history of English literature by parodying the way in which successive generations wrote.

Exploring the references to Freemasonry

One of the most intriguing aspects of the novel is its frequent allusions to Freemasonry, and in particular the identification of Leopold Bloom as a Freemason, yet this has gone unnoticed except by a few academics who specialize in literary criticism.[8] I trust that the references to Freemasonry and Masonic ritual will be of interest to Freemasons in themselves and these will be set out, explained, and discussed. This article seeks to go further than that however, as the way in which Freemasonry is viewed by the popular world who are not Masons is an important aspect of the history of Freemasonry. Not only does the novel itself present Freemasonry in an intriguing light, but the subsequent academic criticism and analysis add an additional layer of interest. I will therefore explore the way in which Joyce utilized Masonic culture and ritual and look at a selection of the academic articles which have been published over the years. *Ulysses* is one of the most analyzed books ever written and some academic commentators have ventured to discuss the Masonic references. Their almost universal misunderstanding of Masonic traditions, coupled with a reluctance to accept Bloom as a Freemason, has led to some odd arguments. While it is not my intention to ridicule the erudite discussion of academics, frequent infelicities do not help their cause; such as 'once one has passed the first three degrees of initiation, he is a Mason' or 'a "Past Master", one holding an honorary degree conferred on the Worshipful Master at his installation into office'.[9] Accordingly Freemasons might be surprised and amused by some instances where a writer makes a confident, authoritative statement about Freemasonry which is simply wrong. Finally, while 'literary criticism' is best left to those who are expert in that rather rarified field (and probably not of interest to most readers of this article anyway), I will offer a few thoughts on Joyce's

[8] Honourable mention must be made of F. Smyth, 'Freemasonry in Fiction', *AQC* 93 (1980), 1, who discusses *Ulysses* at 12–13 (I thank one of the anonymous members of the Editorial Committee for this reference). Bro. Smyth cites a paper 'not yet published' by R. D. Seligman and this is included in my analysis. It will also be obvious that I disagree with Bro. Smyth's dismissive comments about Joyce's methods.

[9] P. Conner, 'Bloom, the Masons and the Benstock Connection' 17 James Joyce Quarterly (1980), 217 at 218; I to, E., 'Is Leopold Bloom a Jewish Freemason?' *3 Journal of Policy Studies* (2001), 123, 129.

purpose in making Freemasonry a central aspect of Bloom's character and a recurrent theme throughout the book.

Joyce's references to Freemasonry

The references in outline

Scattered throughout the novel and set out in Appendix A are thirty-two passages which seem to be references to Freemasonry, some more obviously than others. It is important to note however that these can be placed in two distinct categories. First, those which comprise general references (Appendix A, numbers 1 to 8, 31 and 32); and secondly, those which refer to a specific aspect of Freemasonry, often an item of ritual (numbers 9 to 30).[10] The general references comprise comments about Bloom being a Freemason or allusions to Freemasonry by Bloom himself. These mentions are generalized, brief and without any specific details. The second type of reference includes quotes from Masonic ritual or an allusion to a sign or posture, and so special mention must be made of section 15 which contains all such references. This chapter is known as the Circe episode/section/chapter and is one of the most difficult, complex, and mysterious sections in the whole book, as well as being the longest. The text is often fantastical, with imaginary characters popping up as apparitions. The appearance and utterances of these characters seem nonsensical, but they are actually packed full of allusions to all sorts of material: historical and current events, legends and mythology, popular culture, politics, poetry, and literature. It is in this context that Joyce inserted his references to Masonic orders, grades and degrees, as well as items of ritual.

Appendix A only contains passages which could be considered to be referring directly to Freemasonry. Academic writers have sought for Masonic references but tend to include items which are probably irrelevant. Thus I have ignored references to 'masonry' where it is seemingly used in the usual sense of a building material. Similarly the word 'square' where this is more likely to be part of a customary expression for being trustworthy, settled or fair.[11] It may be that Joyce deliberately placed these throughout the book in order to provide a continual echo of Freemasonry, but such debates are the proper province of literary criticism and so beyond the scope of this article.

In a similar fashion there are some other references which could possibly allude to Freemasonry but which are ambiguous. Thus during a conversation involving Dedalus one character says 'K. H. their master, whose identity is no secret to adepts. Brothers of the great white lodge always watching to see if they can help' (185). Rather than an

[10] Numbers 4 and 5 could be said to refer to specific aspects of Freemasonry, and number 15 to be a general reference only, but in their respective contexts I feel that they fit the categories as I have described them.

[11] Joyce was interested in squares and even used a small square as an emblem to depict the novel before its actual title was revealed (Bowker, *Joyce*, 363). For these types of references see *Ulysses* 30, 49, 60, 116, 318, 425, 504 and 517.

allusion to Freemasonry it seems to refer to the myth that there exists a Great White Brotherhood (or Lodge) consisting of advanced human beings who are directing the spiritual development of the human race from beyond the grave.[12] Nevertheless there are other references which are relevant to Bloom himself. Shortly after the 'great white lodge' reference, Bloom responds to an enquiry 'Shall we see you at Moore's tonight?' with the following words: 'Thursday. We have our meeting. If I can get away in time' (191). There is no other indication to the type of meeting but the wording 'we have . . .' implies a formal gathering of some sort and Freemasonry is an obvious possibility. Then while Bloom is wandering through Dublin and sees someone he recognizes he thinks: 'There he is: the brother. Image of him . . . Great man's brother: his brother's brother' (164). On another occasion a character (Bob Doran) says to Bloom 'Shake hands, brother. You're a rogue and I'm another' (312). Bloom's thoughts might have no suggestion of Masonic brotherhood and the combination of handshaking and 'brother' could mean nothing other than friendly exchange, but there does seem to be a regular occurrence of such ambiguous moments.

The context for these ambiguous allusions is the range of occasions when there are unequivocal references to Freemasonry. Appendix A illustrates the consistency with which Joyce does this, even though the quantity of references (outside the Circe chapter) may not seem large. Most are fleeting comments or thoughts, so that the extended exposition by the character Nosey Flynn is the exception (Appendix A nos. 4 & 5). The first quarter of the book contains three mentions (Appendix A nos. 1-3), the second quarter four (or five if Nosey Flynn's exposition is seen as two distinct references; Appendix A nos. 4–8). The third quarter is dominated by the Circe episode, which merits separate treatment with its variety of references and allusions to Masonic ritual. The final quarter contains the two comments by Molly Bloom during a lengthy monologue (Appendix A nos. 31–32). The ten non-Circe references can be divided into two categories, so I will treat these separately; first, those situations where Bloom is identified as a Freemason by someone else and secondly the occasions when Bloom himself makes a reference or allusion to Freemasonry. The references to Freemasonry in the Circe episode are similarly discussed in two parts: events which suggest that Bloom is a Freemason and other references to Masonic ritual not involving Bloom himself.

Is Bloom a Freemason?

Bloom is identified as a Freemason by four different people, in four different contexts (Table A):

[12] One of the main proponents was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, founder of the Theosophical Society in 1875. See A. Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994) 104; D. V. Barrett, *The New Believers: a Survey of Sects, Cults and Alternative Religions* (London: Cassell 2001), 344–47.

Table A: references to Bloom as a Freemason

Nosey Flynn to Davy Byrne (177)
'What's that bloody freemason doing' (298) [the Citizen and cf. 339 'it's a secret']
'the prudent member' (296); 'he of the prudent soul' (296); and 'he's a prudent member and no mistake' (302) [Joe Hynes and the unknown speaker]
'the jesuits found out he was a freemason' (669) [Molly Bloom]
'with the sack soon ... on account of ... the freemasons' (693) [Molly Bloom]

To deal with the short, matter of fact statements first. The most convincing are two mentions by his wife, Molly. During her lengthy internal monologue (with no punctuation) which concludes the book, she refers to her husband as a Freemason on two occasions, in conjunction with his attachment to the political party Sinn Fein (which she refers to disparagingly as 'Sinner Fein'):

> like he got me on to sing in the *Stabat Mater* by going around saying he was putting Lead Kindly Light to music I put him up to that till the jesuits found out he was a freemason thumping the piano lead Thou me on copied from some old opera yes and he was going about with some of them Sinner Fein lately or whatever they call themselves talking his usual trash (669)

> well have him coming home with the sack soon out of the Freeman too like the rest on account of those Sinner Fein or the freemasons then well see if the little man he showed me dribbling along in the wet all by himself round by Coadys lane will give him much consolation that he says is so capable and sincerely Irish (693)

The first of these events is in the past and the second is a fear for the future. The second mention could therefore be taken as implying that he is still a member, although the phrase 'on account of...the freemasons' is ambiguous and does not necessarily mean 'on account of [his membership of] the freemasons'. Nevertheless, there is no mention of his leaving the Order.

There is also an off-the-cuff remark by a character known only as 'the citizen' who curses about Bloom to a group of friends in a pub, calling him 'that bloody freemason' (Appendix A no. 8). There does not appear to be any reason for the reference, nor any pejorative import to the term; it is merely a throw-away descriptive term which could just as well have been 'what's that bloody lawyer/bank manager/vicar doing'. A little further on he remarks 'it's a secret' (339) as a humorous aside, perhaps as a further oblique reference, but both these remarks imply existing membership.

The third reference is lengthy and detailed, and is set out in full in Appendix B. It is contained in a conversation in a pub between two characters known as Nosey Flynn and

Davy Byrne, neither of whom is especially important to the plot of the novel as a whole. Before going on to talk generally about Freemasonry, Nosey Flynn states that Bloom is 'in the craft' and 'They give him a leg up'. Later amended texts added 'He's an excellent brother' which serves to emphasize the present tense of the statement. It is however an interesting addition as it implies that Bloom has gone further in Freemasonry than the Craft degrees, although in which Order is not clear. Like the rest of his utterances, Nosey Flynn's statement is a garbled version of the information which some other person must have given him. As will be seen later, in the Circe episode there are visions of Bloom wearing a 'high grade hat' and performing the ritual signs of a 'most excellent master', a 'past master' and a 'secret master'. These may well be examples of Bloom's fantasies, as he also appears as an alderman (455), but that begs the question as to how he would know the relevant ritual if he had not been admitted to the Order. That point might not have occurred to Joyce of course, or more simply he did not regard it as an important issue.[13] While the visions might be viewed as wishful dreams on Bloom's part, Nosey Flynn does at least corroborate the idea that Bloom is an experienced Mason of some standing. Once again we cannot be certain that Joyce was aware of these implications of the additional remark but clearly it was important to him that it be included in the text.

One further remark is a possible reference to Bloom's Freemasonry but is less obviously so. In the pub shortly before 'the citizen' makes his comments, Joe Hynes and another unnamed character talk about Bloom and refer to him three times: 'the prudent member', 'he of the prudent soul' and 'he's a prudent member and no mistake' (Appendix A no.7). In an academic article Ito relates this to an item in Mackey's *Lexicon* which refers to 'Prudence' as 'one of the four cardinal virtues, the practice of which is inculcated upon the Entered Apprentice'.[14] This is quite true of course. But 'prudence' is also a word in common usage, is used in several other contexts throughout the book, and the concept of these 'cardinal virtues' dates back to classical philosophy and early Christian theology.[15] The same idea would require a search for any mention of the terms which are applied to the other virtues - fortitude, temperance and justice. Nevertheless the use of the word is slightly odd, especially in succession by different characters and in conjunction with 'member' and 'soul'.

Finally, although the references in the Circe chapter need separate discussion, there are several simple statements about Bloom such as 'blue masonic badge in his button-

[13] A. M. D'Arcy, 'Joyce and the Twoheaded Octopus of "Judéo-Maconnerie"' 64 *The Review of English Studies* (2013), 857 considers that it is unlikely that Bloom would have been invited to join such Orders because of his Jewish heritage and lack of social status (at 870). She fails to consider how he would then have been able to know the ritual.

[14] Ito, 'Jewish Freemason', 126. The writer's reference is to A. G. Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry* (Richard Griffin: London & Glasgow, 1860).

[15] T. Honderich, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 901.

hole' and 'Charitable Mason pray for us' (Appendix A nos.10 and 15), as well as several depictions of Bloom in various Masonic guises or performing Masonic ritual.

Bloom's own references to Freemasonry are vague and ambiguous and are set out in Table B:

Table B: Bloom's references to Freemasonry

'Never see him dressed up as a fireman or a bobby. A mason, yes' (74) [about Major Tweedy]
'Mason I think' (107) [about Mr Kernan]
'there was that lodge meeting on' (155)
'going into the freemasons' hall' (182) [about Sir Frederick Falkiner]
'Keep to the right, right, right' (430)

The clearest suggestion that he is a member derives from the incident where he wonders about Mr Kernan, who is among the group of friends that he meets up with at a funeral (Appendix A no.2).[16] Even this is ambiguous. 'Mason' could of course mean an operative mason, but the fact that Bloom's musings follow 'secret eyes' clearly suggests 'Freemason'. If so, then it also does not necessarily mean that Bloom himself is a Freemason, but again, why else should he ponder the possibility?

The other occasions on which Bloom mentions Freemasonry are similarly ambiguous. Early in the book he remarks to himself that he sees his father-in-law Major Tweedy dressed as a Mason (Appendix A no.1). Later on, when wandering through the city, he thinks about his wife Molly:

> Windy night that was I went to fetch her there was that lodge meeting on about those lottery tickets after Goodwin's concert in the supper room or oakroom of the mansion house. (155)

Finally, again during his wanderings, he sees 'Sir Frederick Falkiner going into the freemasons' hall' (Appendix A no. 6). Sir Frederick was not a Freemason, which makes the connection between him and Freemasons' Hall suspiciously gratuitous.[17] Of course, Joyce may not have known that fact and so still intended to depict him as such but Bloom's thoughts only concern Sir Frederick's legal connections.

The last reference has only a possible connection to Freemasonry (Appendix A no.9). As Bloom wanders through the city on his way to the 'Circe' brothel, he encounters a mysterious figure: 'A sackshouldered ragman bars his path' (430). Bloom makes his first

[16] This section is entitled 'Hades', alluding to the episode in the *Odyssey* where Odysseus visits the underworld in order to speak to the spirits of the dead and obtain instructions.

[17] R. D. Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions in James Joyce's *Ulysses*', 171 in W. J. O'Brien, Lodge of Research No. CC Ireland vol. XVII *Transactions* for the years 1976 to 1981 (Belfast: Jordan Ltd, 1982). Seligman was a distinguished Irish Freemason.

step to the left, but the 'ragsackman left' also. Bloom 'swerves, sidles, stepsaside, slips past' and mutters to himself 'Keep to the right, right, right' and a few sentences later, 'Keep, keep, keep to the right.' One academic commentator was much taken by this incident and explains it in a footnote reference to Mackey's *Lexicon* where 'the Right Hand' is an 'emblem of fidelity', while neglecting to cite Mackey's further statement that it is 'as ancient as it is universal – a fact which will account for the important station which it occupies among the symbols of Freemasonry'.[18] Joyce could just as easily have been alluding to ancient philosophies as to Freemasonry. Or more simply to a rule of commonsense to avoid collisions.

Neither of the incidents involving Falkiner or Tweedy elicits any thoughts by Bloom about Freemasonry, and so there is no unambiguous indication that he is a member himself. The reference to Major Tweedy is relatively early on and it would not be surprising that he would know that his father-in-law is a Mason, whether he is one himself or not. The thought concerning the lodge meeting 'about those lottery tickets' is different however, as it shows recognition of a Masonic event which would not be known to the general population. Together with his musings about Mr Kernan and his reactions to the meeting with the 'ragsackman' it does indicate that Bloom has thoughts about his Masonic life from time to time, but only fleetingly and only on odd occasions.

Masonic ritual in the Circe chapter: an introduction

The underlying narrative of this chapter is relatively simple. During his wanderings around Dublin Bloom becomes concerned about Stephen Dedalus, and tries to find him to make sure that he is all right. Dedalus has gone to a brothel with some friends and Bloom eventually finds them there, drinking heavily and having a boisterous (but otherwise sexually innocent) party with the Madam and three prostitutes. The threads of the story are barely discernable as they are set among a series of bizarre apparitions and phantasmagorical episodes, culminating in Dedalus having a vision of his dead mother. He becomes violent and runs out of the brothel where he becomes involved in a confrontation with British soldiers and the Police. Bloom and another friend manage to rescue him and in the next chapter Bloom escorts him away from the area.

This chapter is loosely based on an episode in the *Odyssey* where Odysseus / Ulysses and his crew land on an island ruled by the goddess Circe, who drugs the crew and turns them into pigs. This is reflected in the actions of the brothel Madam, who plies Dedalus and his friends with drink so that they go on to behave chaotically. The hallucinatory events mirror the air of enchantment on Circe's isle and there are some references which

[18] N. Silverstein, 'Magic on the Notesheets of the Circe Episode', *1 James Joyce Quarterly* (1964), 19 at 24: 'Because he is a Mason, Bloom knows that the right hand has the "virtue of fidelity"'. The footnote reference is to Mackey, *Lexicon*, 292.

suggest that Dedalus and his friends had been drinking absinthe. For example, Bloom apologizes to one of the soldiers for the behaviour of Dedalus:

> He doesn't know what he's saying. Taken a little more than is good for him. Absinthe, the greeneyed monster. (522)

This was a drink which was banned in France in 1912 because it was renowned for giving hallucinations, which also might explain the way in which the action unfolds through a series of bizarre visions.

During these visions all sorts of allusions are made - in the words that the characters utter, in the clothes or ornaments that they wear or the actions that they perform. References to Freemasonry and its rituals are mixed in with a wide variety of others, as is illustrated by the vision which involves an appearance by King Edward VII (who had of course been the Grand Master in England before coming to the throne):

> He wears a white jersey on which an image of the Sacred Heart is stitched with the insignia of Garter and Thistle, Golden Fleece, Elephant of Denmark, Skinner's and Probyn's horse, Lincoln's Inn bencher and ancient and honourable artillery company of Massachusetts. He sucks a red jujube. He is robed as a grand elect perfect and sublime mason with trowel and apron, marked made in Germany. In his left hand he holds a plasterer's bucket on which is printed Défense d'uriner. (521)

Despite the apparent similarity to nonsense verse, or something by Edward Lear, all these references mean something. To explain them all would be tedious so you must have recourse to an annotated edition of *Ulysses*, should you be so inclined. Nevertheless, it is important to realize that the Masonic allusions were only one aspect of Joyce's creation of the atmosphere of mirage, illusion and enchantment:

> Joyce wrote into his notesheets phrases that refer to palm reading, fortune telling by cards, phrenology, interpretation of gesture, and sign reading. He also noted words of the black mass: devil worshipping is another form of magic. As was his custom, Joyce worked into the Circe episode an 'encyclopaedia' of magic.[19]

This calls to mind some of the well-known early references to Freemasonry which had the same idea of including Freemasonry in a list of other mystical practices. For example, a poem by Henry Adamson was published in Edinburgh in 1638 entitled 'The Muses Threnodie':

> For what we do presage is not in grosse,
> For we be brethren of the Rosie Crosse;
> We have the Mason Word, and second sight,

[19] Silverstein, 'Magic', 19.

Things for to come we can foretell aright; [20]

In this respect Joyce was following a well-trodden path and it is possible that he was aware of the precedents for his tactics.

Masonic Ritual in the Circe chapter: the References

There are twenty-two references to Freemasonry, some of which were added quite late in Joyce's writing.[21] They are set out in Appendix A nos. 9–30.[22] Sixteen imply that Bloom is a Freemason to a greater or lesser extent in that they refer to him directly as such, he performs Masonic ritual, or another character involves him in a ritual act. Only six concern other characters acting independently (Appendix A nos. 23–28).

Although these references are mixed in with all sorts of other esoteric allusions, only the Masonic references are used consistently throughout, spread out fairly evenly over a hundred pages of text.[23] Quotes from Masonic ritual are often mangled, so it can be difficult to relate them to real ritual with total confidence, especially as the descriptions are in the form of stage directions. It is therefore unclear whether Joyce intended to suggest that Bloom was an inexperienced Mason, was unable to give accurate descriptions himself, or more likely was not concerned whether they were accurate or not as long as the right atmosphere was created. In any event they are so obviously adapted for the dramatic purposes of the text that it would be pointless to treat them as if they were intended as serious descriptions of Masonic ritual.

Three of the twenty-two simply use the terms 'Mason' or 'Masonic' (Appendix A nos. 10, 15 and 22), one is an oblique allusion to Masonic principles (Appendix A no. 9) and two are mysterious references to a 'high grade hat' (Appendix A nos. 11 and 14). Several however seem to relate to specific Masonic ritual. It can be deduced that six refer to Craft ritual (Appendix A nos. 12, 13, 17, 20, 25 and 29); three seem to refer to the Ancient and Accepted Rite (Appendix A nos. 21, 24 and 30); and two to the Knights Templar (Appendix A nos. 26 and 27). Of the remainder, five relate to a mixed bag of other orders such as the Allied Degrees or their precursors. In summary therefore, there are sixteen references to a specific aspect of Masonic ritual, including text and passwords, regalia, signs and movements.

[20] Also a similar skit in the journal *Poor Robin's Intelligence* in 1676. D. Knoop, G. P. Jones, & D. Hamer, *Early Masonic Pamphlets* (London: QCCC, 1978), 30–31.

[21] U. Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs and Passwords in the Circe Episode', *1 James Joyce Quarterly* (1968), 303 at 304 n.4: 'one was added on the typescripts (April–August 1921), five on the final page proofs (December 1921–February 1922).'

[22] For much of this analysis I acknowledge the expertise of Seligman (1919–2007) in his article 'Masonic allusions'. A distinguished Dublin lawyer and Freemason, his paper was presented in an Irish Lodge of Research in 1981. For a summary of his career see www.freemasonrybahamas.org/pdgm-ralph-d-seligman/ (accessed 10 May 2023).

[23] This is another aspect of Joyce's use of Masonic references which has eluded academic commentators. See for example Silverstein, 'Magic', where all such references are discussed at length.

There are three occasions when Bloom is identified directly as a Freemason: he appears wearing 'a blue masonic badge', is addressed as 'Charitable Mason' and gives 'a masonic sign' (respectively Appendix A nos. 10, 15 and 22). The nature of the 'masonic badge' is not disclosed. Joyce might well have simply made this up, although he is clearly aware that the colour blue is appropriate. On the continent of Europe the forget-me-not was used as a lapel pin to indicate Masonic membership, but this was not introduced until late in the 1920s, well after *Ulysses* had been published. Its use before then was as an emblem of the suffering and loss of human life in the Great War, akin to the poppy in the UK.[24] 'Charitable Mason' shows some knowledge of Masonic principles, but 'a masonic sign' has no other significance than that it clearly identifies Bloom as a Freemason.

Six references are distinctly connected to Craft ritual. Bloom himself performs three: Appendix A no. 12 is an attempt to describe the sign of a Fellowcraft; no. 13 is a mangled reference to a Fellowcraft password; and no. 29 sees Bloom stuttering through phrases from the Entered Apprentice's Obligation. The Fellowcraft signs and passwords are clumsily, even incorrectly expressed. The term 'of fellowcraft' is odd and 'the past [*sic*] of Ephraim' is seemingly a garbled version of the explanation 'if the Ephraimites passed that way'.[25] Bloom is also involved in two other pieces of Masonic ritual derived from Craft workings, albeit by being directed by a third person. He is taken into the main hall of the brothel by one of the prostitutes (Zoe) over a floorcloth which appears to describe some prescribed steps (Appendix A no. 17). Then the Madam of the brothel, during her temporary sex-change to a male figure (Bello) directs him in the Five Points of Fellowship (no. 20); albeit only four of them and adapted for comic and mildly lascivious effect in accordance with the carnival ambience of the scene: '. . . belly to belly, bubs to breast'. Only one other character utilizes Craft ritual: as Dedalus is confronted outside the brothel by the soldier Private Carr, the Edward VII apparition gives what seems to be a distorted version of a third degree password (no. 25).

The one piece of significance therefore is the recital by Bloom of the Entered Apprentice's Obligation (Appendix A no. 29, fully set out in Appendix C). Not only is it reasonably accurate but it occurs in a serious setting, unlike the chaotic and circus-like atmosphere of the rest of the chapter. Even the disjointed manner in which Bloom 'murmurs' the phrases is realistic; not many Masons would be able to recite the Obligation fluently unless they had been through the Chair and so learned it for the purpose of

[24] There are several outlines of the history of the forget-me-not symbol on-line. See for example http://www.masonicnetwork.org/blog/2009/the-story-behind-forget-me-not-emblem/ (accessed 10 May 2023).

[25] The word 'past' was amended to 'pass' in subsequent editions. As far as it is possible to tell, the ritual at that time was not significantly different to present-day Emulation ritual. See for example J. Richardson, *Richardson's Monitor of Freemasonry* (New York: Lawrence Fitzgerald, 1860), at 22 for the sign and pass-grip of a Fellowcraft and at 24 for the explanation.

conducting an Initiation (and let us be honest, perhaps not even then).[26] The other possibility is that the pauses between phrases reconstruct the way in which the Master would be dictating the Obligation for the candidate to repeat. Joyce then strays from strict accuracy by stating that Bloom is standing over Dedalus 'his fingers at his lips in the attitude of secret master' (no. 30), thus slipping from Craft ritual into that of the Ancient & Accepted Rite. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of dignified quasi-religious ritual is preserved because shortly afterwards Bloom's dead son appears as an apparition, and there the chapter ends.

The other references relate to a range of Masonic orders, some of which were not practised in Ireland at that time (as far as it is possible to know).[27] Appendix A no. 16 refers to the degree of Secret Monitor, part of the Allied Degrees until it became established as an order in its own right in the 1930s. Another grade from the Allied Degrees is the Knight of the Red Cross of Babylon (no. 28). No. 9 relates to the degree of Past Master, awarded in the USA as a stepping-stone to the Royal Arch, and so not necessarily indicating that the recipient has been Master of a Craft lodge. No. 10 is similarly a degree peculiar to USA Freemasonry, although 'Most Excellent Master' would also be known as part of the Royal and Select Masters Order in England. Nos. 12 and 15 refer to the Ancient and Accepted Rite, the ninth and fourteenth degrees respectively. Nos. 16 and 17 are recognizable from Knights Templar ritual, although 'the pilgrim warrior's sign' was probably only used in the USA.[28] Finally, one of the most interesting references is to the Order of the Heroine of Jericho (no.14) as the character Dolly Gray 'waves her handkerchief, giving the sign' and repeats the word 'Rahab'.[29] Rahab is a character from the Old Testament and a prostitute who assisted Joshua to capture Jericho (Joshua 6:22-25). She was also the mother of Boaz the ancestor of David (Matthew 1:5) but the more likely relevance here is that the name of a renowned prostitute was irresistible to Joyce for a scene set in a brothel.

There are three other occasions in the Circe chapter which are only possible allusions to Bloom as a Freemason and so have not been included in Appendix A. The character Richie Goulding appears to Bloom in a fantasy scene carrying 'the black legal bag of Collis and Ward on which a skull and crossbones are painted' (436). 'THE LOITERERS' appear to Bloom in another fantasy sequence 'Spattered with size and lime of their lodges'

[26] The ritual workings of my mother Lodge require a candidate to have learned the Obligation of the previous degree and to repeat it in addition to 'the usual questions', but I have not come across this practice elsewhere.

[27] Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 173 and passim.

[28] Nos. 16 ('pilgrim warrior') and 18 ('knights of the red cross') could be linked to the Irish Order of Knight Masons (Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 184–85) although the connection seems too strained for it to have been in Joyce's mind.

[29] The wives or daughters of Royal Arch Masons are eligible for this. It is popular in the USA and is included in American exposures of the time such as *Richardson's Monitor of Freemasonry*, describing several signs using a handkerchief and the word 'Rahab'. As far as I am aware this order has not been active in Ireland or England (cf. Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 183).

(438). Finally, Bloom appears as himself in a vision dressed as an alderman, whereupon 'AN ELECTOR' calls out 'Three times three for our future chief magistrate!' (455). It is surely right to be sceptical about the relevance of these incidents but when considering Joyce's writings it is never wise to dismiss the possibility of an allusion, no matter how obscure it might seem.

Joyce's sources

So what to make of these references to Masonic ritual, orders and grades? To the jaundiced Masonic eye they look like a grab-bag of allusions taken from a variety of sources, with no awareness of the structure or practices of Freemasonry outside the details of individual rituals. There has been much speculation about Joyce's sources, as he was renowned for his obsessive need for material but also for its accuracy. He finished writing the Circe episode in 1920 having re-written it nine times over seven years but continued revising it and adding material.[30] Joyce collected and collated information from various sources. Often he would ask friends in England or Ireland to send him books on specific topics such as one on botany for his later book *Finnegan's Wake*.[31] Specifically for *Ulysses*, Frank Budgen was asked to send him the words and music for a music-hall song as well as books on Gibraltar and fortune-telling by cards. His Aunt Josephine was continually pestered for information about Dublin life, even for details about specific property.[32] More specifically for the Circe chapter, in 1919 he apparently wrote to an aged Russian baroness who was renowned for her wild past and her collection of pornography, visited her island on Lake Maggiore (she was even known locally as 'Circe') and came away with details of her collection of erotica.[33]

The search for his source material for the Masonic allusions is probably fruitless. Joyce was including references to Freemasonry in his writings before *Ulysses*, although these were brief and merely recognition that such an institution existed. For example, in the series of short stories entitled *Dubliners* (published in 1914 but written around 1905)[34] a character says:

[30] The book was complete by January 1922, but he was still revising it and so had to promise not to make any more changes by the end of that month. It was published on his fortieth birthday, 2 February 1922 (Bowker, *Joyce*, 285, 299-300).

[31] Bowker, *Joyce*, 376.

[32] For requests to Frank Budgen see Bowker, *Joyce*, 284, 293 and Silverstein, 'Magic', 21. For requests to his Aunt Josephine see Bowker, *Joyce*, 272, 296.

[33] Bowker, *Joyce*, 262–63 also citing Joyce's letter to Frank Budgen claiming to have used the material for 'some of the absurdist things' in the chapter.

[34] H. Levin, 'Dubliners: Editor's Preface', 353 in H. Levin, *The Essential James Joyce* (London: Penguin Books, 1969).

> I asked for leave to go to the bazaar on Saturday night. My aunt was surprised, and hoped it was not some Freemason affair.[35]

Often cited are Joyce's letters in 1921 to Frank Budgen; first in February asking him to send 'any handbook cheap on Freemasonry' and then again in November requesting 'any little hand book of British Freemasonry'.[36] Schneider records that:

> Mr. Budgen kindly informed me that he is not sure whether he sent such a book, but is inclined to think he did not. It seems that Joyce had an independent source, because several allusions to Freemasonry were added before this request.[37]

As noted above, Joyce's requests to Budgen also included information on fortune telling by cards and his working method at this point was to collate words and phrases which he could utilize in order to create a particular atmosphere throughout a section.[38] In the Circe chapter the atmosphere in question was esoteric and magical and perhaps he did not appreciate that a simple 'hand book' on Freemasonry would not provide him with much material of that nature. What he needed, of course, was something which would include extracts from Masonic ritual. The detailed allusions must therefore have come from another source, and it seems clear that this was one or more of the American exposures which were published during the late nineteenth century. Schneider himself makes much of a book entitled *Ritual and Illustrations of Freemasonry,* the best copy of which he found in the National Library in Dublin. This is by an anonymous English author who nevertheless claims to have received his information from American Masons.[39] Schneider opines that it is 'probable that one of the many editions of the *Ritual* was Joyce's source'. However he also notes that:

> The names chosen for the Masons - Dupeasy, Hatelaw etc. - reveal the compiler's bias; some illustrations depict the Masons in ludicrous attitudes, while others show executed Masons who have broken their vows ... (although to a large extent the text of the ritual itself seems credible).[40]

[35] J. Joyce, 'Araby', 27 in J. Joyce, *Dubliners* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 30. Similarly, 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' where a character enters a room and says jokingly 'Hello! Is this a Freemasons' meeting?' (ibid., 118). In 'The Sisters' a character refers to another as 'that Rosicrucian there', apparently disparagingly although the connotation is not obvious (ibid., 8).

[36] S. Gilbert, *Letters of James Joyce: volume 1* (London: Viking Press, 1957). The February letter (Gilbert, *Letters*, 159) is cited by Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 177 and the November letter (Gilbert, *Letters*, 177) by Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 304 n.4 and Seligman, 'Masonic allusions', 178.

[37] Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 304 n.4.

[38] Silverstein, 'Magic', 21.

[39] The edition he refers to was published in London in 1837, although the copy in the Dublin library was undated. My copy is: New York: William Gowans, 1853.

[40] Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 304.

It is difficult to see how Schneider could accurately assess that 'the text of the ritual itself seems credible' without some personal knowledge of Masonic practice. He gives no evidence that he has acquired such knowledge, let alone a note of his sources. A similar degree of naivety is shown by the suggestion that Joyce might have used the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on Freemasonry.[41] The entry in the relevant edition was written by the renowned Masonic scholar William James Hughan but it seems unlikely that it would have provided much in the way of inspiration to Joyce. Although Hughan valued the esoteric content of masonic ritual:

> He clearly did not think that even a hint of such knowledge should be laid before the non-Masonic public ... [with] only one paragraph of nine lines on what Freemasons actually get up to in their lodges. There is almost nothing on what the organization stands for or what its purpose might be.[42]

A more reliable assessment was made by Seligman in his article based on *Richardson's Monitor of Freemasonry*.[43] There was one anomaly, in that in the Obligation passage (Appendix A no.29 and Appendix C) Bloom says 'cable tow' but *Richardson's Monitor* only has 'cable'. Accordingly in a post-script to his article Seligman notes that the Librarian of the Grand Lodge in London had since found a more suitable book where this anomaly does not occur.[44] What this shows is that there were many possible sources for Joyce and he could have used any one or more of them, as they all basically contained the same information. The one common factor seems to have been that they were exposures of American Masonic practices. Seligman could state with some authority that several of the orders or grades referred to were not practised in Ireland, and furthermore 'that there are no published rituals or "exposures" of Irish freemasonry'.[45]

The much-used Mackay's *Lexicon* states in the Preface to its first English edition:

> ... the work was based on the American system, which, in many of its working details, is very different from that practised in this country. To remedy this defect, as far as possible without re-writing the articles, was the object of the Reviser[46]

[41] Ito, 'Jewish Freemason', 124.

[42] A. R. Baker, 'Freemasonry in the Several Editions of the Encyclopedia Britannica' *AQC* 132 (2019), 153 at 168. Joyce would have had to have waited until the thirteenth edition in 1926 for any reference to Masonic mysticism, but this was far too late for *Ulysses* (Baker, ibid., 170).

[43] Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 171. The book in question is introduced at 178. His copy was first published by Ezra Cook: Chicago, 1861 although his actual edition is dated 1949. My copy is a reproduction of an edition which was published in New York in 1860.

[44] A. Allyn, *A Ritual of Freemasonry*, Boston 1831, reprinted England 1835 (Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 187).

[45] Seligman, 'Masonic Allusions', 178.

[46] A. G. Mackey, *A Lexicon of Freemasonry* (Richard Griffin: London & Glasgow, 1860). First English edition revised by D. Campbell.

Academic commentators who are not Freemasons do not seem to appreciate that Masonic practices differ widely and in particular between countries let alone between continents; or that there are any number of so-called 'exposures' which will be similar in content. Furthermore it seems unlikely that Joyce would have relied purely upon books for his information. As noted above, he obtained material for the Circe episode from the Russian baroness and so why not seek out a Freemason among his wide range of acquaintances? That would have been a more likely source for the nuances of Bloom's delivery of the Entered Apprentice's Obligation.

Ulysses and depictions of Freemasonry

Joyce's treatment of Freemasonry

It has been said that 'Joyce always claimed he was just part of the furniture of Dublin, a simple, everyday man, much like the hero of *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom.'[47] It is interesting to note that while Freemasons are resigned to the institution being ridiculed or defamed in everyday literature, in *Ulysses* it is presented as part of Bloom's ordinary life, and through him of the everyday life of the city of Dublin itself. Any comment by other characters about the institution is largely neutral and even occasionally positive, with no hint of animosity.

The only direct references to Freemasonry as an institution are contained in the Nosey Byrne discourse (Appendix B). He attempts to show off his knowledge of Freemasonry by making 'swift passes in the air with juggling fingers' and quoting a few meaningful phrases: 'Ancient free and accepted order . . . Light, life and love, by God. They give him a leg up.' Nosey's references are a hotchpotch, as if someone had said 'Freemasonry – what are the first five things you think of?' The 'juggling fingers' are meaningless and call to mind the pretence of 'a funny handshake' that is often made by people who are not Masons.

It is clear that his account is not completely to be trusted, especially as his source is anonymous: 'I was told that by a – well, I won't say who.' What is not clear is exactly what he was told by this person – that Bloom is a Mason, or that the Masons 'give him a leg up'? He certainly has a good opinion of the order, for what that is worth: '— O, it's a fine order . . . They stick to you when you're down.' A little more in the line of vague information cements the idea that his views are based on hearsay: 'I know a fellow was trying to get into it. But they're as close as damn it.' But what is also clear is that Bloom himself is not tainted in their minds in any way by his membership, because the conversation continues with Davy Byrne commenting: 'Decent quiet man he is. I often saw him in here and I never once saw him – you know, over the line . . . He's a safe man, I'd say.' Nosey agrees:

[47] Wightman, 'James Joyce: A New Biography'.

'God Almighty couldn't make him drunk . . . Slips off when the fun gets too hot . . . He's been known to put his hand down too to help a fellow.'

So far this is all in line with the way in which Joyce depicts Freemasonry in a neutral way, as the comments are vague and generalized, with the positives ('it's a fine order') balanced by others which are more ambivalent ('they're as close as damn it'). The two statements concerning women and Freemasonry are interesting however. First, Nosey opines 'By God they did right to keep the women out of it.' He then goes on to relate a garbled version of the story about Elizabeth St. Leger being initiated into Freemasonry in about 1712, after she had been discovered spying on a lodge meeting at her home in Doneraile Court, County Cork. The story as he recites it is not the official version, corresponding with the apocryphal nature of the rest of his peroration.[48]

The irony is that women subsequently enacted many of the allusions to Masonic ritual in the Circe episode (Appendix A nos. 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21) including the specifically female Order 'Heroine of Jericho' (Appendix A no. 23). It is prudent to assume that everything written by Joyce was deliberate, and so Nosey Flynn's comment about women and Freemasonry is not as peripheral as it might seem. Having lived on the continent of Europe for several years,[49] Joyce was probably aware of the Continental tradition of women being involved in Freemasonry.[50] Furthermore the *Droit Humain* formed its British branch in 1902, having been founded in France in 1893 when 'the genie of Female Freemasonry had finally escaped from its bottle'.[51] There was a possibility that the *Droit Humain* would be integrated into the mainstream of British Freemasonry, at least in the eyes of Annie Besant, the founder of the English version, as she instigated changes in the ritual which she hoped 'would increase the chance that LDH [*Le Droit Humain*] would be recognised (or at least be accepted and respected) in the future by the United Grand Lodge of England.' It never was of course, but nevertheless was well-established and a significant world-wide institution by the time that Joyce was writing *Ulysses*.[52] Subsequently, and also at the time when *Ulysses* was being written, 'The Honourable Fraternity of Ancient Freemasons; Freemasonry for Women' was founded in Britain in

[48] For the full story see E. Conder, 'The Hon. Miss St. Leger and Freemasonry' *AQC* 8 (1895), 16; and W. J. Chetwode Crawley, 'Notes on Irish Freemasonry, no. I' *AQC* 8 (1895), 53.

[49] Joyce had finally left Ireland for good in 1912 and had started *Ulysses* by 1914 (Bowker, *Joyce*, 204–05, 217). He worked on the 'Lestrygonians' episode during 1918 while living in Zurich and finished it late in that year (ibid., 257).

[50] J. S. Allen, 'Sisters of Another Sort: Freemason Women in Modern France 1725–1940' *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 75 (2003), 783. He notes the debate in France about women Freemasons and the creation of special lodges for women in 1901 in particular, at 783–4.

[51] R. A. Gilbert, '"The Monstrous Regiment": Women and Freemasonry in the Nineteenth Century', *AQC* 115 (2002), 153 at 155–8 on developments on the Continent up to the 1850s, and 172 for the *Droit Humain* in particular and the quotation.

[52] J. A. M. Snoek, 'Freemasonry and Women', 407 in H. Bogdan & J. A. M. Snoek, *Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion: vol. 8 Handbook of Freemasonry* (Leiden: Brill, 2014) at 414–16, the quoted passage at 415.

1913.[53] Nosey Flynn is again stating something authoritatively about Freemasonry which is not accurate.

The other references to Bloom's Freemasonry follow a similar pattern, albeit without copying Nosey Flynn's admiration for the institution. On the two occasions when Molly Bloom refers to her husband as a Freemason (Appendix A nos. 31 and 32) his membership of the fraternity is seen by her as having been to his disadvantage, but she is only mildly irritated and equates his Freemasonry with his attachment to the political party Sinn Fein. The brief reference by 'the citizen' (Appendix A no. 8) is of a similar nature. It does not seem to imply something derogatory but merely to be a simple descriptive term. In contrast he then goes on to attack Bloom's Jewishness, giving rise to an argument which Bloom is clearly winning, thereby provoking the citizen to resort to abuse and violence. The citizen is an obstreperous and argumentative man, a renowned fanatical Irish nationalist (the book is set in the period before the Republic of Ireland came into existence) and an unsympathetic character.[54] It is Bloom's Jewish heritage which he attacks, not Bloom's connection to Freemasonry.

The allusions to Masonic ritual in the phantasmagoria of the Circe section are clearly part of the tactic of seasoning the text with a plethora of quasi-mystical activities, and so it is fruitless to look for significance as far as Joyce's general attitude to Freemasonry is concerned. The most that can be said is that while they are often adapted to make them comic (e.g., 'bubs to breast' Appendix A no. 20) the context is such that this does not imply a deliberate ridiculing of Freemasonry. On the other hand, the scene where Bloom recites the Obligation of an Entered Apprentice shows that Joyce was prepared to utilize Masonic ritual for a serious purpose. This incident takes place in an atmosphere of sudden calm in contrast to the frenetic activity of the preceding scenes. The language used is sombre and poetic: Bloom 'communes with the night'; he stands over the prostrate form of Dedalus 'silent, thoughtful, alert'; indeed 'he stands on guard' with 'his fingers at his lips'. Bloom is exhibiting his almost paternal feelings for Dedalus and the next two chapters describe how Bloom takes care of him and guides him through Dublin until they reach Bloom's home.[55] This sense of fatherly feeling is emphasized by the conclusion of the chapter when Bloom's dead son Rudy appears in a vision (see Appendix C). Rudy had died a few days after his birth, approximately ten years previously, and throughout

[53] See E. L. Scott, *Women and Freemasonry* (Enfield: Scott, 1988) a pamphlet by a former Assistant Grand Master of the order. It is reviewed favourably by Seal-Coon (F. W. Seal-Coon, 'Book review: Women and Freemasonry by Mrs. Enid L. Scott' in *AQC* 103 (1990), 248) but less positively by Gilbert, in a response to a critical comment on his paper (Gilbert, 'Monstrous Regiment', 182).

[54] Hence the original title of this chapter was 'Cyclops', referring to the one-eyed creature Polyphemus who attacked Odysseus and his crew.

[55] Sections 16 ('Eumaeus') and 17 ('Ithaca').

the book Bloom's thoughts often turn to him as when a letter from his daughter recalls in turn her birth, the mid-wife and then Rudy:

> running to knock up Mrs Thornton in Denzille street. Jolly old woman. Lots of babies she must have helped into the world. She knew from the first poor little Rudy wouldn't live. Well, God is good, sir. She knew at once. He would be eleven now if he had lived. (68)

Connecting Bloom's feelings for Dedalus to his feelings towards his dead son gives the whole passage an emotional, mystical intensity and Joyce chose Masonic ritual for the framework. It could be argued that Joyce envisaged Freemasonry in a positive and almost spiritual way, as a type of enhanced brotherhood akin to fatherhood.

All in all therefore, these references can be considered to be neutral in tone and carrying the implication that Bloom's Masonry is of no especial significance and merely as much part of his character as would be his membership of a choir or the colour of his hair. Two passages however – Nosey Flynn's exposition and the Obligation delivery – offer a positive view of the institution which is totally at odds with much of the anti-Masonic writing which was prevalent in Ireland at the time.[56]

Commentators' attitudes to the Masonic references

In the context of the history of attitudes to Freemasonry it is illuminating to contrast the attitude of Joyce himself to that of the academic commentators on his book. This is most clearly shown by the obvious reluctance of the latter to accept Bloom as a Mason, despite the clear statements of his membership. Initially the topic was largely ignored, although an early book noted 'hints' that he was a Freemason.[57] It is difficult to accept that 'hints' is an appropriate word for 'He's in the craft', 'that bloody freemason' and 'the jesuits found out he was a freemason' (Appendix A nos.4, 8 and 31). Nevertheless this attitude seemed to take root and over a span of forty years or more Bloom's membership

[56] For example: G. F. Dillon, *The War of Anti-Christ with the Church and Christian Civilization*, (1885) and E. Cahill, *Freemasonry and the anti-Christian Movement*, (1929) (both authors Irish Roman Catholic priests). E. Coyle, *Freemasonry in Ireland* (Dublin: O'Doherty, 1928) (another Irish priest) was an especially vitriolic attack on Freemasonry. Apparently Freemasonry has as its philosophy the 'ideal of a godless Masonic State, the destruction of religion, morality, family life, and of all natural and patriotic ties' (ibid. 5) and 'Whether . . . the worship of Masonry, under the form of the "Grand Architect of the Universe," is the express or implied worship of Satan [*sic*] makes little difference – is not worth inquiring into here as it all comes to the same thing.' (ibid. 42). This was in contrast to the situation in England, where Freemasonry was generally considered respectable by the major religions. Even there however the Roman Catholic Church was consistently critical and its influence was much stronger in Ireland (P. R. Calderwood, 'As We Were Seen: Freemasonry and the Press' *AQC* 135 (2022), 151 at 160, 175.

[57] S. Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses: a Study* (London: Faber & Faber, 1931) 322.

of the institution has been described regularly as 'rumour',[58] as 'factual uncertainty'[59] or at most 'no longer a Mason'.[60] The 'doubt' has been based on two arguments: Bloom's musing about Kernan's membership (Appendix A no. 2) and his general lack of thought about Freemasonry in other contexts.

On the first point, a fundamental lack of understanding of Freemasonry has distorted academic analysis. Schneider started the basic argument by noting that Bloom '[o]n an earlier occasion does not even know whether Tom Kernan is a Mason or not'.[61] This remark was peripheral to his discussion of the Masonic allusions in the Circe chapter but ten years later Benstock picked up on the idea:

> At the core of our doubt is Bloom's speculation whether Tom Kernan is a Mason, a question that could hardly exist if he himself is a fellow member.[62]

The basic premise is of course ludicrous and betrays a fundamental ignorance of Masonic life in Dublin (or indeed in any large town). In 1900 there were thirty-seven Dublin lodges with 1,422 members. In 1907 these figures had increased to forty-two lodges and 1,784 members, suggesting that membership was growing and that Freemasonry was a popular institution. Indeed, by 1920 there were fifty-six lodges,[63] so at the time that Joyce was writing *Ulysses* there were around 2000 Freemasons in Dublin. Furthermore there is plenty of evidence that Joyce would have known about the popularity of Freemasonry in Dublin life.[64] It is therefore a reasonable conclusion that he knew that one Mason would not necessarily have recognized another, and hence Bloom's uncertainty would be realistic. Neither Benstock nor Conner took the trouble to find this information.[65]

This reluctance to accept the obvious led to the conclusion that Bloom had been a Freemason once upon a time, but was no longer. As a consequence there have been some complex theories devised to justify the reasons for his resignation or exclusion.

[58] Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 303; Ito, 'Jewish Freemason' – the first mention at 123 and 124, 125, 126 thereafter.

[59] F. Senn, 'Dogmad or dubliboused?' *James Joyce Quarterly* 17 (1980), 237 at 245. Ito's conclusion ('Jewish Freemason', 134) was '[w]e cannot definitively identify Bloom as a Freemason'.

[60] B. Benstock, 'Leopold Bloom and the Mason Connection' *James Joyce Quarterly* 15 (1978), 259 at 259; Conner, 'Benstock Connection', 217–18; D'Arcy, 'Twoheaded Octopus', 876.

[61] Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 303.

[62] Benstock, 'Mason Connection', 259. Conner also accepted this but explained that Bloom would not have known because he was no longer an active member (Conner, 'Benstock Connection', 218 n.4).

[63] The *Irish Freemasons' Calendar and Directories* lists the Dublin lodges for any given year. The membership figures for 1900 and 1907 can be found in the *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland volume II* (R. E. Parkinson, 1957), the latter figure from an Appendix to the Annual Report of Grand Lodge for 1907. For this information I am indebted to Rebecca Hayes, Archivist & Curator for The Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Ireland, Molesworth Street, Dublin (an exchange of personal emails in August 2021).

[64] There are numerous references in his published letters to requests for general information about Dublin life, mainly to his Aunt Josephine Murray, and these are discussed in 'Joyce's sources', above.

[65] It is fair to point out that subsequent authors did so, namely Ito, 'Jewish Freemason', 124 (albeit from the virulent anti-Masonic booklet by E. Coyle, *Freemasonry in Ireland*) and D'Arcy, 'Twoheaded Octopus', 869–70.

First, because of the sale of lottery tickets for the 'Royal Hungarian Privileged lottery'. The unidentified commentator in chapter 12 (311) and Molly Bloom herself (693) comment that Bloom was in unspecified trouble for this and there are still two coupons for the lottery in his drawer at home (642). Secondly, because he converted to Roman Catholicism when he married Molly and the Church required him to leave the order.[66] Yet there is nothing in *Ulysses* which says that Bloom resigned or was excluded, let alone for these specific reasons. Furthermore, all references to his membership use the present tense, necessitating more convoluted explanations to deal with this discrepancy. Without any citations of a source, these explanations rely on a putative 'tradition' or even 'Masonic law' which decree that 'once a Mason always a Mason'. The first proponent of this began by admitting that he had 'no special knowledge of the Masonic order or ritual, is not a Mason and has no special sources of information concerning Freemasonry'. Nevertheless he felt able to state unequivocally, rather in the style of Nosey Flynn, that: 'Tradition says that there are no ex-Masons; once a Mason, always a Mason'.[67] This is subsequently repeated by other writers, again with no citation of sources: 'By Masonic law, then, Bloom is still a Mason'; 'If we believe tradition . . . once a Mason, always a Mason, so Bloom is still a Mason by Masonic law'; 'That Bloom is no longer a Lodge Mason is a thing indifferent to his critics, because "once a Mason always a Mason"'.[68] On the other hand, at about the time that Joyce was writing *Ulysses*, an expert on Irish Freemasonry was able to state unequivocally that it is:

> unquestioned and unquestionable the right of every man to withdraw from Freemasonry, or from any other society, for conscience' sakes.'[69]

Of course, Masons who have resigned from their lodges may apply to join a lodge in the future, and many do so who have had to give up their Freemasonry for personal reasons. It is ludicrous however to describe this situation in terms of 'Masonic law' or ascribe it to a quasi-mystical 'tradition'. The ready acceptance of the idea is perhaps a by-product of the belief that Freemasonry is a monolithic, centralized organization which operates as a quasi-State. For this we must thank the imaginations of a succession of novelists and scriptwriters but one would have hoped that university academics would have a more rigorous approach to the citation of sources. It is also worth commenting that even if there were such a tradition, it is unlikely that Joyce would have imposed an unquestioning acceptance of it on the general public of Dublin; to such an extent that

[66] Benstock, 'Mason Connection', 260; Conner, 'Benstock Connection', 218.

[67] L. Albert, 'Ulysses, Cannibals and Freemasons', *A.D.* 2 (1951), 265 at 268 and 272.

[68] Conner, 'Benstock Connection', 218; Ito, 'Jewish Freemason', 134; D'Arcy, 'Twoheaded Octopus', 876.

[69] W. J. Chetwode-Crawley, 'Daniel O'Connell and Irish Freemasonry', *AQC* 24 part II (1911), 125 at 130 when discussing O'Connell's renouncing of Irish Freemasonry.

they would continue to refer to Bloom quite naturally as a Freemason even though they knew that he had resigned.

The second ground for doubting Bloom as a Freemason is described as the lack of direct reference to Freemasonry in Bloom's thoughts: 'It is strange that Bloom himself refers so rarely to Freemasonry or the Lodge', 'he discloses only scant involvement at best with the Masonic Order' and 'the general lack of saturation of Bloom's thoughts by very many facets of his relationship to the Order'.[70] Of course, the one incident where Bloom's thoughts do turn to Freemasonry is when he muses about Kernan's membership. Here is a clear example of one Mason wondering if another man is a Mason or not - perhaps he half recognized him as a visitor to his Lodge, or when he was visiting another Lodge? There are other situations, less direct but it could be argued that this is the nature of rambling thoughts (Appendix A nos. 1, 3, 9). Furthermore, when he is in the carnival atmosphere of the Circe chapter, Bloom's imagination turns regularly to Masonic ritual (Appendix A nos. 10–14, 18, 19, 22 and 30), other characters (possibly in his imagination) involve him in ritual (Appendix A nos. 15–21) and crucially the chapter concludes with Bloom performing a form of initiation of Dedalus (Appendix A no. 29 and Appendix C). Whether this amounts to a lack of thoughts by Bloom about Freemasonry is at least a point worth debating but that opportunity has been overlooked, perhaps because it spoils the argument that he is not a Mason.

Finally it is worth pointing to an example of fundamental misunderstanding of Freemasonry which clearly distorts critical analysis of the text. One writer did go to some lengths to research aspects of Irish Freemasonry and acknowledges (inter alia) 'the generous assistance and invaluable information provided by Rebecca Hayes, Archivist of the Grand Lodge of Ireland . . . Barry Lyons, Senior Administrator of Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.' This enabled her to comment accurately on the different Masonic orders and grades which Joyce alludes to in the Circe episode.[71] Nevertheless, in reference to Bloom's recitation of extracts from the Obligation of an Entered Apprentice she announces that therefore 'Bloom has obtained and worked the third degree of Craft Masonry.' Furthermore she goes on to state that this means that he had become a Master Mason 'at the very most.'[72] Of course, knowledge of bits of the first degree Obligation suggests nothing other than initiation into the Craft and so 'obtained and worked the third degree' is simply wrong. On the other hand and paradoxically, 'at the very most' is also misleading. Why should a Mason who has gone through the chair of his lodge not repeat the Entered Apprentice's Obligation? In fact, it is usually only the Master of the lodge who has the duty of learning the Obligation and so that strengthens the implication

[70] Schneider, 'Freemasonic Signs', 303; Benstock, 'Mason Connection', 259.

[71] D'Arcy, 'Two-headed Octopus', acknowledgements at 857 and 869-870 for her review of Masonic Orders and degrees.

[72] D'Arcy, 'Two-headed Octopus', 873.

that Bloom's actions appear to be a simulated initiation. As noted above ('Masonic ritual in the Circe chapter: the references'), the pauses between phrases in Joyce's text could even represent the pauses which the Master makes to allow the candidate to repeat the words. This is in danger of conflating two things: the actual practices of Masonic lodges, and Joyce's knowledge of such practices. It is quite likely that such nuances were of no interest to him and so he would have seen no difficulty in having Bloom stammer his way through the first degree Obligation. The point however is that D'Arcy's ignorance of Masonic practice has prevented her from a proper consideration of Bloom's actions and of Joyce's intentions.

Conclusions

Ulysses has an important place in the modern history of Freemasonry because of its status in the annals of English literature. Its main protagonist, Leopold Bloom, is a Freemason who is a sympathetic character and well thought of by the other characters. Freemasonry is presented throughout the book as nothing especially unusual and as part of Bloom's everyday life yet its mystical and spiritual values come to light in one of the major sections of the book known as the Circe episode. It is also interesting that the two main passages involving Freemasonry offer contrasting views of the institution. Every reference to Freemasonry is short, often only one or two words and never more than a sentence; except for these two passages. Consider once again the episode where Nosey Flynn exhibits his knowledge of Freemasonry (Appendix A nos. 4 and 5 and Appendix B). He sees its distinguishing features as practical and worldly: 'They give him a leg up'; 'They stick to you when you're down'. But compare that with the conclusion of the Circe episode as Bloom recites the Entered Apprentice's Obligation over Dedalus (Appendix A nos. 29 and 30 and Appendix C). This utilizes the metaphysical aura of Freemasonry to create an atmosphere of almost supernatural calm after the frenetic activity of the preceding events. Nosey Flynn's attitude reflects that of the general population but it is made clear that it is based on shaky ground; by the vagueness of his sources of information, by his scorn at female Freemasonry and by Bloom's own comment that he 'Knows as much about it as my coachman' (172). The conclusion of the Circe episode however results in one of the most emotionally charged passages in the book, whereby the mystical aspect of Freemasonry is emphasized by Bloom's vision of his dead son.

This contrasts with the discourse of academic commentators who spend their critical energies in trying to minimise Bloom's involvement in Freemasonry while citing spurious doctrines of 'Masonic Law'. The combination of denial of Bloom as a Mason and lack of understanding of the structure of Masonic life distorts their analysis, in particular because they remain ignorant of the variety which exists under the general rubric of Freemasonry. They lack understanding that the ties of Masonic brotherhood are emotional and driven by

shared values, not based on ordinances prescribed by some quasi-State. Instead the more interesting questions should surely revolve around Joyce's reasons for making his main character a Freemason. Critical literary analysis is best left to the experts in that rarefied field so it is with some diffidence (but without scruple) that I suggest some possibilities. There was a very pragmatic reason in that Joyce was clearly casting around for suitably mystical or magical topics which he could mine in order to create the right atmosphere for the Circe chapter. Assuming that he eventually came across one or more American exposures of Masonic ritual, Freemasonry offered the perfect source.

Bloom would need to be a Mason therefore, but why treat Freemasonry in general so respectfully? In particular, why emphasize the disjunction between popular 'Nosey Flynn' attitudes and the institution's mystical aspect? The answer could lie in Joyce's views of the Roman Catholic church. There are records in his letters of antipathy: 'I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do' and 'I know that there is no heresy or no philosophy which is so abhorrent to my church as a human being'.[73] Leo Taxil is mentioned at an early point in the book (47) and he was famous for writing 'breathtaking accounts of sin, crime and Satanism' in a hoax Masonic ritual. This resulted in the publication by Roman Catholic priests of 'a flood of books and pamphlets that display an almost unbelievable degree of credulity' before Taxil revealed the deception in Paris in 1897.[74] The Roman Catholic Church was vehemently anti-Freemasonry and so by presenting the institution in a sympathetic light Joyce was perhaps hoping to build upon the ridicule resulting from the Church's over-reaction to the Taxil invention.

Ulysses is therefore a beacon in the modern history of attitudes towards Freemasonry but it has received little recognition for this, let alone celebration of the fact. Freemasons should be pleased that the institution plays an integral part in one of the most celebrated works of twentieth century literature. More than this, because not only is it not the object of calumny or mockery but it is presented in a positive light, as at the same time both the natural choice for ordinary men and women, and also a source of emotional strength for them. Joyce seems to have had empathy for the meaning of Freemasonry to its adherents and one can only wish that lesser writers could follow the example of their illustrious forbear.

[73] G. Lernout, 'Religion' 332 in J. McCourt, *James Joyce in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Bowker, *Joyce*, 93.

[74] Gilbert, 'Monstrous Regiment', 174. Some examples were cited above at n. 56.

APPENDIX A:

Masonic References in *Ulysses*

Chapter 5 'The Lotus Eaters' – Bloom performs various errands around Dublin			
1	74	Never see him dressed up as a fireman or a bobby. A mason, yes.	Bloom about Major Tweedy
Chapter 6 'Hades' – Bloom attends a funeral			
2	107	Mr Bloom nodded bravely looking in the quick bloodshot eyes. Secret eyes, secret searching eyes. Mason I think: not sure. [in subsequent editions 'bravely' is amended to 'gravely' and the second sentence becomes 'Secret eyes, secretsearching.']	Bloom about Mr Kernan
Chapter 8 'Lestrygonians' – Bloom wanders through Dublin, sees various people and stops for lunch			
3	155	Windy night that was I went to fetch her there was that lodge meeting on about those lottery tickets	Bloom to himself
4	177	Nosey Flynn made swift passes in the air with juggling fingers. He winked. — He's in the craft, he said. — Do you tell me so? Davy Byrne said. — Very much so, Nosey Flynn said. Ancient free and accepted order. Light, life and love, by God. They give him a leg up. [see Appendix B]	Nosey Flynn to Davy Byrne about Bloom
5	177	— O, it's a fine order, Nosey Flynn said. They stick to you when you're down. I know a fellow was trying to get into it. But they're as close as damn it. By God they did right to keep the women out of it... — There was one woman, Nosey Flynn said, hid herself in a clock to find out what they do be doing. But be damned but they smelt her out and swore her in on the spot a master mason. That was one of the Saint Legers of Doneraile. [see Appendix B]	Nosey Flynn to Davy Byrne
6	182	Sir Frederick Falkiner going into the freemasons' hall. Solemn as Troy. After his good lunch in Earlsfort terrace. Old legal cronies cracking a magnum.	Bloom to himself
Chapter 12 'Cyclops' – Bloom meets various acquaintances in a pub			
7	296 302	'Twas the prudent member gave me the wheeze ... he of the prudent soul. Gob, he's a prudent member and no mistake.	Joe Hynes and another about Bloom
8	298 339	What's that bloody freemason doing, says the citizen, prowling up and down outside? [and cf. Don't tell anyone says the citizen letting a bawl out of him. It's a secret.]	the Citizen about Bloom
Chapter 15 'Circe' - Bloom finds Dedalus in a brothel			

9	430	(He swerves, sidles, stepaside, slips past and on.) BLOOM: Keep to the right, right, right ... Keep, keep, keep to the right.	Bloom confronts the 'ragsackman'
10	435	(squire of dames, in dinner jacket, with watered silk facings, blue masonic badge in his buttonhole, black bow and mother-of-pearl studs, a prismatic champagne glass tilted in his hand)	Bloom to Mrs Breen
11	441	I have forgotten for the moment. Ah, yes! (He takes off his high grade hat, saluting)	Bloom to The Watch
12	441	(scared, hats himself, steps back, then, plucking at his heart and lifting his right forearm on the square, he gives the sign and dueguard of fellowcraft) No, no, worshipful master, light of love.	Bloom to The Watch
13	442	(behind his hand) She's drunk. The woman is inebriated. (he murmurs vaguely the past of Ephraim) Shitbroleeth. ['past' amended to 'pass' in subsequent editions]	Bloom to The Watch about Martha
14	464	(Bloom holds his high grade hat over his genital organs)	Bloom responding to Dr Mulligan
15	468	Charitable Mason, pray for us	Daughters of Erin singing to Bloom
16	469	ZOE: Silent means consent. (With little parted talons she captures his hand, her forefinger giving to his palm the passtouch of secret monitor, luring him to doom)	Zoe to Bloom
17	470	(The floor is covered with an oilcloth mosaic of jade and azure and cinnabar rhomboids. Footmarks are stamped over it in all senses, heel to heel, heel to hollow, toe to toe, feet locked)	Zoe takes Bloom into the hall
18	485	(Then rigid, with left foot advanced he makes a swift pass with impelling fingers and gives the sign of past master, drawing his right arm downwards from his left shoulder.) Go, go, go, I conjure you, whoever you are!	Bloom hears a male voice outside the brothel
19	488	BELLO: Down! (he taps her on the shoulder with his fan) Incline feet forward! Slide left foot one pace back! You will fall. You are falling. On the hands down! BLOOM: (. . . then lies, shamming dead, with eyes shut tight, trembling eyelids, bowed upon the ground in the attitude of most excellent master.) . . . BLOOM (enthralled, bleats) I promise never to disobey.	Bloom with Bello (Bella and Bloom have swopped gender)
20	494	Foot to foot, knee to knee, belly to belly, bubs to breast!	Bello to Bloom
21	501	(she draws a poniard and, clad in the sheathmail of an elected knight of nine, strikes at his loins) Nekum!	The Nymph to Bloom
22	518	But he's a Trinity student. Patrons of your establishment. Gentlemen that pay the rent. (he makes a masonic sign) Know what I mean?	Bloom to Bella (apologizing for Dedalus)
23	521	DOLLY GRAY: (from her balcony waves her handkerchief, giving the sign of the heroine of Jericho) Rahab.	Dolly Gray apparition
24	521	(He is robed as a grand elect perfect and sublime mason with trowel and apron, marked made in Germany.)	Edward VII apparition

25	522	We have come here to witness a clean straight fight and we heartily wish both men the best of good luck. Mahak makar a back [amended to '. . . a bak' in subsequent editions].	Edward VII apparition
26	525	(He gives the pilgrim warrior's sign of the knights templars.)	Major Tweedy apparition
27	525	Up, guards, and at them! Mahar shalal hasbaz.	Major Tweedy apparition
28	526	(Armed heroes spring up from furrows. They exchange in amity the pass of knights of the red cross and fight duels with cavalry sabres:)	various characters in an imaginary melée
29	532	(He murmurs) [extracts from Obligation: see Appendix C]	Bloom standing over Dedalus
30	532	(... his fingers at his lips in the attitude of secret master.) [see Appendix C]	Bloom standing over Dedalus
Chapter 18 'Penelope' – Molly Bloom lies in bed thinking			
31	669	saying he was putting Lead Kindly Light to music I put him up to that till the jesuits found out he was a freemason	Molly Bloom to herself about Bloom
32	693	well have him coming home with the sack soon out of the Freeman too like the rest on account of those Sinner Fein or the freemasons	Molly Bloom to herself about Bloom

APPENDIX B

Nosey Flynn and Davy Byrne

Nosey Flynn made swift passes in the air with juggling fingers. He winked.
— He's in the craft, he said.
— Do you tell me so? Davy Byrne said.
— Very much so, Nosey Flynn said. Ancient free and accepted order. He's an excellent brother. Light, life and love, by God. They give him a leg up. I was told that by a - well, I won't say who.
— Is that a fact?
— O, it's a fine order, Nosey Flynn said. They stick to you when you're down. I know a fellow was trying to get into it. But they're as close as damn it. By God they did right to keep the women out of it.
-Davy Byrne smiledyawnednodded all in one:
— Iiiiiichaaaaaaach!
— There was one woman, Nosey Flynn said, hid herself in a clock to find out what they do be doing. But be damned but they smelt her out and swore her in on the spot a master mason. That was one of the Saint Legers of Doneraile.
-Davy Byrne, sated after his yawn, said with tearwashed eyes:
— And is that a fact? Decent quiet man he is. I often saw him in here and I never once saw him - you know, over the line.
— God Almighty couldn't make him drunk, Nosey Flynn said firmly. Slips off when the fun gets too hot. Didn't you see him look at his watch? Ah, you weren't there. If you ask him to have a drink first thing he does he outs with the watch to see what he ought to imbibe. Declare to God he does.
— There are some like that, Davy Byrne said. He's a safe man, I'd say.
— He's not too bad, Nosey Flynn said, snuffling it up. He's been known to put his hand down too to help a fellow. Give the devil his due. O, Bloom has his good points. But there's one thing he'll never do.
His hand scrawled a dry pen signature beside his grog.
— I know, Davy Byrne said.
— Nothing in black and white, Nosey Flynn said.

NOTE: the phrase 'He's an excellent brother' was not in the original 1922 text but was added in subsequent editions.

APPENDIX C

The Obligation of an Entered Apprentice

(*Bloom tightens and loosens his grip on the ashplant. He looks down on Stephen's face and form.*)

BLOOM: (*Communes with the night*) Face reminds me of his poor mother. In the shady wood. The deep white breast. Ferguson, I think I caught. A girl. Some girl. Best thing could happen him . . . (*He murmurs*) . . . swear that I will always hail, ever conceal, never reveal, any part or parts, art or arts . . . (*He murmurs*) in the rough sands of the sea . . . a cabletow's length from the shore . . . where the tide ebbs . . . and flows . . .

(*Silent, thoughtful, alert, he stands on guard, his fingers at his lips in the attitude of secret master. Against the dark wall a figure appears slowly, a fairy boy of eleven, a changeling, kidnapped, dressed in an Eton suit with glass shoes and a little bronze helmet, holding a book in his hand. He reads from right to left inaudibly, smiling, kissing the page.*)

BLOOM: (*Wonderstruck, calls inaudibly*) Rudy!