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The Motif of "buybull": Joyce, Religion, and Colonization

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I

During the colonization of Third World countries by Western imperial powers, religion, Christianity in particular, did not keep a neutral position, a stance desired by its interest in the spiritual arena. Rather, religion was appropriated in the effective colonization of so-called inferior races. The alleged intention of civilization of converting barbarians into Christians is no better than a beautifying myth fabricated by Western colonizers. Edward Said claims, "To colonize meant at first the identification—indeed, the creation—of interests; these could be commercial, communicational, religious, military, cultural. With regard to Islam and the Islamic territories, for example, Britain felt that it had legitimate interests, as a Christian power, to safeguard"(100).

Joyce, conscious of the role of religion in colonial conquest, historically scrutinizes the collusion of the Church and imperialism in Ireland as well as other colonial countries. His general attitude to the Church and colonial expansion is shown in his essay, "Ireland, Isle of Saints and Sages":

> no one who is not deceived by self-interest or ingenuousness will believe, in this day and age, that a colonial country is motivated by purely Christian motives. These are forgotten when foreign shores are invaded, even if the missionary and the pocket Bible precede, by a few months, as a routine matter, the arrival of the soldiers and the uplifters. (*The Critical Writings of James Joyce* 163)

Joyce, in his works in general and *Ulysses* in particular, implies that Christianity is appropriated in colonizing overseas countries, thereby the act of Christianization being a part of the colonizing process.

II

In "Cyclops," British colonial expansion with the help of Christianity is neatly parodied and mocked in the skit in the *United Irishman* which the Citizen reads. The report of the Zulu chief's visit to England, through the colonizer's perspective, shows the glorified relationship between the colonizer and the colonized:

> A delegation of the chief cotton magnates of Manchester was presented yesterday to His Majesty the Alaki of Abeakuta by Gold Stick in Waiting, Lord Walkup of Walkup on Eggs, to tender to His Majesty the heartfelt thanks of British traders for the facilities afforded them in his dominions. The delegation partook of luncheon at the conclusion of which the dusky potentate, in the course of a happy speech, freely translated by the British chaplain, the reverend Ananias Praisegod Barebones, tendered his best thanks to Massa Walkup and emphasised the cordial relations

> existing between Abeakuta and the British empire, stating that he treasured as one of his dearest possessions an illuminated bible, the volume of the word of God and the secret of England's greatness, graciously presented to him by the white chief woman, the great squaw Victoria, with a personal dedication from the august hand of the Royal Donor. (*Ulysses* 12. 1514-26)

The name of the British chaplain who translates the chief's speech, "the reverend Ananias Praisegod Barebones," represents many people, which is Joyce's way of conglomerating many social representatives in a person or an object for manifold meanings. In particular, Praise-God Barebones was "a lay preacher and member of the Parliament of 1653"(Gifford and Seidman 365), thus embodying the conflation of clerical and political power. Also, "Praisegod," whose name is a parody of the Puritan classic, *Pilgrim's Progress*, literally justifies his mission in a colonial country.

Just as the chief states that "the secret of England's greatness" lies in its reliance on the Bible(*U* 12. 1524), the success of Western colonization of overseas countries is greatly attributed to Christianity. The colonizer, glorifying a Christian mission, claims that "it revive[s] a dead world, quicken[s] in it a sense of its own potential, one which only a European can discern underneath a lifeless and degenerate surface"(Said 172). The mission of propagating Christianity justifies the presence of foreign missionaries and, subsequently, of troops for their safety. Thereafter, the colony begins to 'convert' into both the supplier of natural resources and the market place for the products of the imperial center. The colonizer sanctifies this economic exploitation, as shown in the British traders' appreciation of the chief. The Bible, which is one of the eight "British Beatitudes"(*U* 14. 1453-54) in "Oxen of the Sun," and which the chief "treasured as one of his dearest possessions"(*U* 12. 1522-23) is appropriately punned into

"buybull"(*U* 15. 2242), which means "Buy John Bull(ie., buy only English goods)"(Gifford and Seidman 491). Therefore, in this word, the underlying purpose of Western colonization is exposed as being economic exploitation. As the Citizen appropriately says, "Trade follows the flag"(*U* 12. 1541).

Joyce's attitude to the relationship between imperialism and Protestantism seems strongly influenced by Protestantism's justification of the pursuit of capitalism. Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which was first published in 1904-5, contributed to resolving the paradoxical relationship between Christianity and capitalism. In the book, he argued:

> [If God] shows one of His elect a chance of profit, he must do it with a purpose. Hence the faithful Christian must follow the call by taking advantage of the opportunity. 'If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way(without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept His gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it: you may labour to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin'. (162)

Joyce's use of "buybull" deftly shows the Bible's justification of capitalism, and derides Protestant Britain's pursuit of capitalism in overseas countries. Weber's argument also justifies the inequality of the world. He regards "the unequal distribution of the goods of this world" as "a special dispensation of Divine Providence, which in these differences, as in particular grace, pursued secret ends unknown to men"(177).

In "Lotus-eaters," Bloom is quite skeptical not only of Christian missionary work but also of religion. Bloom sees a notice of Conmee's sermon on "saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission"(*U* 5. 323).

The sermon might be about saint Peter Claver's conversion of the Africans. Ironically, the Africans he tried to convert were "the slaves arriving from Africa"(Gifford and Seidman 91). Here Western people's Christian missionary work itself is again called into question. Bloom is curious about how they convert the heathen Chinese. In Joyce's view, missionary work is inevitably associated with economic exploitation and colonization. Naturally Bloom's consciousness leads to the colonial history which recalls British colonialism in China: the Chinese "[p]refer an ounce of opium"(*U* 5. 327). It is Conmee's glasses rather than Christianity that attract the Africans: "He's not going out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptise blacks, is he? The glasses would take their fancy, flashing"(*U* 5. 333-35).

Bloom's meditation is replete with the futility of religious conversion, concluding that all sects and religions are basically the same. First, the binarism of Catholicism and Protestantism is demolished: "Prayers for the conversion of Gladstone they had too when he was almost unconscious. The Protestants are the same. Convert Dr William J. Walsh D. D. to the true religion"(*U* 5. 323-26). Second, not only Eastern religion (Buddhism) but also Western religion (Christianity) is demystified. To Bloom and Western people, Eastern religious symbols are objects exhibited in museums with their sanctity deprived: "Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with hand under his cheek"(*U* 5. 328-29). The appearance of Buddha in Bloom's meditation reflects the believer's narcotized attitude, in other words, "[b]lind faith"(*U* 5. 367), a term Bloom subsequently ascribes to "[o]ld fellow asleep near that confessionbox"(*U* 5. 365).

Catholic communion, on the other hand, is likened to a cannibalistic act, equating the eating of Corpus with "eating bits of a corpse," and communicants with "the cannibals"(*U* 5. 352). Furthermore, the fact that the "fellow that turned queen's evidence on the invincibles he used to receive the, Carey was his name, the communion every morning"(*U* 5. 378-79) is

the most trenchant attack on the alleged devout Catholics ridiculed as "crawthumpers" by Bloom(*U* 5. 382). The most important creed of Christianity, love, is observed by the skeptic Bloom throughout *Ulysses* and is denied by Carey who is "plotting that murder all the time"(*U* 5. 382). Implied here is the collusion between the Catholic church and the British in that the devout Catholic turns out to be a betrayer of Irish patriots, a nightmare of history by which Joyce was obsessed throughout his life and writings.

Bloom's demystification of the Church as an institution leads to the identification of himself as Christ. Imagining confession and penance in Catholicism, Bloom desires self-sacrifice: "Punish me, please . . . God's little joke . . . Lovely shame"(*U* 5. 426-31). The depiction of Bloom as a Christ-like martyr is continued throughout *Ulysses*. As David Fuller points out, Bloom "sees the delicious threats of punishment he has elicited in Martha's letter and will elicit again as James Lovebirch and in the sado-masochistic Bella episode of Circe"(41). Appropriately, Bloom purchases a bar of soap, a symbolic act of purging the sins of mankind. Moreover, however accidental it may be, he is granted the divine power of prophesy. That is, as he says that he is about to "throw it [the newspaper informing the day's horse race] away"(*U* 5. 534), Bantam Lyons happens to consider "throwaway" as a tip of the day's horse race. Bloom's ultimate conflation with Christ occurs in his meditation on his anticipated bath: "This is my body"(*U* 5. 566). At the same time, as Declan Kiberd claims, Bloom is "Buddha-like, a navel-gazing and plump dreamer whose thoughts have turned east throughout the chapter"(980). Bloom's "navel, bud of flesh"(*U* 5. 570) and "a languid floating flower"(*U* 5. 571-72) embody the lotus blossom, which is not only the symbol of this episode but the symbol of Buddhism as well. Therefore, Bloom, conflated as Christ and Buddha, demystifies two religions and, by extension, all religions.

In "Lestrygonians," the motif of "buybull" is further developed and reinforced. In the beginning of the episode, Irish economic subjection to Britain is adroitly shown:

> Pineapple rock, lemon platt, butter scotch. A sugarsticky girl shovelling scoopfuls of creams for christian brother. Some school treat. Bad for their tummies. Lozenge and comfit manufacturer to His Majesty the King. God. Save. Our. Sitting on his throne sucking red jujubes white. (*U* 8. 1-4)

The British licensing formula, "Lozenge and comfit manufacturer to His Majesty the King," reveals the British exploitation of the Irish economy. Naturally the formula reminds Bloom of the British national anthem in which Bloom recognizes that British Kings' acts in Ireland are justified by the name of God. However, Joyce's satire doesn't remain only on the King here, but also on his spiritual counterpart, the Church, which is represented by a Christian brother. His ordering of cream in the British licensed shop subtly discloses the Church's collusion with the state. Yet, this episode more fully reveals the Church's oppression of human beings. The spiritual power that the Church wields over its congregations plays the same oppressive role to Irish people as the British political domination of Ireland which is likened to "sucking red jujubes white."

Bloom receives a throwaway from a somber Y. M. C. A. young man that announces the evangelist Dr John Alexander Dowie's missionary trip to Ireland. Despite his being an American missionary, it is explicitly unveiled how much the Church oppresses the people. Britain's economic exploitation of the Irish is shared by the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant. However, Joyce's condemnation is not confined to the material arena, it extends into spirituality, thus evincing that the Church is a more powerful

enemy of the Irish people than the British. Dowie's missionary work is mocked as "[p]aying game"(*U* 8. 17). According to Rolix Harlan, Dowie was actually accused of "misuse of funds, of 'tyranny and injustice . . . polygamous teaching, and other grave offenses'"(Cited in Gifford and Seidman 157).

In "Oxen of the Sun," appropriately, Dowie's Christian missionary work is likened to global colonization: "Alexander J Christ Dowie, that's my name, that's yanked to glory most half this planet from Frisco beach to Vladivostok"(*U* 14. 1584-85). As Elleke Boehmer claims, "[e]vangelical organizations cannily adopted the genre [colonial adventures and explorers] to instruct young men in correct social and political attitudes"(76). The Church's pursuit of materialism through its missionary work is implied in Dowie's use of commercial terms for spiritual purposes like Father Purdon in "Grace": "The Deity aint no nickel dime bumshow. . . . He's got a coughmixture with a punch in it for you, my friend, in his back pocket" (*U* 14. 1585-91). For him, Jesus, the spiritual master, is indistinguishable from King, the physical master, so Jesus is referred to as "King Jesus"(*U* 14. 1588).

In "Circe," Dowie's accusation against Bloom, who has become Leopold the First, echoes the Protestant British attacks on the Catholic Irish. As shown in the use of such phrases as "[a] worshipper of the Scarlet Woman"(*U* 15. 1758) and "Caliban!"(*U* 15. 1760), Dowie speaks in the voice of a Protestant colonizer and the Christian missionary work is closely implicated with colonial marginalization of native race and culture. A little later, when Dowie, who actually proclaimed himself "Elijah the Restorer" (Gifford and Seidman 157), has metamorphosed into Elijah himself, he is seen "above a rostrum about which the banner of old glory is draped"(*U* 15. 2185-86). The display of the American flag ("old glory") highlights the collusion of religion and politics. Here, Dowie's Christian mission is demystified again. In Althusser's terms, missionaries or evangelists act as

agents of 'Ideological State Apparatuses'. Like British colonialism, the political intention of American supremacy is camouflaged as a religious mission. Again, his use of the commercial sexual terms reveals his worldly-oriented religious mission:

> No yapping, if you please, in this booth. . . . Say, I am operating all this trunk line. Boys, do it now. God's time is 12. 25. Tell mother you'll be there. Rush your order and you play a slick ace. Join on right here. Book through to eternity junction, the nonstop run. . . . You once nobble that, congregation, and a buck joyride to heaven becomes a back number. You got me? It's a lifebrightener, sure. The hottest stuff ever was. It's the whole pie with jam in. It's just the cutest snappiest line out. It is immense, supersumptuous. It restores. It vibrates. I know and I am some vibrator. Joking apart and, getting down to bedrock, A. J. Christ Dowie and the harmonial philosophy, have you got that? O. K. Seventyseven westsixtyninth street. Got me? That's it. You call me up by sunphone any old time. Bumboosers, save your stamps. (*U* 15. 2189-2207)

Just as the British state exploits the Irish people, the evangelical Christian mission represented by Dowie is mocked owing to its secular concerns. Ultimately, Elijah calls God "Big Brother up there, Mr Present"(*U* 15. 2217), which evidently reveals his politically motivated mission.

Back to "Lestrygonians": Joyce shows that the Catholic Church's sway over its congregations is as responsible for the poverty of the Irish people as British colonization of Ireland. Significantly, Joyce points out that Irish people's devotion to the Church creed leads to a poverty-stricken life, which is quite contrary to the clergy who are ironically saturated in materialism for the sake of missionary work:

> Fifteen children he had. Birth every year almost. That's in their theology or the priest won't give the poor woman the confession, the absolution. Increase and multiply. Did you ever hear such an idea? Eat you out of house and home. No families themselves to feed. Living on the fat of the land. Their butteries and larders. I'd like to see them do the black fast Yom Kippur. Crossbuns. One meal and a collation for fear he'd collapse on the altar. A housekeeper of one of those fellows if you could pick it out of her. (*U* 8. 31-38)

Also, meditation on a nun called Caramel leads Bloom to wonder if "they [sisters] really were short of money" since they "[f]ried everything in the best butter all the same. No lard for them"(*U* 8. 150-51).

In regard to fertility, on the other hand, Joyce distinguishes Catholics from Protestants. The latter group, though having many children, is not situated in such a desperate economic situation as the former since its members belong to the dominating class. Mrs Purefoy is in a protracted labour and her husband is Methodist. He "presents her with [hardy annuals]"(*U* 8. 362-63). He is "Theodore's cousin in Dublin Castle"(*U* 8. 361-62). This fact is reinforced in "Oxen of the Sun": "the influential third cousin of Mr Purefoy in the Treasury Remembrancer's office, Dublin Castle"(*U* 14. 1334-36). Though Bloom condoles with Mrs Purefoy upon her hard labor and many babies, he criticizes her husband: "Selfish those t. t's are. Dog in the manger"(*U* 8. 366). In Bloom's meditation on Queen Victoria, who had nine children, the kind of pity lavished on Mrs Dedalus and Mrs Purefoy is absent: "A good layer. Old woman that lived in a shoe she had so many children. Suppose he was consumptive"(*U* 8. 379-80).

England's colonization of Ireland, though by different perspectives, is dealt with several times in *Ulysses*. Reminiscing on colonization is one of the distinctive characteristics of postcolonial literature. Deasy's story of

Ireland's colonization is analogous to the Citizen's, though the latter's is more balanced than the former's. The Citizen, despite ultimate condemnation of a woman, acknowledges the Irish people's own fault: "Our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them in"(*U* 12. 156-57). The Irish male's imputation of Ireland's colonization to a woman, though partially true, is a method by which he is relieved of shared condemnation. On account of his being a descendent of British colonizers, Deasy refuses to confront the true nature of Ireland's colonization. On the other hand, the Citizen regards the feminine character of Irish people as the cause of colonization and thus imputes Ireland's colonization to women.

In "Oxen of the Sun," the history of colonization is fully parodied in the pun on the word, "bull," which, except for its surface meaning, has a triple meaning. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, it means first, an Irish bull—that is, "a self-contradictory proposition, an expression containing a manifest contradiction in terms or involving a ludicrous inconsistency unperceived by the speaker." Second, it is a "papal or episcopal edict or mandate." Third, it is "short for John Bull." Joyce's adroit use of bull efficiently reveals the complex history of colonization in which Irish people, the Catholic Church and the English collude with one another to oppress the Irish people.

England's colonization of Ireland is motivated by "a papal bull," which is described as follows: "It is that same bull that was sent to our island by farmer Nicholas, the bravest cattlebreeder of them all, with an emerald ring in his nose"(*U* 14. 582-84). Nicholas was Pope Adrian IV, the only English pope. In the papal bull called *Laudabiliter*(1155), Adrian IV gave the overlordship of Ireland to Henry II of England. Also, he granted him with an emerald set in a gold ring as a token of Henry's overlordship of Ireland. The Irish women had always been faithful to the pope, and thus the papal bull was warmly welcomed by the Irish women: "the women of our island,

leaving doughballs and rollingpins, followed after him hanging his bulliness in daisychains"(*U* 14. 587-89). Here, their faithfulness is more similar to flirtation just as Stephen, in *A Portrait*, associates Emma's relationship with Father Moran as flirtation: "He had done well to leave her to flirt with her priest, to toy with a church which was the scullery-maid of christendom"(*P* 220). Joyce, throughout his writings, describes Irish women as loyal servants of the priests. For example, in *A Portrait*, women are sympathetic to the Catholic Church denouncing Parnell. Dante Riordan, complying with her priest's teaching, attacks Parnell. Mrs. Dedalus leads a life in the way the Catholic Church orders. In contrast, Irish men such as Mr. Dedalus and Mr. Casey repudiate the role of the Church in politics. Mr. Dedalus defines the Irish as "an unfortunate priest-ridden race"(*P* 38).

From the outset the collusion of the Church and the state is evident in Ireland's colonization. John Bull assumes power in Ireland fully justified by the help of the papal bull: "do all my cousin german the lord Harry tells you and take a farmer's blessing"(*U* 14. 591-92). Because Nicholas is an English pope, he identifies Henry IV as "my cousin german the lord Harry." Thereafter, John Bull wields political and spiritual power in Ireland. As he is justified by the papal bull, he is followed by devout Irish women, of course, in terms of flirtation:

> maid, wife, abbess and widow to this day affirm that they would rather any time of the month whisper in his ear in the dark of a cowhouse or get a lick on the nape from his long holy tongue than lie with the finest strapping young ravisher in the four fields of all Ireland. (*U* 14. 595-99)

The women's affection for John Bull reveals how easily Irish women accept colonial domination justified by the Holy See. According to Gifford and Seidman, "whisper in his ear in the dark of a cowhouse" means "whisper

in the privacy of the confession box"(424). It also implies Irish women's political conspiracy by betraying their own patriots. Ironically, as shown in Irish women's flirtation with John Bull, the papal bull and John Bull's sojourn in Ireland is described in the view of moral depravity of Irish women, and thus their original purpose of the domination of Ireland is severely undercut. Henry, to justify his invasion of Ireland, argued that "Ireland was in a state of profound moral corruption and irreligion. The bull approved Henry's 'laudable' determination 'to extirpate certain vices which had taken root'"(Gifford and Seidman 424). Henry's argument was based on the fact that "the Irish were made known to the wider world as a people descended from the ancient Scythians, who in many districts were wholly pagan, and in others only partly converted to Christianity, and who were in urgent need of the Faith"(Cairns and Richards 3).

The land of a colonial country is utilized for the needs of the imperial center, thereby becoming not only the supplier of natural resources but also the market place for the products of the imperial center. John Bull, who has metamorphosed into Henry VII (king 1485-1509), promulgates a decree by which grazing, not tillage, should be practiced on Irish farms:

> so pampered was he that he would suffer nought to grow in all the land but green grass for himself (for that was the only colour to his mind) and there was a board put up on a hillock in the middle of the island with a printed notice, saying: By the Lord Harry, Green is the grass that grows on the ground . . . . if ever he got scent of a cattleraider in Roscommon or the wilds of Connemara or a husbandman in Sligo that sowing as much as a handful of mustard or a bag of rapeseed out he'd run amok over half the countryside rooting up with his horns whatever was planted and all by lord Harry's orders. (*U* 14. 609-18)

As Kiberd claims, "England used Ireland as a farm to feed its industrial masses"(1109). The colonial use of land applies not only to the Middle Ages but also to the whole colonial history of Ireland. The British never developed industry significant enough for the Irish to be independent of them. The economical dependence on the imperial center is intended to prevent the colonized from dreaming of founding an independent nation. Also, in case the colonized country retrieves its independent political status, the colonial economic system makes the former colonized country remain within their former colonizer's economic order, thus ending up in a so-called neo-colonial situation.

Henry VIII's (John Bull's) innate disharmony with the pope, that is, "bad blood between them at first"(*U* 14. 618), triggers him to proclaim himself to be head of Church and state in Britain and Ireland. His excuse for the separation from the Roman Catholic Church is found in the latter's moral failure, which cannot be tolerated by the Bible: "the lord Harry called farmer Nicholas all the old Nicks in the world and an old whoremaster that kept seven trulls in his house"(*U* 14. 619-20). Ironically, this accusation is also true with Henry VIII, echoing his own faults. He is also "the old Nicks" because he has been called "the lord Harry." As Weldon Thornton points out, "Old Harry (or the lord Harry) and Old Nick are popular names for the Devil" (337). As mentioned before, the Protestants, alluding to the Revelation, call the Catholic "[a] worshipper of the Scarlet Woman"(*U* 15. 1758). It is the same with the lord Harry's accusation that the pope is "an old whoremaster"(*U* 14. 620). Henry VIII's divorce and his six wives, however, show that he is also a perpetrator of the same biblical crime.

Henry VIII's treatise, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (mentioned as "a blackthumbed chapbook"[*U* 14. 626-27]), which was written for "defending the sacraments against Martin Luther's challenge"(Gifford and Seidman 424), and his title "the Defender of the Faith" (mentioned as "the father of the

faithful"[*U* 14. 604] here) awarded by the pope are ironically appropriated by him to separate the Church of England from Rome. Henry's discovery of "a wonderful likeness to a bull"(*U* 14. 626) is due to his being John Bull and his ability of writing a papal bull as testified in his treatise. As a result, instead of being the defender of Catholic faith which his title "the Defender of the Faith" implies, he becomes the defender of Protestantism, yet still using the old name not "his new name"(*U* 14. 631-32). Joyce is skeptical about the foundation of English Protestantism (the Church of England) by Henry VIII, which creates another collusion between the Church and the state by the king becoming Head of the Church and the state. Therefore, the lord Harry's attempt to imitate the pope by learning bulls' language is mocked:

> he got into an old smock and skirt that had belonged to his grandmother and bought a grammar of the bulls' language to study but he could never learn a word of it except the first personal pronoun which he copied out big and got off by heart and if ever he went out for a walk he filled his pockets with chalk to write it upon what took his fancy, the side of a rock or a teahouse table or a bale of cotton or a corkfloat. (*U* 14. 632-38)

Even though the language of the papal bull is Latin, Joyce also implies that the bull, which is directly related with language, that is, an Irish bull, is too self-contradictory for the lord Harry to learn. In the political context, an Irish bull represents an aspect of colonial unreadability. Irish people seem quite contradictory and hard to manage to the British. Their Anglicization by using English and adopting English culture makes Irish people look, in Homi Bhabha's terms, "almost the same, but not quite"(86). Moreover, it is harder to justify Britain's legitimacy of domination of Ireland by providing

allegedly inferior traits for them because Irish people are white. Therefore, "the ambivalent world of the 'not quite/not white'" in colonized countries becomes more confusing in the case of Ireland(Bhabha 92).

On the contrary, the ironic statement that "he [John Bull] and the bull of Ireland were soon as fast friends as an arse and a shirt"(*U* 14. 638-39) shows how much Irish people have colluded in their colonization. Despite their refusal to conform to the Reformation, Irish people manage to cooperate with their master. Being "Irish bulls," they are self-contradictory. Stephen's censuring of Irish women is grounded more evidently on rather modern Irish history. As shown in their denial of their leader, Parnell, their faithfulness to Irish Catholicism causes them to assert what the British demand. Unlike Deasy's and the Citizen's, Stephen's anti-feminine attitude stems from his repudiation of the nightmare of history which Irish women's faithfulness to Irish Catholicism has brought about.

Finally, the exile by "the men of the island"(*U* 14. 640) into "the main of America"(*U* 14. 646) was triggered by Irish women's adherence to Catholicism. Catholicism appears as a more powerful enemy for Joyce than British imperialism because the former will survive the extinction of British colonialism. It is implied that Joyce's exile into continental Europe was due to the same oppression that Catholicism caused. Joyce's condemnation of the Church in *Ulysses* is no less trenchant than in *A Portrait,* where Stephen censures Irish women as a whole and Emma in particular for their immersion in the Church. Interestingly, Stephen's antagonism against Catholicism is expressed in terms of a sectarian Protestant slogan because it contributes to showing more vehement revulsion against Catholicism: "Pope Peter's but a pissabed. A man's a man for a' that"(*U* 14. 649-50).

Nonetheless, Joyce feels pity for Irish Catholics throughout his writings. In "Lestrygonians," Bloom, seeing a pamphlet by Charles Pascal Telesphore Chiniquy, who converted from the Roman Catholic church to the

Presbyterian church, meditates on the true reality of conversion into Protestantism in Ireland:

> *Why I left the church of Rome.* Birds' nest women run him. They say they used to give pauper children soup to change to protestants in the time of the potato blight. Society over the way papa went to for the conversion of poor jews. Same bait. *Why we left the church of Rome.* (*U* 8. 1070-74)

Chiniquy's reason for conversion into Protestantism is compared with that of the Irish people. By the repetition of the name of the pamphlet, the Protestants' tricky intention for converting is exposed. Earlier in the episode, a phrase evokes another example of the Protestant strategy of conversion by serving food to poor people. As Gifford and Seidman suggest, the phrase, "Penny roll and a walk with the band"(*U* 8. 470-71), implies the cruel reality that "[t]he Salvation Army (formed in 1865) offered a penny's worth of bread to anyone who would march through the streets in witness to his 'conversion'"(171).

Just as English Protestant prejudice against Irish Catholics is detected in the Bible, "Revelation" in particular, so English oppression of Catholic Irish people by force of arms, as the Citizen says, is justified by the Bible: "What about sanctimonious Cromwell and his ironsides that put the women and children of Drogheda to the sword with the bible text *God is love* pasted round the mouth of his cannon?"(*U* 12. 1507-09). Actually Cromwell said that "I am persuaded that this is the righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches"(Gifford and Seidman 365). The Citizen's attack on the Puritan, in Joyce's voice, is in terms of the Puritan's moral depravity: "We know those canters . . . preaching and picking your pocket"(*U* 12. 1506). The English oppression of Catholicism in Ireland produces a reverse

effect, as Joyce says, "the English government increased the moral value of Catholicism when they banished it"(*CW* 168). Though Joyce renounced Catholicism at the time of writing his essay, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages," he still felt pity for and identified with Catholic Irish people.

On the other hand, Joyce expresses his antagonism toward both Catholic and Protestant priests. Protestant priests especially, as shown in the case of Dowie, mirror the colonization of Ireland. Another Protestant priest, the reverend Hugh C. Love, the Church of Ireland priest, reinforces this historical reality mainly because he belongs to a settler community in Ireland. As Robert Martin Adams says, he was born at "Belfast in 1872" (32). In "Wandering Rocks," his "refined accent," which epitomizes his difference from Catholic people, is mentioned twice(*U* 10. 406; 415). Moreover, as a symbol of his belonging to the Ascendancy, he is the hard-hearted landlord of Father Cowley, a spoiled Catholic priest. The fact that the Reverend Love "distrained [Father Cowley's house] for rent"(*U* 10. 943) mirrors the historically dispossessed situation of Irish Catholicism. This recalls Father Flynn in "Sisters," the opening story of *Dubliners*, who dies on the day when in 1690 James II (Catholic) was defeated by William of Orange (Protestant) in the battle of the Boyne. In Joyce's writings, such an image of failed Irish Catholic priests consistently echoes the history of the Protestant Ascendancy. In the fourteenth vignette in "Wandering Rocks," where Simon and Dollard are consoling Father Cowley for his economic difficulty, an interpolation, describing the Reverend Love's walking along the street, is appropriately inserted to compare the two religious figures' totally different lives:

> The reverend Hugh C. Love walked from the old chapterhouse of saint Mary's abbey past James and Charles Kennedy's, rectifiers, attended by Geraldines tall and personable, towards the Tholsel beyond the ford of hurdles. (*U* 10. 928-31)

Despite the Catholic people's history of dispossession which is repeated still at the turn of the century, the Ascendancy evades responsibility for Ireland's economic situation. Sometimes it is intentionally devised by the ruling class, but what is the most devastating is that the ruled internalize the ruler's method of imputation their faults to others, the Jews in particular. Haines is very similar to Reverend Love not only because they are both immersed in the study of the Irish past, but also because they are immune to their people's responsibility in the Irish question, whether intentionally or not. Appropriately, in "Circe," the Reverend Love, conflated with Haines, becomes "The Reverend Mr Hugh C Haines Love"(*U* 15. 4695). Also, "Hugh," recalling Hugh E. (Blazes) Boylan, implies the homogeneity of sexual and political conquest.

Haines ascribes the unfair British policy toward Ireland to history and underlines his view that Britain is also victimized by the Jews: "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"(*U* 1. 666-68). On the other hand, anti-Semitic sentiment is not expressed by Reverend Love, but, ironically, by the Irish people who are victimized by him. Reuben J. Dodd, who has set bailiffs upon Father Cowley, becomes a direct target of blame for his financial difficulty rather than the Reverend Love, who has merely distrained for rent. Thus, anti-Semitic sentiments prevent Irish people from directing their antagonism toward the Ascendancy, whose economic and political dominance has produced the Irish people's poverty.

Anti-Semitism in Ireland reflects the Irish Catholic people's faithfulness to the pope. Neil Davison argues, "Although Leo XIII was liberal on many matters of Catholic doctrine, his Papacy(1879-1903) witnessed a continued antagonism toward the Jews as a 'sinful people' conspiring against the Christian world in collusion with both the Freemasons and the forces of socialism"(18). The logic of the Pope's anti-Semitism and the Irish Catholic

people's use of its discourse is more explicitly revealed in the case of Bloom because, in addition to his Jewish identity, he is also associated with both Freemason and socialist.

Nosey Flynn, the Citizen and Molly directly identify Bloom as "Freemason": "He's in the craft"(*U* 8. 960); "that bloody freemason"(*U* 12. 300); "he was a freemason"(*U* 18. 382). Also, throughout "Circe," Bloom, in his use of language, costumes, and gestures, is associated with a Freemason: "blue masonic"(450); "the sign and dueguard of fellowcraft" (759); "the sign of past master"(2724); "the attitude of most excellent master"(2854); "I promise never to disobey"(2864); "a masonic sign" (4298-99); "the attitude of secret master"(4956). Again in "Circe," Bloom, who has become "the world's greatest reformer," expresses a concept of the world typical of a socialist:

> Machines is their cry, their chimera, their panacea. Laboursaving apparatuses, supplanters, bugbears, manufactured monsters for mutual murder, hideous hobgoblins produced by a horde of capitalistic lusts upon our prostituted labour. The poor man starves while they are grassing their royal mountain stags or shooting peasants and phartridges in their purblind pomp of pelf and power. (*U* 15. 1391-97)

The Reverend Love's interest in Irish history extends into Irish political reality. His study of the Fitzgeralds, a powerful Anglo-Irish family, intends to highlight how much the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, fighting against the British, plays a significant role in Irish history. In particular, his interest in Silken Thomas, who revolted against the English crown, contributes to his being accepted by Irish people as an Irish citizen. Lambert's admiring view of the Reverend Love is far away from the political consciousness expected

by sensible colonized people: "Nice young chap he is. He's writing a book about the Fitzgeralds he told me. He's well up in history, faith"(*U* 10. 438-39). Here an Irish Catholic innocently has a high recognition of Protestant's grasp of Irish history. As W. J. McCormack claims, "What distinguishes the Protestant from the Catholic in cultural terms is his relation with the past, his possession of a history"(264). Also, Seamus Deane argues the political significance of the study of past Irish history: "As in the seventeenth century, no research into the past could be innocent. The result was always going to be the formation of an official or semi-official myth which would give credence to the claims of one political or religious grouping"(76). In the last vignette of "Wandering Rocks," Joyce unveils the Reverend Love's identity unknown to Irish people: "From Cahill's corner the reverend Hugh C. Love, M. A., made obeisance unperceived, mindful of lords deputies whose hands benignant had held of yore rich advowsons"(*U* 10. 1202-04).

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For Joyce, the Christianization of allegedly inferior races is confined within a mundane purpose, a tool by which the colonizers efficiently colonize overseas countries and justify their domination of the native people. The ultimate goal of English missionary works is economic exploitation, which is succinctly expressed by means of a pun on the word "bible," that is, "buybull." Joyce's adroit use of "bull" shows that the English colonization of Ireland, which leads to economic exploitation, is enabled by the collusion of the pope and the English king. As shown in the relationship between Father Cowley and the reverend Hugh C. Love, the

colonial history in microcosm is echoed in both lay and clerical Irish Catholics, showing the repetition of the bitter history of deprivation by colonization.

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