

British Military References in *Ulysses*

Aides-de-Camp of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

[The Vice-Regal Cavalcade] “William Humble, earl of Dudley, and lady Dudley accompanied by lieutenantcolonel Heseltine, drove out after luncheon from the viceregal lodge. In the following carriage were the honourable Mrs Paget, Miss de Courcy and the honourable Gerald Ward A. D. C. in attendance.” 10:1176-79.

For the army officers Heseltine (commanding officer of the Royal South Middlesex Militia) and Ward (lieutenant in the 1st Life Guards), see Chapter 14, “Other Military Characters and Figures in *Ulysses*.”

British Army Bands

[A performance by the band of the 2nd Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders.] “Unseen brazen highland laddies blared and drumhumped after the cortege:” 10:1249-50.

The soldier-musicians of the band included the late-arriving bandsmen who alighted from a tram in front of the main entrance to Trinity College. The concert took place on the rectangular campus green behind the university’s main buildings and situated parallel to Nassau Street. The performance probably had nothing to do with the passing Vice-Regal Cavalcade.

Every battalion-sized unit of regular infantry and cavalry had its own band. So did similar-sized formations of the Volunteer Force. Militia infantry battalions, such as the one commanded by LTC Heseltine, also had bands, but bandsmen did not appear on the table of organization prescribed by Parliament.¹²⁴ Highland units, in addition to bands, had pipers.

Pipers of the Seaforth Highlanders at Trinity College, 1903



Photograph by William Rau, Library of Congress.

¹²⁴ The core of a militia band were the regular army drummers, buglers, and fifers of a unit’s permanent staff. The band was brought up to concert-size by musicians specially recruited but filling infantry positions. Most of the expense to maintain a militia band was borne by the unit’s officers. For an in-depth look at British army bands and their music see, Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013).

Joyce, who frequented the National Library, possibly heard the pipers pictured on the previous page. The Kildare Street entrance to the NLI is 150 meters south of the Trinity College athletic field where the pipers performed.

General Military and Naval References

“A onelegged sailor, swinging himself onward by lazy jerks of his crutches, growled some notes. 10:7-8. [Father Conmee, SJ] “... thought, but not for long, of soldiers and sailors, whose legs had been shot off by cannonballs, ending their days in some pauper ward ...” 10:12-14.

Here the reader is introduced to the disabled war veteran who spends his day begging throughout the northside of Dublin. As military and naval disability pensions were sparingly awarded and miserly in amount, disabled servicemen without family to care for them usually became inmates of workhouse hospitals or beggars.¹²⁵ This situation was not corrected until after the First World War when the massive number of disabled ex-soldiers could not be ignored by a popularly elected government.

The one-legged, begging sailor appears throughout *Ulysses*, singing the praise of Admiral Horatio Nelson.¹²⁶ Molly Bloom, unseen, tosses him a coin from the bedroom window of 7 Eccles Street.¹²⁷

[Fr. Conmee’s thoughts as he alights from the tram at Malahide Road.] “Lord Talbot de Malahide, immediate hereditary lord admiral of Malahide and the seas adjoining. Then came the call to arms and she was maid, wife and widow in one day.” 10:156-58.

In 1475, King Edward IV of England conferred on Richard Talbot, 14th Lord of Malahide, the title “Lord High Admiral of Malahide and the Seas Adjoining” which gave him an entitlement to customs revenue. The woman recalled by Father Conmee; however, was not the widow of a Talbot who died in battle. Mathilda (Maud) Plunkett, daughter of Sir Christopher Plunkett (Lord of Killeen), in about 1442 married Thomas Hussey (5th Baron Galtrim), who reputedly, was thereafter murdered. Irish legend has it that Mathilda’s marriage occurred on the day of her husband’s death. In 1444, the widow Mathilda married Chief Baron John Cornewalsh, who died a few years later. Her third and last husband was the previously noted Richard Talbot. Mathilda also outlived Sir Richard and she died in 1482.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*, 206-11.

¹²⁶ Episodes 15, 17, 18, and several times in Episode 10. He sings the folk tune “The Death of Nelson.”

¹²⁷ *U* - Wandering Rocks 10:238-48, Penelope 18:346-47.

¹²⁸ *Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage, 1869*, s.v. “Malahide, Talbot de.”

British Military References in *Ulysses*

Father Conmee remembers a line from Gerald Griffin's poem "The Bridal of Malahide:" "She sinks on the meadow In one morning, A wife and a widow, A maid and a bride!"¹²⁹ Earlier lines of the poem explain that the woman's new husband had just left her to do battle with "The foe's on the border" and while "The eve is declining in lone Malahide ... Her heart is afar, Where the clansmen are bleeding For her in war."¹³⁰

Griffin, by error or intent, conjoined Mathilda's husband Thomas Hussey, with an earlier Richard Talbot, the 8th Lord of Malahide, who died in a typical, fourteenth century "gang fight" between land-owning elites on June 10, 1329 (over 100 years before Hussey's death). That engagement, which took place in Braganstown (Ballybragan), Co. Louth was between supporters of John de Bermingham (1st Earl of Louth), including Richard Talbot of Malahide, and men of the local gentry. The Earl's manor house was attacked and he, eleven relatives, and about twenty retainers were killed. The attackers then murdered about 120 de Bermingham family servants. The Earl's wife, Margaret de Ashbourne; however, was not harmed. The event became known in Ireland as the "Braganstown Massacre."¹³¹

"Corny Kelleher closed his long daybook and glanced with his drooping eye at a pine coffinlid sentried in a corner." 10:207-08.

Another military metaphor by Joyce: An upright coffinlid as a soldier on guard duty.

Episode 11 "Sirens"

Marion (Molly) Bloom, Army Brat, and her Father, Major Brian Tweedy

[Simon Dedalus] "Daughter of the regiment." 11:507.

Here, Simon Dedalus refers to Leopold Bloom's wife in a denigrating manner. The expression he uses was invariably applied to daughters of enlisted men or orphans "adopted" by a regiment. Though Molly's father, Brian Tweedy, began his army career as a ranker, at the time of Molly's birth he was a commissioned officer. For more on Molly and her father, see Chapters 12 and 13. Simon Dedalus' description; however, is in keeping with the musical theme of "Sirens" as *La Fille du Régiment* is a popular opera, first performed in 1840.¹³²

¹²⁹ The Limerick-born Griffin was a successful poet and playwright who had lived for several years in London. He died in 1840 at age thirty-seven, in Cork, where he taught at a Christian Brothers school. *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900), s.v. "Griffin, Gerald."

¹³⁰ Charles Gavin Duffy, ed., *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, 40th Ed. (Dublin: Duffy, 1869).

¹³¹ Paul Mohr, "The De Berminghams, Barons of Athenry," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 67 (2015): 46-68; James F. Lydon, "The Braganstown Massacre, 1329," *Archaeological and Historical Society* 19, no. 1 (1977): 5-16. Lydon's translation of the Latin manuscript verdict from the inquest into the Braganstown killings shows one of the dead as "Richard Talebot of Molahyde" and another as "John Talebot."

¹³² *Daughter of the Regiment*, music by Gaetano Donizetti; French libretto by Jules-Henry Vernoy de Saint-Georges and Jean-François Bayard.

[Ben Dollard] “Yes, begad. I remember the old drummajor.” 11:508.

Dollard insults the memory of Molly’s father by labeling Tweedy a drum-major. A drum-major, at the time styled “Sergeant-Drummer,” held the second-lowest NCO rank, sergeant, though his regimental position had some prestige. Tweedy held the Queen’s commission and upon leaving the army, was awarded honorary rank of major, though prior to retirement, he was rank-equivalent to a captain. For more on Tweedy, see the following chapter “Brian Tweedy: An Officer but not a Gentleman.”

Like with the previous line, spoken by Simon Dedalus, Dollard’s reference has a musical connection. *La Fille du Tambour-Major* was an operetta that opened in Paris on December 13, 1879.¹³³ Despite its lively tunes, by the late-twentieth century, the operetta had fallen out of favor with audiences, and today is rarely performed. *La Fille du Régiment*, however, is part of the standard, opera repertoire.

The Wexford Rising of 1798 and Geneva Barracks

“The Croppy Boy. Our native Doric” Sung by Ben Dollard, accompanied by Simon Dedalus on the piano. The song is heard throughout the action in the Ormond Hotel presented at 11:991-1146. “At Geneva barrack.” the British hanged the Croppy Boy 11:1131.

The song’s lyrics are by Irish poet William B. McBurney (published as Carroll Malone) and are set to a five-hundred-year-old air. The words reference the siege of Ross and “the boys of Wexford” who routed the North Cork Militia, both discussed *infra*, plus the battle of Gorey and the walled, army facility, Geneva Barracks. Those four references to the British military appear explicitly in *Ulysses*.¹³⁴

The Battle of Gorey took place on June 1, 1798 when the 2,000-man advance guard of the rebel force marching north to Dublin, attacked the town’s 130-man British garrison. The British force of militiamen and yeomen, with some regular cavalry, easily repelled the attacking force. Shortly after the battle, the British command sent about 650 troops, nearly all militiamen, from Co. Wicklow south into rebel-held Wexford. On June 4th they were attacked at Tubberneering, eight kilometers southwest of Gorey, by the 12,000 to 15,000 man rebel column heading towards Dublin. The British were routed and fled north to Arklow, Co. Wicklow, leaving their artillery to the rebels and evacuating Gorey.¹³⁵

Geneva Barracks, where the Croppy Boy was hanged, was a militia barracks built c. 1783, across the River Barrow from Duncannon Fort. The two fortifications guarded the sea approach to the inland port town of Waterford. Thousands of captured rebels were held awaiting trial at Geneva Barracks which became notorious for its atrocious conditions and by the warders’ ill-treatment of inmates. Survivors were sentenced to death, prison terms, or

¹³³ *The Drum-Major’s Daughter*, music by Jacques Offenbach, lyrics and book by Alfred Duru and Henri Chivot.

¹³⁴ Gorey at U 11:1063-64 and Geneva Barracks at U 11:1131.

¹³⁵ Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion*, 102-15.

British Military References in *Ulysses*

life transportation to British colonies in Australia and the Caribbean. The War Office closed the barracks in 1824.¹³⁶

The '98 and the Irish Yeomanry

[Leopold Bloom thinking.] “Ireland comes now. My country above the king. She listens. Who fears to speak of nineteen four? Time to be shoving. Looked enough.” 11:1072-73.

“Who Fears to Speak of ‘98” was the popular name for the nationalist song “The Memory of the Dead.” The poem that became the lyrics was published anonymously in 1843. In this work, the author, John Kells Ingram, commemorates those who died in 1798 fighting for Irish independence. Ingram, a noted economist, at the time was a Trinity College student. After graduation, he joined the university’s teaching staff and later became its librarian. Ingram was a co-founder of the National Library of Ireland.

Bloom here mocks ardent nationalism before shoving off for Barney Kiernan’s to meet Martin Cunningham and discuss Paddy Dignam’s life insurance.

[Bloom’s opinion of the Croppy Boy.] “All the same he must have been a bit of a natural not to see it was a yeoman cap.” 11:1249-50.

The part-time, amateur military force, the Yeomanry of Ireland, was founded in 1793 and by 1798 was an Orangemen-dominated, para-military arm of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. Yeomen played important roles in the eradication of the nationalist organization, the United Irishmen, and the suppression of the 1798 rebellion.¹³⁷ Bloom thinks the Croppy Boy must have been an idiot for not realizing the purported priest was a yeoman captain.

General Military and Naval References

[In the Hotel Ormond bar.] “War! War!” 11:20. “War! War! cried Father Cowley. You’re the warrior.” 11:532.

These remarks are requests for Ben Dollard to sing the bass role of Cooke’s “Love and War” a duet for tenor, or soprano, and bass. Dollard agrees and accompanies himself on piano while Bob (Father) Cowley sings the tenor’s role.¹³⁸ The lyrics portray the bass as a soldier (war), and the higher-voiced singer as a lover (love). The two engage in a musical duel then decide “Since Mars loved Venus, Venus Mars, Let’s blend love’s wounds with battle’s scars.”¹³⁹

¹³⁶ P.M. Egan, *History, Guide & Directory of County and City of Waterford* (Kilkenny: Egan, 1895), 210-13; Andrew Doherty, “Recalling Geneva Barracks,” *Waterford Harbour Tides & Tales*, a local history website, www.tidesandtales.ie.”

¹³⁷ Allan F. Blackstock, *An Ascendancy Army* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1998).

¹³⁸ “Love and War” sung by Dollard, also on piano, and Bob Cowley. Van Caspel, *Bloomers on the Liffey*, 172.

¹³⁹ T. Cooke, *Love and War* (New York: Gordon, n.d.), Library of Congress, Historic Sheet Music Collection, 100005230.

[Bloom thinking about prostitutes and his experience with at least one.] “Never, well hardly ever.” 11:1258.

As Bloom walks to Barney Kiernan’s, he sees a diseased, old prostitute and recalls past experiences of commercial sex. Repulsed by the sight of the prostitute, Bloom congratulates himself for not having consorted with whores. He then recalls; however, that he occasionally partook of their offered services: “Never, well hardly ever.”

The line is from a song in the most famous of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, *HMS Pinafore*. The satirical storyline involves the captain and crew of an inaptly named warship, the women in their lives, and the First Lord of the Admiralty plus his extended family. The song that Bloom recalls includes the captain’s boasts that he never gets seasick, never uses foul language, and is never abusive. To each of these claims, the crew (male chorus) questions “What, never?” and the captain modifies his boast with the answer “Hardly ever!”¹⁴⁰

Episode 12 “Cyclops”

This episode, which focuses on the belligerent nationalist, The Citizen, contains more British Army and general military references and allusions than any other part of *Ulysses* excepting the partly hallucinatory “Circe.” That “Cyclops” is rich in military references comports with the widely-held belief in early twentieth century Ireland that only armed force could keep the island within the United Kingdom.

Arbour Hill Military Complex

[Anonymous narrator.] “I was just passing the time of day with old Troy of the D. M. P. at the corner of Arbour hill ...” 11:1-2.

[Narrator speaking to Joe Hynes at the intersection of Arbour Hill and Stoney Batter.] “There’s a bloody big foxy thief beyond by the garrison church at the corner of Chicken lane –” 11:13-14.

“And the citizen and Bloom having an argument about the point, the brothers Sheares and Wolfe Tone beyond on Arbour Hill and Robert Emmet and die for your country,” 11:498-500.

The narrator refers to the Anglican, British Army church and the Dublin military prison, both part of the Arbour Hill military complex which also included a military cemetery, an army hospital, and enlisted family housing. For more on the British Army and Arbour Hill, see Appendix H. Wolfe Tone committed suicide in the army prison, but the bodies of prominent figures of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions were not buried in Arbour Hill. It was; however, the burial place for the executed leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising, which occurred before the publication of “Cyclops” in the *Little Review*.

Dubliners in 1904 usually called Arbour Place by its old name, Chicken Lane, and often applied the same appellation to the segment of Arbour Hill, the street, from the army church

¹⁴⁰ “I am the Captain of the Pinafore” lyrics by William S. Gilbert, 1878.

British Military References in *Ulysses*

to Stoney Batter. The name “Chicken Lane” appears in the *Dublin Almanac and General Register of Ireland, 1847* and is shown on Cooke’s Royal Map of Dublin, 1831. Just prior to Union in 1801, Chicken Lane was Nancy’s Lane.¹⁴¹

Linenhall Barracks

[Narrator and Joe Hynes on their way to Barney Kiernan’s.] “So we went around by the Linenhall barracks and the back of the courthouse talking of one thing or another.” 12:64-65.

In 1904, Linenhall Barracks stood nearly empty as the only military tenants were the Dublin District Recruit Depot and Recruiting Staff. See, Appendix H for more on the barracks

The Royal Irish Regiment and its Marching Tune

[Narrator and Joe Hynes.] “So we turned into Barney Kiernan’s and there, sure enough, was the citizen up in the corner having a great confab with himself and that bloody mangy mongrel, Garryowen,” 12:118-20.

Garryowen is an Irish air that was adopted as a drinking song by middle and upper class young men in Limerick during the eighteenth century.¹⁴² The tune’s name refers to the Limerick neighborhood of Owen’s Garden, in Irish *Garraí Eoin*. As the melody is bombastic, Garryowen reputedly became the regimental march of the 5th Dragoon Guards and was subsequently utilized as such by army units worldwide.¹⁴³ At the time Joyce worked on *Ulysses*, the tune was the regimental march of the Royal Irish Regiment.¹⁴⁴ That regiment, with its depot at Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, recruited in the Southern Counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford.

Ensign Charles Boycott

[Procession of “Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity.”] “Captain Boycott.” 12:182.

Charles Cunningham Boycott was born in Norfolk, England, and as a youngster entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, to begin a career as an army engineer. He flunked out of Woolwich and then purchased a commission in the 39th Regiment of Foot.¹⁴⁵ He

¹⁴¹ Rob Goodbody, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Dublin*, Part III (Dublin: RIA, 2014); Cooke’s Royal Map of Dublin, 1831; Faden’s Plan of Dublin, 1797.

¹⁴² Denise A. Ayo, “Scratching at Scabs: The Garryowens of Ireland,” *Joyce Studies Annual* (2010): 153-72.

¹⁴³ That regiment was on the Irish Military Establishment for nearly 80 years ending 1789 and was disbanded in 1799. At no time was it stationed in Limerick. In 1858, the regiment was revived as the 5th (Royal Irish) Lancers. Walter Temple Wilcox, *The Historical Records of the Fifth (Royal Irish) Lancers* (London: Doubleday, 1908). There is no mention of Garryowen in the regimental history.

¹⁴⁴ *Regimental Nicknames and Traditions of the British Army*, 5th Ed. (London: Gale & Polden, 1916).

¹⁴⁵ *London Gazette*, February 15, 1850.

served with his regiment in Ireland for three years then sold his commission in 1852 for reasons of health.¹⁴⁶ Boycott then took up farming on leased land in Ireland and at some point, affected the title “Captain” though he had left the army as an ensign (second lieutenant).

In 1873, Boycott leased 300 acres in County Mayo and also became estate agent for John Crichton (3rd Earl of Erne), owner of a nearby 1,500 acres. As agent, his responsibilities included collection of rents from tenant farmers. Joyce’s friend in Trieste, Henry Blackwood-Price, held such a position in Ulster prior to his employment with the Eastern Telegraph Company.¹⁴⁷ In 1880, when tenants of Lord Erne demanded a 25% rent reduction, Boycott instituted eviction proceedings. To support those tenants, workers on Boycott’s 300 acres walked off the job, local farm laborers refused to replace them, and locals destroyed the farm’s fences and walls. The “Captain” then hired about fifty farm laborers in Counties Cavan and Monahan who in November were escorted to his farm by nearly 1,000 troops. This use of military force was called “The Boycott Relief Expedition.” The expeditionary force consisted of the 76th Regiment of Foot, detachments from two cavalry regiments, and “long files of the Irish Constabulary.” Nationalists called the troop movement “The Invasion of Mayo.”¹⁴⁸ The soldiers guarded Boycott’s farm throughout the two-week harvest.

Boycott remained in Co. Mayo as a tenant farmer and Lord Erne’s agent until 1886 when he accepted an estate agency in Suffolk, England.¹⁴⁹

Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley (1st Duke of Wellington)

[Procession of “Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity.”] “Arthur Wellesley.” 12:196.
[Beautiful places in Ireland, including] “, the three birthplaces of the first Duke of Wellington,” 12:1459-60.

Arthur Wellesley was a career army officer who frequently took leave of his military duties to serve in government positions. In the army, he rose to its highest rank and held positions of the commander of British forces in the Peninsular Wars, commander of Anglo-Dutch forces at Waterloo, commander of the Allied Army of Occupation in France, and Commander-in-Chief, British Army. The Duke, at one time or another, served as a member of both the Irish and UK Houses of Commons, was Chief Secretary of State for Ireland, Master-General of the Ordnance, and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Politically, Wellesley was a reactionary and strong supporter of both the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and the landed classes in Great Britain. As such, he gained the sobriquet “The Iron Duke.” In 1829; however, as a matter of expediency, he introduced in Parliament a bill to

¹⁴⁶ *London Gazette*, December 17, 1852; Casualties since the last Publication, *Hart’s Annual Army List, 1853*.

¹⁴⁷ Staff Record No. 1, Cable & Wireless Archives, DOC/ETC/5/25.

¹⁴⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, November 26, 1880.

¹⁴⁹ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, s.v. “Boycott, Charles Cunningham.”

British Military References in *Ulysses*

remove all Catholic civil disabilities, including the inability to sit in Commons. It passed both houses and became known as the Roman Catholic Relief Act.¹⁵⁰

The Wellesleys were of the wealthy, Anglo-Irish elite. Arthur Wellesley's father was the 1st Earl of Mornington and his mother was a daughter of the 1st Viscount Dungannon. Though born April 29, 1769 in Dublin, he always gave his birth date as May 1st, and the exact location of his birth is subject to dispute. Gray, in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, gives the birthplace as 6 Merrion Street. Chart, in his *Story of Dublin*, claims the likely address as 24 Merrion Street, an opinion in which Lloyd concurs in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.¹⁵¹

The Wellesleys never regarded themselves as Irish and the first Duke thought an Irish identity to be an expression of disloyalty to the Crown. Daniel O'Connell never considered Wellington an Irishman. On October 1, 1843, the "Emancipator" spoke at a banquet in Mullaghmast, after a "monster" Union Repeal rally in that Co. Kildare town. In his after-dinner speech, O'Connell commented on the Duke of Wellington's nationality as follows: "The poor old Duke! what shall I say of him, To be sure he was born in Ireland but being born in a stable does not make a man a horse."¹⁵²

Private Arthur Chace

[List of convicted defendants hanged by Rumbold.] "... private Arthur Chace for fowl murder of Jessie Tilsit..." 12:422.

The murder of Jessie Tilsit by a British soldier is wholly fictional and neither Gifford nor Thornton can determine the significance of the names. Slote does not address the reference. We can only guess why Joyce made a soldier one of the hangman's victims. Possibly, it's related to problems Joyce had with British officials in Switzerland. Joyce named the hangman after the UK's ambassador to Switzerland during the First World War, Horace Rumbold.

Fenian Rising of 1867

[The narrator explains how The Citizen got started on "the New Ireland" by noting] "... the men of sixtyseven and who fears speak of ninetyeight..." 12:481.

The first part of the quoted line references the Irish Republican Brotherhood's abortive rebellion in 1867. It's called by many nationalists the Fenian "Rising" of 1867 though there was no great uprising of the general population as in County Wexford in 1798. The rebellion consisted of armed attacks by small bands on state facilities and security personnel, primarily in the Province of Munster. In the Dublin area, there were attacks on police stations in Dundrum, Tallaght, and Palmerston. In Tallaght, there was a gathering of several thousand

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., s.v. "Wellesley (Wesley)."

¹⁵¹ David A. Chart, *The Story of Dublin* (London: Dent, 1907), 255; Peter Gray, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (1885-1900), s.v. "Wellesley, Arthur;" E.M. Lloyd, *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900), s.v. "Wellesley, Arthur."

¹⁵² Testimony of Frederick Bond Hughes, a shorthand reporter, Sedition Trial of Daniel O'Connell, *et al*, *Shaw's Authenticated Report of the Irish State Trials, 1844* (Dublin), 93. Corroborated by the testimony of Charles Ross, *Ibid.*, 123.

Fenians, but they never took concerted military action. The “revolt” was suppressed primarily by the Irish Constabulary and Dublin Police. Army involvement was minimal. Only two regiments engaged the rebels: 31st Regiment in Co. Limerick and 52nd Regiment in the environs of Dublin city.¹⁵³ Compared to the Insurrection of 1798, the 1867 Fenian action was a “disturbance.”

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Sturgeon ¹⁵⁴

“...a handsome young Oxford graduate, noted for his chivalry towards the fair sex, stepped forward and, presenting his visiting card, bankbook and genealogical tree, solicited the hand of the hapless young lady, requesting her to name the day, and was accepted on the spot.” 12:658-62.

In 1764, Lady Henrietta Alicia Watson-Wentworth, 27-year old daughter of the 1st Marquis of Rockingham, scandalized English society when she eloped with a family footman, the Irishman William Sturgeon. Her brother Charles, at the time the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham and one of the richest men in England, stood by his errant sister and provided her with the same annual income of £600 he bestowed on his sisters Mary and Charlotte. There was no need for Rockingham to support his sister Anne as she had married the 3rd Earl Fitzwilliam, owner of 25,000 acres in Ireland. After the 2nd Marquis of Rockingham’s death, and the extinction of the title, the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam supported the Sturgeon family.¹⁵⁵

About 35 years after Henrietta’s marriage, a daughter of a middle class Dubliner embarrassed her family but for political and not social reasons. Sarah Curran, child of the prominent barrister and “Patriot” politician, John P. Curran, fell in love with Robert Emmet, a fiery Irish republican.¹⁵⁶ Though Curran was a nationalist, he found Emmet too radical and thought his daughter’s relationship with the young man would have an adverse effect on his career (he wanted to be a judge). Sarah and Robert were secretly engaged but the wedding never occurred. Emmet was hanged for treason on September 20, 1803 as he had instigated a futile armed attempt to overthrow British rule in Ireland. Sarah and Robert’s relationship was known to all in Dublin society and after the radical’s execution, Curran banished his daughter from the family home. Sarah Curran took up residence with the Penrose family in Co. Cork, who were old friends of the Currans.¹⁵⁷

While in Cork, Sarah made the acquaintance of a young artillery officer, Henry Sturgeon, a son of the former footman William Sturgeon and his high-born wife, Henrietta. At about age fourteen, Henry entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich to begin a career as

¹⁵³ *Irish Times*, March 7-9, 1867; Shin-Ichi Takagami, “The Fenian Rising in Dublin,” *Irish Historical Studies* 29, no. 115 (Mary 1995): 340-62.

¹⁵⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1900), s.v. “Sturgeon, Henry.”

¹⁵⁵ Marjorie Bloy, *Rockingham and Yorkshire*, PhD Thesis, Sheffield, 1986.

¹⁵⁶ In “Aeolus,” Myles Crawford praises the lawyer: “Who have you now like John Philpott Curran?” U 7:739-40.

¹⁵⁷ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, s.vv. Sarah Curran, Robert Emmet.

an artillery or engineering officer. This made sense for someone in his financial position as technical officers could live on their pay and their commissions did not require purchase. In January 1796, Henry Sturgeon at age fifteen or sixteen was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers and nineteen months later, after completion of advanced training, was promoted to first lieutenant.¹⁵⁸

A few years after his promotion, while stationed in Cork, Lieutenant Sturgeon met and became enamored with Sarah Curran. No doubt he was sympathetic to her family position which was somewhat like that of his mother's. He proposed to Sarah sometime in 1803 and she accepted as she was a spinster with no personal income, was worried about her future, and did not want to remain a Penrose family burden. At the time of the engagement, she made it clear to Henry that though she would be a faithful and proper wife, her only love would remain Robert Emmet.¹⁵⁹ On June 28, 1803, Sturgeon was transferred from the Royal Artillery to the Royal Staff Corps and promoted to captain with the title Assistant Quartermaster-General.¹⁶⁰ As a captain with a staff position, the 22-year old Sturgeon would have no problem supporting a wife and family in middle class comfort. The wedding took place in Cork on November 24, 1803, twenty-six months after Robert Emmet's execution.

Joyce's characterization of Sarah Curran's husband is outright wrong, and we can't tell if that was due to error or intent. Sturgeon never attended university, had no money of his own, and relied completely on his army pay for support. As for Sturgeon's family tree, while his mother was of the aristocracy his father was a domestic servant. Captain Sturgeon would be barely tolerated in "polite society" and only because of his Queen's commission.

After marriage, Sturgeon had a short, but successful military career; however, his family did not prosper. The Sturgeon's only child died one month after birth and in 1808, Sarah Sturgeon succumbed to tuberculosis in England at age 26. Captain Sturgeon served as a staff officer under Wellington in the Peninsular Wars, was promoted to major in 1809, and brevet lieutenant-colonel in 1812.¹⁶¹ He was twice mentioned in dispatches to the War Office by Wellington and in February 1814 was made a Knight of the Royal Portuguese Military Order. On March 19, 1814, Henry Sturgeon was killed in action in Portugal, at age thirty-three.¹⁶²

Lieutenant-General Maxwell and Lieutenant-Colonel French-Mullen

[The re-engagement of the hanged man's fiancée at the time of the execution, see above.]
"Nay, even the stern provostmarshal, lieutenantcolonel Tomkin-Maxwell frenchmullan Tomlinson, who presided on the sad occasion, he who had blown a considerable number of sepoys from the cannonmouth without flinching, could not now restrain his natural emotion." 12:669-72.

¹⁵⁸ *London Gazette*. March 5, 1796, September 30, 1797.

¹⁵⁹ Louise Imogen Guiney, *Robert Emmet* (London: Nutt, 1904), 76-77; Terry de Valera, "Sarah Curran's Musical Interests," *Dublin Historical Record* 38, no. 1 (December 1984): 14-21.

¹⁶⁰ *London Gazette*, June 25, 1803.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1809, February 8, 1812.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, February 12, 1814.

Nearly all commentators view the provost-marshal's name as a Joycean jab at the stereotypical British Army officer with an aristocratic, French, double-barreled, or multi-syllabic name. Many officers with such comical-sounding names did exist. For example, Lieutenant-Colonel Geoffrey Cecil Twistleton-Wykeham-Fiennes who in 1903 testified before the Norfolk Commission on the army's auxiliary forces.¹⁶³ The noted Irish novelist, Colm Tóibín; however; has pointed out that the names "General Maxwell" and "ffrench-Mullen" would be recognized in 1922 by nearly all Dubliners, especially when linked to a provost-marshal at an execution. Tóibín claims the execution passage in *Ulysses* parodies the court-martial executions in the wake of the 1916 Easter Rising.¹⁶⁴

John Grenfell Maxwell

In 1879, John Grenfell Maxwell graduated from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 42nd Regiment, later known as 1st Battalion, The Black Watch.¹⁶⁵ Maxwell had a successful career and saw active service in Egypt, Sudan, and South Africa. On Bloomsday, Colonel Maxwell had just left his position as Chief Staff Officer, Irish Command, for a similar posting in London with the army's Inspector General, but with a higher rank. In 1912, Maxwell retired with the rank of Lieutenant-General. At the outbreak of war in 1914, General Grenfell was recalled to service and given command of British forces in Egypt. In March 1916, the War Office replaced Maxwell in Egypt and ordered him home pending reassignment.¹⁶⁶

On Easter Monday morning, April 24, 1916, the Irish Volunteers, assisted by the Citizens Army, seized parts of Dublin and proclaimed an Irish republic. At the time, Major-General Friend, the army commander in Ireland, was on leave and the acting general-officer-commanding, Brigadier-General Lowe, was at Curragh Camp, 45 kilometers southwest of central Dublin. Lowe commanded the 3rd Reserve Cavalry Brigade which had two regiments at the Curragh and one in Dublin. The other combat formations in Dublin were three reserve infantry battalions commanded by Colonel Henry Gerard Kennard, who at the time, was not at his headquarters. On the day of the Easter Rising, there were only 2,427 British combat troops in the capital city; somewhat over half the usual peacetime number.¹⁶⁷ They were mostly recent recruits who had arrived from training depots and were undergoing advanced training prior to deployment abroad.

¹⁶³ That officer commanded 3/Royal Scots Fusiliers, a militia battalion. Minutes of Evidence, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers*, 1904, [Cd. 2063], at q. 19141. He had volunteered for active service in Canada (1885), Egypt (1888-89), and South Africa (1890 and 1900-01). The colonel was also the 18th Baron Saye and Sele. *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1914*, s.v. "Saye and Sele."

¹⁶⁴ Colm Tóibín, "After I am hanged my portrait will be interesting," *London Review of Books*, March 31, 2016.

¹⁶⁵ *London Gazette*, March 21, 1879.

¹⁶⁶ George Arthur, *General Sir John Maxwell* (London: Murray, 1932).

¹⁶⁷ Report of LTG Maxwell, May 25, 1916. *London Gazette Supplement*, July 21, 1916.

The next day, the Lord Lieutenant declared martial law in County Dublin, and on the 28th the British government expanded military authority to all of Ireland. The government also replaced General Friend with General Maxwell and gave the new general-officer-commanding full power to suppress the rebellion.¹⁶⁸ General Maxwell arrived in Dublin on the 28th and though Commander-in-Chief, took direct control of the troops in the city. By May 1st, the Easter Rising, both in Dublin and the provinces, was over.

About 700 presumed rebel combatants had been taken prisoner in Dublin and up to 300 elsewhere. Courts-martial began immediately and 90 prisoners were quickly convicted of various offenses and sentenced to death. Maxwell commuted the sentences of 75 to imprisonment and ordered the other 15 shot. Nearly all the remaining captured combatants were sentenced to imprisonment; only 25 being acquitted.¹⁶⁹ In the immediate aftermath of hostilities, Irish police and British soldiers, all under Maxwell's authority, arrested 3,509 persons as potential revolutionaries. Of those taken into custody, 41% were released within two weeks, 43% were released later in the year or acquitted at trial, and 16% were tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment.¹⁷⁰ In November, the government reassigned Maxwell to York, England as General-Officer-Commanding, Northern Command.¹⁷¹

Jarlath ffrench-Mullen

In 1874, 19-year old Jarlath Mullen, a recently qualified medical doctor, began his medical career in Jamaica with the Colonial Service. In 1877, he left the Colonial Service for the Army Medical Department, with which he served for six months, then took a commission with the Indian Medical Service (IMS). Jarlath was the youngest of four brothers, all of whom entered public medical service; three with the IMS and one with the Royal Navy. In 1890, the four Mullen brothers added “ffrench” to their surnames and legally became ffrench-Mullens.¹⁷²

The Indian Medical Service was a uniformed component of the Government of India and its members, all qualified medical doctors, served with the Indian Army, the British Army in India, and in civil positions (both as practitioners and administrators). Typically, new officers began their career in Indian Army regimental hospitals then after several years of army service, were transferred to the civil side of the Raj.¹⁷³ One of the most desirable positions in the IMS was District

¹⁶⁸ *The Times*, April 28, 1916.

¹⁶⁹ *Weekly Irish Times* Staff, *Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook* (Dublin: Irish Times, 1917).

¹⁷⁰ Shane Hegarty and Fintan O'Toole, *Irish Times*, March 24, 2016. All remaining prisoners, combatant and civilian, were released in July 1917 when the government granted amnesty.

¹⁷¹ *Monthly Army List*, December 1917.

¹⁷² Obituary, Jarlath ffrench-Mullen, *The British Medical Journal*, September 29, 1928.

¹⁷³ F.J. Wade-Brown, “The Medical Service in India,” *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps* 13, no. 5 (November 1909): 552-60.

Civil Surgeon. Indians viewed a Civil Surgeon (effectively principal medical officer of a district), as one of the “White kings” that ruled British India.¹⁷⁴

IMS officers were uniformed, under military law, held military rank, and at any time could be assigned to the Indian or British Army. Unlike their colleagues in the Royal Army Medical Corps, they could not serve outside of India without their consent. As Jarlath Mullen, when he entered the IMS, had several years experience and had placed first in the annual IMS entrance examination, he began his service as a Civil Surgeon. He remained in civil appointments throughout his career and retired in 1906 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Note that Joyce’s fictional officer served in India at the time of the 1858 Mutiny. Mullen arrived on the sub-continent nearly twenty years after the last native rebel was executed.

The 1911 Census of Ireland shows Colonel Jarlath ffrench-Mullen, his wife, and daughter, living in the upscale, Dublin suburban neighborhood of Donnybrook, Pembroke Township. Also listed on that residential census return are two servants, a visitor, and the Colonel’s 30-year old niece, Madeleine ffrench-Mullen, daughter of Fleet-Surgeon St. Laurence ffrench-Mullen.¹⁷⁵ Madeleine ffrench-Mullen was an outspoken Irish republican, socialist, and nurse in the Citizens Army, the small militia of the Irish labor movement. Five years later, she would take part in the Easter Rising and be held prisoner in Kilmainham Gaol for two weeks. In 1920, two years before the publication of *Ulysses*, Madeleine ffrench-Mullen, standing as a Sinn Fein candidate, was elected to the Rathmines Town Council.¹⁷⁶

Captain Thomas Oliver Westenra Plunkett

[Imaginary debate in Commons on foot-and-mouth disease and Irish sports.] “Have similar orders been issued for the slaughter of human animals who dare to play Irish games in the Phoenix park?” 12:869-71. “Mr Staylewit (Buncombe. Ind.): Don’t hesitate to shoot.” 12:877.

Magistrate Thomas Plunkett gained notoriety for an order to the Royal Irish Constabulary in Youghal to not hesitate to shoot if an expected Land League demonstration turned violent. Prior to serving as a full-time, resident magistrate, Plunkett was for eleven years an officer of the 1st (Royal Scots) Regiment of Foot, one of the more prestigious infantry units.¹⁷⁷

Thomas Plunkett was the second son of the 12th Baron of Louth and in 1855, received a non-purchase, wartime commission in the Royal Scots.¹⁷⁸ Plunkett saw active service with that regiment in the Crimean War (wounded at Sevastopol) and the 2nd Opium War in China.

¹⁷⁴ Saurav Kumar Rai, “Indianization of the Indian Medical Service,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 826-32.

¹⁷⁵ A fleet-surgeon was rank-equivalent to an army major so by that measure, Jarlath had a more successful career than did his brother St. Laurence.

¹⁷⁶ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, s.v. “ffrench-Mullen, Madeleine.”

¹⁷⁷ Appendix C, Volume 1, this work.

¹⁷⁸ *Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage, 1909; London Gazette*, January 5, 1855.

British Military References in Ulysses

In 1864, he purchased a captaincy and then sold his commission two years later.¹⁷⁹ Plunkett left the army to take up the full-time civil position of a local resident magistrate in County Mayo. In 1867, he was posted to the higher position of Resident Magistrate for County Longford. In such position, Plunkett had charge of the Irish Constabulary in the county.¹⁸⁰

In 1881, to better deal with the rural disturbances of the Land Wars, the British government reorganized the internal security apparatus in Ireland. Dublin Castle placed the “disturbed” districts within multi-county, security divisions, each under the authority of a Divisional Magistrate. This crown officer controlled the Royal Irish Constabulary and local magistrates in his territory and could order locally stationed army units to aid the civil authority. The government promoted Plunkett to Divisional Magistrate for the territory that encompassed Counties Cork, Kerry, and Limerick.¹⁸¹

On Wednesday, March 9, 1887, Plunkett was in Dublin attending business at the Castle. The previous day, at a Land League demonstration in Youghal, Co. Cork, the RIC had charged the crowd, and a demonstrator was mortally bayoneted. District Inspector Sommerville, in charge of the RIC at Youghal, telegraphed Plunkett that a large funeral procession was scheduled for the next day, Thursday. Sommerville asked Plunkett for instructions on how to handle the likely troublesome event. Plunkett replied: “Message received. Deal very summarily if any organized resistance to lawful authority. If necessary do not hesitate to shoot them.”¹⁸² The funeral procession was postponed to Friday and occurred without incident. Plunkett’s instruction to the RIC officer became the subject of debate in Commons.

On September 9, 1887, nearly six months after the Youghal incident, in Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, the RIC fired on Land League protesters causing three deaths. Earlier, the crowd had attacked the constables with sticks and stones which forced their retreat to barracks. When the angry protestors gathered outside the barracks, the constables panicked and opened fire with rifles. Nationalists dubbed the shootings “The Mitchelstown Massacre.”¹⁸³

Sergeant-Major Percy Bennett, Royal Artillery

[Newspaper account of the Bennett-Keogh boxing match of June 3, 1904.] “It was a historic and hefty battle when Myler and Percy were scheduled to don the gloves for the purse of fifty sovereigns. . . . It was a knockout clean and clever. Amid tense expectation the Portobello bruiser was being counted out when Bennett’s second Ole Pfotts Wettstein threw in the towel and the Santry boy was declared victor to the frenzied

¹⁷⁹ *Hart’s Annual Army List, 1864; London Gazette*. May 20, 1864, July 27, 1866.

¹⁸⁰ Various Irish newspaper reports; *Thom’s Directory*, 1870, 1881.

¹⁸¹ *Weekly Irish Times*, December 31, 1881; *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, s.v. “Plunkett, Thomas Oliver Westenra.”

¹⁸² *Irish Times*, March 9, 1887; *Freeman’s Journal*, March 14, 1887.

¹⁸³ R.V. Comerford, “The Land War and the Politics of Distress,” in *A New History of Ireland*, W.E. Vaughan, ed., Vol. 6 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 72.

cheers of the public who broke through the ringropes and fairly mobbed him with delight.” 12:960-87.

Account of a fight between an artillery NCO stationed at Portobello Barracks and a Dublin civilian. The reader first learns of this match in “Wandering Rocks,” *supra*. For more on Sergeant Bennett, see Chapter 14, “Other Military Characters and Figures in *Ulysses*.”

The 2nd Boer War: Army Horses and Major Studdert

[Narrator to himself.] “Dirty Dan the dodger’s son off Island bridge that sold the same horses twice over to the government to fight the Boers.” 12:998-99.

During the Boer War, the number of horses the army purchased for use in South Africa exceeded the number of troops that served there. The War Office spent £16.9 million for the 470,600 horses required for the war.¹⁸⁴ The number of troops that served in the theater of war was 430,876.¹⁸⁵ Only 16% of the acquired animals were obtained in the United Kingdom. The overwhelming majority of horses sent to South Africa were utilized by the army’s transportation service, the Army Service Corps. All supplies for army units were brought from railway depots by horse-drawn carts.

Prior to the outbreak of the Boer War, horses and mules for units stationed at home were purchased by the Army Remount Service, while the Indian Army and British Army units abroad, obtained such animals independently of the home service.¹⁸⁶ The Remount Service was an office within the Quartermaster-General’s department and staffed by the ASC, the Veterinary Department, and some retired officers from other corps. The army had remount depots in Woolwich (London) and the City of Dublin, and a horse farm at Lusk in North County Dublin. There was also a remount depot in Cape Town that was subordinate to the Director of Transport and Supply for the British Army, South Africa. Recently purchased army horses were gathered and inspected at the remount depots, and from there shipped in batches to where required. The army farm at Lusk did not raise horses; it was an extended stay, remount depot where horses were held for a few weeks rather than a few days.¹⁸⁷ The narrator of “Cyclops” tells us either that Dan Boylan, Blazes Boylan’s father, lived near the southside neighborhood of Islandbridge, or conducted his crooked business at Army Remount Depot No. 2, Islandbridge Barracks.¹⁸⁸

At the outbreak of the 2nd Boer War in October 1899, the War Office gave the Commander-In-Chief, South Africa responsibility for local acquisition of remounts, while the Army Remount Service was charged with remount supply from the rest of the world. The remount establishment expanded greatly after the start of hostilities. By the end of 1899,

¹⁸⁴ Appendices, *Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 1903, [Cd. 1792], No. 38a.

¹⁸⁵ *Report of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 1903, [Cd. 1789], at 35.

¹⁸⁶ The army called a horse for military use a “remount” until it was broken in to where it could perform its military function. For draft animals, such time was minimal.

¹⁸⁷ Graham Winton, *Theirs Not to Reason Why* (Solihull, UK: 2013), 53-82.

¹⁸⁸ The bridge that spans the River Liffey at the barracks was, in 1904, Sarah Bridge.

there were eight remount depots in the United Kingdom and three in South Africa. Remount Service procurement offices were established in the United States, Canada, Spain, Italy, Argentina, and Australia.

Operating outside of both the Army Remount Service and the South African Command, was the remount service of the Imperial Yeomanry. The War Office had authorized the Imperial Yeomanry Committee to establish its own remount organization. From the formation of the Imperial Yeomanry in December through the end of March, the Committee acquired about 11,000 horses; 4,000 from Austria-Hungary and 7,000 in the home market. In April 1900, the War Office reassigned Imperial Yeomanry remount responsibility to the Army Remount Service.¹⁸⁹ By War Office order dated May 25th the Committee was dissolved as its mission, as stated by the Secretary of State for War, “was now successfully accomplished.”¹⁹⁰

Colonel Thomas Astell St. Quintin was the Imperial Yeomanry Committee member responsible for remount acquisition.¹⁹¹ St. Quintin, in turn, engaged purchasing agents to buy horses on behalf of the Crown. One such agent was Charles W. Studdert of County Clare. On January 9, 1900 St. Quintin gave Studdert authority to purchase horses of specified quality at a maximum price of £30. Nearly two years later, Studdert would achieve notoriety throughout the English-speaking world and become a subject of parliamentary debate.

On December 7, 1900, the War Office, alleging fraud, brought suit in Dublin against Studdert, his two sons, his son-in-law, and several others. The plaintiff, which sought £2,000 in damages, claimed Studdert had his two sons and a son-in-law buy sub-standard horses for £12 to £20 each, then sell the animals to the Yeomanry for £30. The family members then shared the profits. The horses bought through Studdert were shipped to the army remount depot in Liverpool where, after veterinary inspection, the vast majority were found unfit for service.¹⁹²

Studdert was of the gentry and he and his family had considerable stature in County Clare. He owned about 700 acres of land, was a long-serving justice of the peace, and a former militia officer. During the Crimean War, Studdert was commissioned in the Clare Militia and by 1870 held the rank of captain. After 20-years’ service, as authorized by regulation, the War Office granted him honorary rank of major. Studdert used his military title and was styled “Major Studdert” by the press.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Winton, *Theirs Not to Reason Why*, 83.

¹⁹⁰ War Office, *Imperial Yeomanry Report*, 1902, [Cd. 803], at 19.

¹⁹¹ St. Quintin began his career in 1859 with the highly prestigious 10th Hussars and in 1887 received command of the 8th Hussars. He retired in 1892 and became an Assistant Inspector of the Remounts. *Hart’s Annual Army List*, 1892, 1893.

¹⁹² Trial transcript in “The Purchase of Horses in Ireland,” *The Veterinary Journal* 6 (August 1902): 113-22.

¹⁹³ Estate of Studdert (Clonderalaw), *Landed Estates Database*, NUI-Galway, www.landedestates.ie; *Burke’s Landed Gentry of Ireland, 1904*, s.v. “Blood of Cranagher;” *Regulations for the Militia, 1883*, ¶56; *Hart’s Annual Army List*, multiple years; *Thom’s Directory*, multiple years.

The defendants settled the case for the full amount sought by the War Office and agreed to pay an additional £1,000 in court costs. On August 30, 1902, the Crown received court leave to present the matter before a County Clare grand jury. The grand jury refused to indict Studdert and the other civil suit defendants because the Crown did not present as a witness St. Quintin, the Yeomanry official who contracted with Studdert. The collapse of the criminal case was brought up in Commons.¹⁹⁴

The Yeomanry horse purchase scandal was widely reported by the press throughout the United Kingdom and covered in North America, South Africa, and Australia. As at the time Joyce was a university student in Dublin, he no doubt read of it. Major Studdert was likely a part-model for Blazes Boylan's father, Dan.

Colonel Arthur H. Courtenay

[One of three Irish judges.] "There master Courtenay, sitting in his own chamber," 12:1115.

Ulster-born Justice Courtenay was one of the Masters of the High Court of Justice in Ireland (King's Bench Division). In 1904, the High Court had original jurisdiction over felony cases, major lawsuits, probate and matrimonial matters, admiralty matters, and bankruptcy. The High Court had two divisions; King's Bench and Chancery. Appeals from its decisions were heard by the Court of Appeal in Ireland. As did many officials of the British state and its municipalities, Courtenay also had a military career.

In 1871, Arthur Courtenay, age nineteen, was commissioned a lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion, Royal Lanarkshire Militia, headquartered in Hamilton, a suburb of Glasgow, Scotland. Twenty years later, he became commanding officer of his battalion, by then the 4th Battalion, Cameronians (Scottish Rifles).¹⁹⁵ During the Boer War, Colonel Courtenay served with his unit in South Africa. Because of his long service, he was awarded honorary rank of full colonel.¹⁹⁶

Venereal Disease and the British Army

[British civilization.] "—Their syphilisation, you mean, says the citizen." 12:1197.

This is another reference to the high rate of venereal disease infection in the British Army. This matter was discussed in the section Episode 5 "Lotus Eaters," *supra*.

The Imperial Yeomanry

"An imperial yeomanry, says Lenehan to celebrate the occasion." 12:1318.

Lenehan probably ordered a Powers whiskey. Sir John Elliott Cecil Power, Baronet, a descendant of James Power who established the Dublin distillery that bears his name, was a lieutenant in the 46th (Belfast) Imperial Yeomanry Company. He died in June 1900 of

¹⁹⁴ 116 Parl. Deb. (4th ser.) (1902) 219-22.

¹⁹⁵ *London Gazette*: March 17, 1871, December 11, 1891.

¹⁹⁶ *Who's Who, 1903*, s.v. "Courtenay, Colonel Arthur H."

British Military References in Ulysses

wounds received at Lindley, Orange Free State. It was there that the 13th (Irish) Imperial Yeomanry Battalion, consisting of four Irish companies, surrendered to the Boers. Members of the 13th were middle and upper class Irishmen who volunteered for wartime service in this new, mounted infantry force. About 90% of the men were Protestant, the officers nearly all Anglo-Irish, and all who joined did so out of loyalty to the British Empire. News of the unit's humiliating surrender was cheered by Irish nationalists.¹⁹⁷ Here Lenehan is celebrating another British defeat: The boxing match between Sergeant Bennett and Myler Keogh.

Irish Rebellions and Civil War

“We are a long time waiting for that day, citizen, says Ned. Since the poor old woman told us that the French were on the sea and landed at Killala.” 12:1377-78.

“Ay says John Wyse. We fought for the royal Stuarts that reneged us against the Williamites and they betrayed us. 12:1379-80.

[The Citizen] “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?” 12:1507-09.

Here Joyce presents in reverse chronological order the Insurrection of 1798, the civil war between supporters of Prince William of Orange and the Stuart King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1688-1690), and the civil war between Cromwell's Parliamentary army and that of King Charles I, then his son, Charles II (1642-1651). These were the great, armed conflicts in post-Tudor Ireland, memorialized in song, poetry, and folktale. In 1904, many Irish, both unionist and nationalist, spoke of these wars as if they were recent events.

The Insurrection of 1798 ¹⁹⁸

Republican France's intervention on behalf of the Irish rebels of 1798 was a matter of too little, too late. A French amphibious force landed at Killala, County Mayo, on August 22, 1798, with about 1,000 men, and not the 20,000 promised by the French government to Lord Edward Kildare. At the time, organized resistance to the British military in Ireland had collapsed. The small French contingent; however, consisted of professional soldiers with combat experience in the Revolutionary Wars. They would face a British force of mostly untried militiamen and locally recruited “fencibles.” The French were reinforced with about 3,000 rebel troops who in small bands had made their way north. This combined force, under General Jean Joseph Humbert, defeated

¹⁹⁷ *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1904*, s.v. “Power of Edermine;” Luke Diver, *Ireland and the South African War, 1899-1902*, PhD Thesis, NUI (Maynooth), 2014; *Weekly Irish Times*, June 9, 1900.

John's brother, Elliott Derrick Le Poer Power, also was a Boer War fatality. Elliott Power, a career officer with the socially elite Rifle Brigade, died in South Africa of disease, January 1902.

¹⁹⁸ See, Chapter 1, Volume 1, this work.