

KEN HANNIGAN

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Up in his hat¹.

James Joyce, John Francis Byrne and their Contemporaries: the Wicklow
Connections.

‘Or up in my hat. I earnst. Schue!’

(*FW*, 452, 7)

In 1993 and 1994 I accompanied the late Fr. James Murphy, Parish Priest of Barndarrig, Brittas Bay and Kilbride, to the homes of some his oldest parishioners in order to record their experiences of life in the area just south of Wicklow Town. Among those we interviewed was Michael Fogarty of Carrigmore. Carrigmore, lies at the southern end of Deputy’s Pass, on the road from the Beehive pub to Kilmacurragh Arboretum (now part of the National Botanic Gardens). Michael lived at Carrigmore with his sister, Lil, on the farm that had been the family home for four generations.

Mick remembered practically everything his father had told him about the history of his locality, and everything his grandfather had told his father. He recounted events that had happened a century earlier as if they had happened in his own lifetime, or as if they had happened yesterday. On many weekends in 1993-94, we drove Mick around the parish, and he named practically every field, identified practically every Mass-track and holy well, and every haunted corner.

On one of these occasions, Mick greeted us at his gate. He was carrying a plastic bag from which he extracted a straw hat and a book. The straw hat, he said, had once belonged to James Joyce, and had been left behind in Carrigmore after one of Joyce's visits there. The book was *Silent Years*. It was the memoir of John Francis Byrne, who had spent the summers of his youth and early manhood in the Fogarty homestead at Carrigmore during the 1890s and early 1900s. Byrne had been a contemporary of James Joyce in Belvedere College and at University College Dublin, and had been immortalised by Joyce as the character 'Cranly' in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The house he occupied with his older cousins, Mary and Cicely Fleming, at 7 Eccles Street in Dublin in 1909-1910, became the residence of Leopold and Molly Bloom in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Although I was astonished to learn of the Joyce association, I was also astonished to be looking at a copy of *Silent Years* in the heart of rural Wicklow. It was a book with which I was already familiar in an entirely different context. As a history student in 1973,

I had completed a minor thesis about Francis Sheehy Skeffington, socialist, campaigner for women's suffrage, Great War pacifist, and so much more.² He had been murdered in Portobello Barracks on the orders of a supposedly deranged officer, J.C. Bowen-Colthurst, during Easter Week 1916. I had been inspired by Francis Sheehy Skeffington ever since I had seen him portrayed in *Insurrection*, the *Telefís Éireann* drama-documentary about the 1916 Rising which was broadcast in 1966 as part of the Fiftieth Anniversary commemoration of the Easter Rising. The more I read about him, the more my admiration grew. I wondered if there had been more to his murder than just the random act of a madman. *Silent Years* seemed to offer a clue that might explain why this wonderful man had been so cruelly murdered.

Like Byrne, Skeffington had featured as a character in Joyce's novels. He appeared as the eccentric idealist, McCann, who is treated somewhat disdainfully by the Joyce character, Stephen Dedalus. The incident, described in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, when Stephen refuses McCann's invitation to sign the Czar's Peace Rescript, and looks disdainfully at the photo of the Czar, saying

'If we must have a Jesus let us have a legitimate Jesus.'

(*P* p.197)

was based on an actual event, and resulted in Joyce and his brother bestowing on Skeffington the soubriquet 'Hairy Jaysus'.³

Byrne and Skeffington became close friends. When Skeffington and Hanna Sheehy married in 1903, they took each other's names and changed their names to Sheehy Skeffington, in recognition of their equal status. When Francis Sheehy Skeffington was released from Mountjoy Gaol, following his hunger strike in 1915, he travelled clandestinely to the United States and stayed with J.F.Byrne in New York. Byrne had been working there as a journalist since 1910. Sheehy Skeffington had been imprisoned in 1915 because of his anti-recruiting activities. In *Silent Years*, which was published in 1953, Byrne referred to Sheehy Skeffington's visit to the US in 1915, and to clandestine contacts he had made there, as well as to earlier contacts:

I believe that the time has come when I can say that Sheehy Skeffington, acting according to his lights as a patriotic Irishman, had been engaged as far back as August 1914, in activities for which he, as a British subject, could have been tried for his life.⁴

Silent Years, with its revelations about Sheehy Skeffington's visit to the United States, was an important source for me in the 1970s. At the time, it was a fairly obscure book, known almost exclusively to Joycean scholars. It had received only limited circulation in the United States, and had never been published in Ireland, where it was largely unknown. Apart from what it contained about Francis Sheehy Skeffington and Joyce, *Silent Years* was then of peripheral interest to me. The references to Wicklow would have passed me by. Twenty years later, when we had come to live in Wicklow, and the county had become the main focus of my historical interests, it came as a considerable

surprise to be looking at a copy of this obscure book in the seemingly incongruous setting of a farmyard in rural County Wicklow.

It should not have been a surprise. Had I been paying attention to the entire book in 1973, rather than just skimming through the sections that related to Francis Sheehy Skeffington, I would have known that Chapter 17, 'Country Life in Wicklow', was devoted to Byrne's time in Carrigmore around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was the very place in which we were standing with Mick Fogarty in the summer of 1993.

John Francis Byrne, known as J.F., or Jeff, to his friends was born on 11 February 1880 at 25 East Essex Street, Dublin. He was two years older than Joyce, and two years younger than Skeffington. His father, Matthew Byrne, had farmed on three leased properties in East Wicklow in the mid-nineteenth century. When his main holding was devastated by fire around the year 1875, Matthew Byrne sold up and moved to Dublin, hoping to follow his brother into the dairy and general provisions business. Matthew Byrne died in December 1883, when his youngest son, John Francis, was less

than 4 years old. Matthew's wife, Bridget died less than ten years later. Following her death, Jeff was cared for by his two cousins, Mary and Cicely Fleming, who became like older sisters to him.⁵

Byrne's father was one of many Wicklow natives who moved from Wicklow to Dublin during the 19th century. It was practically impossible for a smallholding in Wicklow to sustain an extended family over several generations, and so the younger members of these families sought employment in the towns, and especially in Dublin City and its suburbs. By 1841, one in every seven people born in Co. Wicklow had moved to Dublin, By 1851 this had risen further, and one fifth of all Wicklow-born people were living in Dublin. Migration from Wicklow to Dublin far exceeded inter-county migration between any other two counties in Ireland. In 1891 there were 19,609 Wicklow-born people living in Dublin. This was higher than the number of residents of Dublin who had been born in the entire provinces of Munster or Ulster.⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, a sizeable proportion of Dublin's population had been born in Wicklow, and an even greater proportion of Dublin's population comprised second-generation Wicklow people. Many of the publicans and shopkeepers in Joyce's Dublin were first or second-generation Wicklow people.

Unlike other migrants, those who left Wicklow for Dublin could maintain close contact with their place of origin, and with their families in Wicklow. It became the custom for displaced Wicklow families in Dublin to send their children back to the family farm during the summer months in order to escape the smog and cramped conditions of

Dublin. John Francis Byrne was one of the many second-generation Wicklow people who had fond memories of these times. From about the age of six, he spent every summer with his distant relatives, the Fogartys of Carrigmore, effectively becoming another member of the family, and helping out in all the work of the farm.

The Fogarty's farm at Carrigmore comprised about nineteen acres of mostly poor-quality land. The farm was part of the Acton Estate. The Fogartys were among the few Roman Catholic tenants of the Actons. The brothers, Michael and Mathew Fogarty worked the farm, Michael raising his own family there, and Matthew remaining unmarried. Both were still living on the farm when J. F. Byrne began to spend his summers with them in the 1880s. Michael Fogarty, who was in his 50s when Byrne began to stay with the family, was widowed in 1884. He was known to all as 'the Gaffer'. During his time there, J. F. Byrne forged a close friendship with the youngest son, Bill Fogarty, who was eight years his senior.⁷ Bill eventually took over the farm, on his marriage to Elizabeth Waldron of Ballycapple. Mick Fogarty, who guided us around the area in 1993 and 1994, was the son of this marriage.

One thing Byrne did not include in his account of Carrigmore was any suggestion that Joyce had ever spent time there. However, *Silent Years* is a strange book in many respects. It was the work of an eccentric man, and was as notable for what was left out as for what was included. There may have been some reason why Byrne did not wish to

mention a visit, or several visits, by Joyce to Carrigmore. In the same memoir he also neglected to mention his own marriage to his childhood sweetheart, Mary Alice Headen, in 1916.

Mick Fogarty's categorical assertion that Joyce had spent time in Carrigmore seemed to me to be worthy of investigation. Mick's information was usually reliable, and would usually be borne out by documentary evidence, even if the events he recounted had occurred several generations in the past. If Joyce had spent time in Carrigmore, it might be assumed that some of his experiences would have found their way into his writings. Joyce's writings are full of references to the places and people he encountered in his youth, and there are many references to places in County Wicklow.

Most of the references to Wicklow in *Ulysses* concern places remembered by the central characters. In *Finnegans Wake*, they largely comprise word-plays on Wicklow place names and rivers. In her book, *The Real People of Joyce's Ulysses*, Vivien Igoe lists twenty-seven people with Wicklow connections who feature in the book.⁸ Wicklow was Dublin's playground, and places like Pollaphuca, The Glen of the Downs, and Glendalough, feature in the memories of Joyce's characters. However, there is no obvious evidence that Joyce was familiar with the area around Carrigmore. The only references to places in the vicinity of Carrigmore occur in *Finnegans Wake*, where Joyce mentions the Potters' River flowing into the sea at Jack's Hole, and this is in the context

of name-checking several hundred rivers in many parts of the world. This occurs in the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' section of the *Wake*

'Down to what made the potters fly into jagsthole.' (FW 201, 22-23)

The same section also seems to reference Brittas Bay:

'Only for my short Brittas bed made's as snug as it smells ...' (FW 201, 17)

There also seems to be evidence in *Stephen Hero*, that Byrne refused to reveal to Joyce the precise location of his summer residence in rural Wicklow. An incident occurs towards the end of Stephen's first year in university when the Byrne character, Cranly, is about to depart for Wicklow.

Stephen says

'I might want to write to you. What is your address?'

Cranly pretends not to hear the question. Stephen asks again

'What is your address in the country?'

‘My address? ... O...You see...it’s really impossible, d’ye know, to say what my address would be’ (*Stephen Hero*, Revised edition, London (Four Square Books), 1956, p. 224)

There are many possible reasons why Byrne might not have wanted Joyce to have contacted him at Carrigmore in the 1890s. Byrne projected very different images of himself to his intellectual companions in Dublin and to his relatives in rural Wicklow. Among his friends in the city, Byrne played the cosmopolitan and the sceptic. Out in the countryside, however, he conformed to a different image, and attended church with the Fogartys every Sunday, and probably said the Rosary with them every evening. Joyce was quite the opposite.

In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, it is the Byrne character, Cranly, who urges Stephen to comply with his mother’s wishes for him to observe his Easter duty:

Do as she wishes you to do. What is it for you? You disbelieve in it. It is a form: nothing else. And you will set her mind at rest... Whatever else is unsure in this stinking dunghill of a world, a mother’s love is not.

(*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, (Penguin Edition), 1967, p. 241)

It is probably safe to assume that Byrne would have been apprehensive about Joyce coming in contact with his Wicklow relatives in Carrigmore. That said, in August 1904,

just before he eloped to the continent with Nora Barnacle, Joyce wrote to Byrne at Carrigmore pleading for a loan. The letter was written in the kind of ‘bog-Latin’ that both of them used to communicate with each other, and Byrne replied in the same idiom, stating that he had no money and that it was impossible:

‘...to snatch from him who lives naked in the country what he doesn’t have on his shanks.’⁹

When Joyce returned to Dublin from Trieste in August 1909, he sent a message to Byrne, who was then at Carrigmore. In response to it, Byrne hurried back to Dublin to meet Joyce for what proved to be a momentous encounter.¹⁰

Byrne and Joyce had known each other since their time together in secondary school. Byrne entered Belvedere College, aged 12, in 1892. Joyce, who was two years younger, was admitted to Belvedere the following year. Despite their age difference, they seem to have been classmates. Both of them later attended University College Dublin. Byrne matriculated in 1895, but although he was recognised as one of the brightest students in UCD, his passage through college was slow, as he combined teaching and tutoring with his studies. It took him six years to earn his degree.¹¹

Joyce regarded Byrne with considerable respect during his College years, and confided in him a great deal. Byrne’s character, Cranly, in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, was, by and large, sympathetically drawn. As to the name “Cranly”,

Byrne believed that it referred to the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Cranly, who came to Dublin in 1398 and who died in 1417. He was a member of the Carmelite Order and was known as the White Bishop. Byrne was an accomplished chess player and he assumed that there were associations with bishops as chess pieces.¹² Joyce's brother, Stanislaus had a far more prosaic explanation and claimed that Joyce had simply used the name Cranly because he believed it was a Wicklow name. It had been the name of one of the family's nursemaids in Bray.¹³ Several families of Cranlys are recorded in the 1901 Census returns for Bray.

Cranley is portrayed in *A Portrait* as intelligent, dependable and straight-laced. Although not religious, he plays a role in relation to Stephen approximating to a guardian angel, in contrast to the character Lynch, based on Vincent Cosgrave, who approximates more to a Mephistopheles. Stanislaus detested Cosgrave. However, he also disliked Byrne. He was, perhaps, jealous of the intimacy that had developed between Byrne and his brother. When Byrne was on the scene, he tended to take over Stannie's role as Joyce's confidante and, being five years older than Stannie, Byrne had greater influence over Joyce.¹⁴

Among the earliest and most salubrious of the Joyce family residences was their only Wicklow residence, 1 Martello Terrace, Bray.

Joyce's time as a child in Bray seems to have been idyllic. He lived there from the age of five until the age of nine, between 1887 and 1891. Joyce became familiar with the walks around Bray Head and along the Esplanade, and with all the coves and swimming places. The family had picnics at Wicklow's most scenic spots, including the Dargle Valley, Powerscourt Waterfall, and the Glen of the Downs. Joyce's father was an enthusiastic oarsman and was part of a team that came first in the Bray Regatta. He sailed in the bay regularly. The family entered enthusiastically into the social life of the town. Joyce and his parents sang in concerts and recitals, and even featured in the *Wicklow Newsletter* on one occasion, all three having performed at a charity event in Breslins' Marine Hotel on the seafront, not far from Martello Terrace.¹⁵ *Ulysses* records a meeting between Leopold Bloom and Stephen, in Breslins' Hotel when Stephen was still a child.¹⁶

Every Sunday morning, Joyce's father would amble over to the Railway Station in Bray to see who might arrive on the train from Dublin. He would then spend the day with them, later taking them back to the house in Martello Terrace for an evening of convivial entertainment.

It was in this house in Bray that Joyce set the Christmas dinner scene in *A Portrait*. In the course of this, John Casey (based on an old friend of Joyce's father, a former Fenian named John Kelly) recounts an incident in Arklow when he was berated by a woman who used an obscenity in relation to Parnell's beloved, Katharine O'Shea, in response to which Casey spat tobacco juice into her eye.¹⁷

The choice of Arklow as the location for the spitting incident was very appropriate. Arklow, in the 1890s, was one of the most polarised communities in Ireland, religiously and politically. This derived from the well-intentioned, but utterly misguided, decision of the Rector of Arklow, the Reverend Richard Carmichael Hallows, and his curate, John Harrison, to go out into the streets to preach the Gospel every Sunday, beginning at Easter 1890. These evangelising activities were resented by the Roman Catholic clergy of the town, and provoked demonstrations by many of the Catholic inhabitants against what they and their priests regarded as proselytising activities. Throughout the early 1890s, police and military reinforcements were drafted into Arklow every Sunday to prevent violent disturbances.¹⁸ The polarised nature of Arklow's religious communities meant that when the split occurred in the Irish Parliamentary Party it was particularly bitter there, and votes from Arklow played a crucial part in defeating the sitting Parnellite MP for East Wicklow, William Corbett, in 1892.

After Joyce left Ireland for Paris in December 1902 and during his first brief stay in Paris, he purchased, second-hand, a winter coat and a broad-brimmed dark hat, and had himself photographed looking like a poet, or an anarchist. According to the custom of the time, the photo was printed as a post-card, and Joyce sent one of these to Byrne in Dublin. Byrne was flattered to receive the card and showed it to Cosgrave, claiming "nobody in

Dublin knows Joyce better than I do". Cosgrave produced an identical card, on the back of which Joyce had written ribald comments about the Parisian bordellos. Cosgrave, showing his card to Byrne, said "Do you know this?" Byrne, feeling that he had been betrayed by Joyce, was said to have handed his own post-card to Cosgrave in disgust, saying "You can have this, too. I don't want it."¹⁹ Cosgrave, it seems, passed the card to Stanislaus Joyce, who was happy to let his brother know about Byrne's reaction. During his subsequent visit home at Christmas 1902, Joyce kept out of Byrne's way, much to Stannie's delight.

When Joyce eventually left Ireland for good in 1904, he had repaired his friendship with Byrne, but only somewhat. Byrne was one of the few of Joyce's contemporaries who had supported his plan to elope with Nora, and was later always very much on Nora's side

Joyce was only 22 when he left for the continent with Nora in 1904. His creative writings during his remaining 37 years were based almost entirely on his experience of Ireland during his first 22 years. Had these years included time with the Fogartys in Carrigmore, however brief, there would surely have been some echo of this in his writings. Back in Ireland, in the years when Joyce was on the continent and struggling to feed his family, Byrne and Sheehy Skeffington were also struggling to make a living in Ireland. Sheehy Skeffington had resigned as Registrar of UCD after he was told that he could not campaign against the college's policy on women's issues.

Byrne tutored for a time while still in College, and, like Joyce, enrolled for a medical degree, but soon dropped out. He mostly made a living at this time by teaching, all the time applying for more permanent jobs. In August 1908 he applied to become an inspector of National Schools (a post his future father-in-law had occupied), and a year later, in August 1909, he was applying for the post as librarian in UCD.²⁰ Neither application was successful. By 1909, it was clear that his career was not taking off in the way he had hoped. When Joyce visited Dublin in 1909, Byrne told him that he was thinking of going to the United States. Joyce's renewed contact with Byrne included the traumatic encounter detailed below which seemed to have restored their friendship. Byrne left Dublin for Holyhead on St. George's Day, 23 April 1910, en route to Liverpool to board the transatlantic liner *Baltic*. He arrived in New York 13 days later. He subsequently had some modest success in New York as a journalist, a columnist, and as an editor on publications which included the *Daily News Record*, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*.²¹

It is clear from their correspondence that Byrne and Francis Sheehy Skeffington had become very close in the years before Byrne left for the United States, and that Sheehy Skeffington was somewhat bereft at Byrne's departure. During the years that followed, from 1910 to 1916, when the two corresponded regularly, there seems to have been no contact between either of them and James Joyce.²²

Byrne came home in March 1916 in order to marry his childhood sweetheart, Mary Alice Headen, (they married in Portarlington), and he found himself plunged into the events that led to the Easter Rising. Sheehy Skeffington, who had developed a close friendship with James Connolly, brought Byrne behind the scenes in Liberty Hall, past an armed guard of the Citizen Army. There he introduced him to three men who were to become signatories of the Proclamation, Connolly, Plunkett and MacDiarmada. Of the five people in the room on that occasion, four were to be shot in the coming weeks. The place was alive with rumours of an imminent Government move against the Volunteers and others. A document was circulating which purported to come from Dublin Castle, listing the names of people who were to be targeted for arrest and internment. Byrne, who was not known to the authorities, was entrusted with smuggling copies of the supposedly leaked document to London, for circulation among senior Irish politicians and other influential people. On his return from London, Byrne stayed for some months at Mary Alice's family home at La Bergerie, outside Portarlington, from where he reported on the Rising and its aftermath for the New York papers. He also publicised the murder of his friend, Francis Sheehy Skeffington.²³ Late in 1916, he returned to the United States with his new bride.

When Hanna Sheehy Skeffington and her young son, Owen, came to the United States on a lecture tour later in 1916, in the wake of her husband's murder, Byrne helped to organise meetings and to publicise the visit. He was listed second on the committee which organised a memorial meeting in Carnegie Hall on 6 January 1917 which was addressed by Hanna.²⁴ When Hanna returned again in 1922, Byrne had a falling out with

her. He had organised an appeal by Irish-Americans to avert Civil War in Ireland. Hanna had indicated that she would put her name to it. However, Byrne attached a preamble to the appeal in which he came out strongly in support of the Treaty. Hanna had become a staunch Republican following her husband's murder, and was adamantly opposed to the Treaty. She disassociated herself from the appeal. It seems that this was Byrne's last contact with Hanna.²⁵

Byrne had applied for, and had been granted, US citizenship in 1918. Always fascinated with encryption, he had invented a machine which he called 'The Chaocipher', designed to encrypt and decrypt documents and messages. He believed this to be an invention of major importance, ranking alongside the world's great scientific discoveries. He attempted to sell his system to the US Government and Military. While the agencies he approached expressed interest, and allowed him to demonstrate his system, they were ultimately unconvinced by it. Cryptology and cryptanalysis were highly secretive sciences, but were crucial in determining the outcomes of both World Wars, something that was not generally known at the time, nor for many years after. Government agencies were wary of co-operating with anyone outside the military-intelligence community. The agencies were already far more advanced than Byrne could have imagined, both in encryption and decryption techniques. The Chaocipher became Byrne's life obsession. His obsession with the Chaocipher may have contributed to unsettling his equilibrium somewhat. His writings, even in the economic sphere, began to take on a somewhat messianic aspect.

Byrne twice stayed with the Joyces in Paris. The first occasion was in November 1927. He and his wife and daughter were spending time at La Bergerie, outside Portarlinton, Mary Alice's family home. He contacted Joyce to let him know that he was back in Europe. Joyce seems to have been excited at the prospect of meeting up with him in Paris. Despite his protestations to the contrary, Joyce was always glad to welcome former Dublin acquaintances to Paris. The Joyces were then living in some splendour in Square Robiac, not far from the Eiffel Tower. Joyce and Byrne had not met since 1909, when Joyce had come to Byrne in a distraught state having been told by Vincent Cosgrave that Nora had been intimate with him while Joyce was simultaneously courting her in 1904. At that time, in 1909, Byrne had persuaded Joyce that the story had been concocted by Cosgrave and Gogarty in an effort to destroy his relationship with Nora, and that it was false. In later life, after he had been wounded by some of Joyce's reported comments about himself, Byrne revised this opinion, but maintained that Joyce, given his own nocturnal adventures, had no moral right to demand of Nora that she should have reserved her attentions exclusively for him. However, he believed that once Nora had made her choice between competing suitors, she had devoted herself exclusively to Joyce²⁶

When Byrne arrived in Paris in 1927, both Joyce and Nora met him at the Railway station and, in the days that followed, escorted him around Paris in lavish style, taking him to the best restaurants, and bringing him to the opera. Unknown to Byrne, Joyce wrote to his benefactress, Harriet Shaw Weaver, while Byrne was still his guest, describing him in

disparaging terms, When Byrne learned of this, many years after Joyce's death, he was dismayed.²⁷

Joyce and Nora persuaded Byrne to stay with them for a few days more than he had intended.²⁸ The visit seemed to have been a great success. Byrne left Paris weighed down with gifts, including signed copies of Joyce's books, and abstracts of his *Work in Progress*, the embryonic *Finnegans Wake*, and a gramophone recording, for Joyce's father in Ireland, of Joyce reading from the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' episode of the *Wake*. Despite his antipathy to Byrne, Stannie told Richard Ellmann when Byrnes visited Joyce in Paris in 1927 'I found my brother still obviously delighted to have met him again. He told me that people kept asking him who was the distinguished-looking white-haired gentleman who was with him at the opera, and other stories of Byrne's social success.²⁹ It was only many years afterwards that Byrne was devastated to learn that Joyce had given a completely different account of the visit to others.³⁰

At the time, both Byrne and Joyce seem to have been so enthused by the renewal of their friendship that Byrne indicated he would consider leaving New York and moving to work in Paris. Joyce seems to have made enquiries about an opening there for him as a journalist. However, nothing came of this.³¹



Photo: J.F. Byrne at La Bergerie, Portarlinton. C.P. Curran papers, IVRLA. UCD. The notation on the back of this photograph suggests that it was taken at “La Bergerie” in 1917. In fact, it is much more likely to have been taken during Byrne’s stay there in 1927.

Byrne stayed with the Joyces in Paris again for a week in 1933. Although Joyce and Nora made Byrne as welcome as before, meeting him at the railway terminus and leaving him back there, there was a somewhat downbeat aspect to the visit. The health of Joyce’s daughter, Lucia, had deteriorated seriously, as had Joyce’s eyesight.³²

This was the last occasion on which Byrne met the Joyces. Writing in April 1940 to Mary Colum in New York, when he had less than a year to live, Joyce asked after Byrne’s health and said that he didn’t think he had been very well when he had last seen him in 1933³³. Having been informed by Mary Colum that Byrne was writing his memoir, Joyce made the cruel comment

‘It was news to me to hear that Byrne had written a book. I should have been surprised to hear that he had read one.’ (*Letters I*, p.411)

Years later, when this letter was published, and Byrne became aware of it, he was very hurt, but also puzzled as to why Joyce had asked Mary Colum, about his health rather than asking him directly. It may have been that it was Byrne’s mental health, rather than his physical health, that worried Joyce. There are indications that Byrne had been under considerable stress, and that his prolonged stay in the Headen family home at La Bergerie was by way of recuperation.

After his trip to Paris in June 1933, when Byrne was making his way back to Ireland, he was contacted at his London Hotel near Euston Station with a message to say that that Joyce had sent two registered parcels to Portarlinton. One of the parcels contained Byrne's slippers, and the other contained several books, including Byrne's French phrase book and copies of journals containing published sections of Joyce's *Work in Progress*, which was to become *Finnegans Wake*.³⁴ It may point to a distracted state of mind that Byrne should have left his personal possessions behind him. Joyce seems to have felt it incumbent upon himself to act immediately to put Byrne's mind at rest while he was still on his way back to Ireland. There are other strange circumstances surrounding Byrne's visit to Joyce in 1933.

Byrne was one of the very few among Joyce's friends who responded positively to the *Work in Progress*. Although he seemed to blow cold on it in *Silent Years*, Byrne's comments are so typically coy and enigmatic that it is difficult to know what was his real attitude to *Finnegans Wake*. During Byrne's visits, Joyce derived great pleasure in hearing him read aloud from his *Work in Progress* for hours at a time. During their years at college, Byrne regularly communicated with Joyce using a polyglot language constructed from Latin, Irish, and various others languages, and this may have left him more open than most to Joyce's experimental prose. It is interesting that one of the few others who empathised with Joyce's *Work in Progress* was Lucia. During his visit in 1933, Byrne suggested that Lucia might spend time with him and his family in La

Bergerie. Joyce seems to have reacted with some horror at this proposal, perhaps because he detected in Byrne emotional problems similar to Lucia's.³⁵

The Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas in Austin houses one of the many collections of James Joyce papers in American Universities. Included with the Joyce papers are the papers of John Francis Byrne. The papers add depth to the picture of Byrne's relationship with Joyce and to his own rather melancholic last years. They mostly comprise correspondence with Francis Sheehy Skeffington covering the years 1910 to 1916, correspondence between Byrne, his partner, and his publishers in the 1950s, concerning the publication of *Silent Years*, and correspondence with Richard Ellmann, concerning Ellmann's biography of Joyce, which was then in progress.³⁶

Byrne had begun a relationship with Gertrude Rodman with whom he had a son, John. His wife, Mary Alice Headen, had moved to California, where their daughter, Phila lived with her husband and family. Mary Alice, being a devout Catholic would not divorce Byrne, nor acquiesce in a divorce. She raised John as her son.³⁷ Thereafter, Byrne seems to have divided his time between Gertrude in New York and Mary Alice in California, never divulging to his friends in Ireland that he had developed a new relationship. Byrne and Gertrude were convinced that the publication of *Silent Years* in 1953 would make their fortune. Its main purpose was to focus attention on Byrne's invention, the Chaocipher, which until then had been kept secret. He set a challenge in

the book to anyone who could break his Chaocipher code. In the final chapter, he reproduced several passages of encoded text and undertook to pay \$5,000 from the royalties to anyone who could decode them within three months of publication. If the royalties didn't amount to \$5,000 at that stage, he would pay whatever they did amount to. Sadly the royalties never amounted to anything approaching this.

For the rest, the book was an eccentric mixture of twenty-one chapters dealing with Byrne's childhood in Dublin, his time in Wicklow, his experience of the Easter Rising, his contacts with Joyce and Skeffington, a strange piece of science fiction predicting the development of the hydrogen bomb, written in a pseudo-autobiographical style, and a treatise on war debt and the gold standard. His chapters on Joyce and Skeffington, and on his 1916 experiences, should have been the core of the book, but Byrne's approach to Joyce's autobiographical writings tended to be rather pedantic. He wanted to put the record straight at every point where he, or his character, Cranly, was concerned, and to give his side of every story, no matter how trivial. Much of the time he missed the point that Joyce was writing fiction. This departure from absolute fact infuriated Byrne.

Byrne was also quite incapable of the type of self-mockery that Joyce applied to his own younger self. *Silent Years* is replete with accounts of Byrne's considerable talents and accomplishments, but their recital becomes tedious. In reviewing the book for the *New York Times* in 1953, Frank O'Connor, ended with the damning statement that there was too little about Joyce in the book "and too much about Mr. Byrne".³⁸ William

F. Friedman who had rejected the Chaocipher in 1923 on behalf of the US military authorities, replied to a letter sent to him by Byrne in 1957 and said “I never did figure out why you put in that book the completely extraneous matter of ciphers when you had so much of interest to tell about Joyce”. Byrne responded furiously to this.³⁹ Mercifully, Byrne seems to have been unaware of comments Friedman had made at a meeting of Joyce enthusiasts in Washington DC a year after the publication of *Silent Years*, when he disparaged the book and made fun of it, this in the presence of the Irish Ambassador to the United States. It seems that in presenting his Chaocipher to the military, Byrne had adopted a condescending attitude which offended those present.⁴⁰

Despite its limitations, *Silent Years* still represents a fascinating account of Byrne’s life and times. It can be a frustrating read because of what is left out. As mentioned earlier, Byrne managed to avoid mentioning his marriage to Mary Alice Headen, even though this was what brought him back to Ireland in 1916. He refers to their youthful courtship, but uses the fictitious name “Norah Hogan ” in place of Mary Alice’s real name, and then she just vanishes from the narrative. Neither does he mention his partner, Gertrude Rodman, who later became his second wife, but this second relationship may be the reason he did not refer to his first marriage. News of the breakdown of his first marriage had not been revealed to friends in Ireland. *Silent Years* contained some other strange anomalies. Although Byrne was one of Francis Sheehy Skeffington’s closest friends, he twice referred to him in his memoir as “Joe” Skeffington. It may be indicative of a weakening of his memory as he entered old age.

Byrne and Alice had a daughter, Mary Philomena (Phila), who was born in 1917. The family was still together in the 1930s when they stayed in Ireland. J.F. Byrne spent the bulk of his time in New York with his partner, Gertrude. They seem to have married in 1958.⁴¹ For people back in Ireland, Byrne and Alice kept up the pretence that they were still man and wife.⁴²

By the time *Silent Years* was published in 1953, Byrne was 73 and was in poor health. The book was a complete disaster. 2500 copies had been printed, but less than half of these had sold in the first year.⁴³ There were still more than a thousand copies in the warehouse the following year. Far from being the best-seller that Byrne imagined would make his and Gertrude's fortune, the book was costing them money. The publishers charged him legal fees, but later halved them on appeal. The royalties, when they eventually started to come in, were derisory. The book had received little or no circulation in Ireland, where the exchange rate made the sale price prohibitive for most readers. Byrne received some mail from old friends in Ireland who had read the book. They were mostly polite about it, saying that they enjoyed his memories of Dublin and Wicklow, but did not really understand much of the rest. Byrne was in and out of hospital at this time suffering from an inoperable brain tumour. Gertrude wrote to his publishers:

- My husband has suffered so much from the disastrous fate of his book and is so ill that it has been almost impossible for him and me to talk about the subject.-⁴⁴

At the end of 1953, Byrne received a letter from Richard Ellmann, a 35-year-old professor of English at Northwestern University in Illinois. He was writing what was to become the definitive biography of Joyce. He congratulated Byrne on *Silent Years*. Byrne had been scathing in his book about the early generation of Joyce scholars, especially Herbert Gorman and Stuart Gilbert, and Ellmann asked him if he would help him to avoid the errors of Gorman and Gilbert.⁴⁵ Byrne and Ellmann began a correspondence which is preserved in the Ransom Institute in the University of Texas. Ellmann, having read *Silent Years*, was coaxing Byrne to be more forthcoming about Joyce than he had been in his book. Byrne, although flattered by Ellmann's attentions, admitted that he was fed up answering questions about Joyce, declaring "I do not feel I shall ever want to say more about James Joyce".⁴⁶ He was deeply frustrated that his own book had attracted interest mainly because of its references to Joyce, rather than to his Chaocipher. Nevertheless, he answered Ellmann's questions and went a little beyond what he had revealed in his book. He gave full details of Joyce's visit to him in Eccles Street in 1909 when Joyce had been led to doubt Nora's faithfulness. Ellmann helped to win Byrne's trust by writing a favourable review of *Silent Years* for the *Saturday Review*, and encouraged his acquaintances to review the book.

Ellmann put many questions to Byrne, based on information that he had been given by Joyce's brother, Stannie. Byrne was somewhat puzzled at how Stannie professed to know so much about him. He told Ellmann that he didn't actually know Stannie, and did not recall ever speaking with him. He reminded Ellmann that when Joyce waited for him

to finish his chess game with John Howard Parnell in 1898, he himself was 18, Joyce was 16, and Stannie was only 13.⁴⁷

At the end of 1957, Ellmann sent Byrne a copy of Stuart Gilbert's *Collected Letters of James Joyce*, which had just been published, 16 years after Joyce's death. It included a chronology of Joyce's life, compiled by Ellmann himself. The published letters contained some nasty shocks for Byrne, in the form of some gratuitously unkind comments about him that Joyce had written. They included a withering account sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver about Byrne's visit to Paris in 1927.⁴⁸

After Stannie's death, Ellmann edited his memoir for publication in order to help raise funds for his widow, Nelly Joyce, who had been left in difficult financial circumstances. He sent a copy of the published memoir to Byrne, and again Byrne was dismayed by many of the things written about him in the book. He responded angrily to Ellmann.

- I think that James Joyce and his literary output will not be subjects of interest to any more than a very few persons in less than half a century from now. Indeed I believe you will realise the truth of this remark of mine before you are a very much older man.⁴⁹

He told Ellmann that his own attitude to Joyce had been influenced adversely by the two books that Ellmann had sent him. He said that Stannie's book seemed to be the output of a bitter, frustrated, confused and inaccurate man.

- It makes me wonder whether Stan Joyce was fully in a compos mentis when he wrote the book. -

Byrne did not realise the extent to which Ellmann had been relying on Stannie's goodwill. Stanislaus Joyce was sitting on the largest archive of Joyce papers in the world which he had been accumulating since childhood. No-one had been given access to it, or even knew of its existence. Then Stannie gave Ellmann unrestricted access to these papers. This allowed Ellmann to compile his outstanding biography of Joyce. As well as editing Stannie's book, Ellmann also negotiated a deal whereby Stannie's archive was deposited in Cornell University, with a view to providing a fund for Stannie's widow and family.⁵⁰

For Byrne, a further blow was to come when Ellmann's biography of Joyce was published in 1959. Byrne discovered that Ellmann had largely accepted Stannie's version of disputed events and had largely disregarded his own version. He wrote an excoriating critique of Ellmann's biography which is included among his papers in the Ransom Institute.⁵¹ It is not clear if this review was ever published.

J.F. Byrne died in February 1960. He was a disappointed and disillusioned man. Seven years after his death, David Kahn, an American journalist, published a celebrated account of cryptology, entitled *The Codebreakers: the Story of Secret Writing*. The book received huge international attention, mainly because of the efforts that had been made by the US and UK intelligence services to prevent some of its content coming to light. The extent to which the breaking of the German Codes in the First and Second World Wars, and of the Japanese PURPLE code, had dictated the course of these wars was not generally known and was still a closely-guarded state secret in the UK and the US. Kahn included sympathetic mention of Byrne's Chaocipher in his book and also mentioned the challenge that Byrne had set in his memoir.⁵² Byrne soon became something of a cult figure among a new generation of cryptologists, many of whom now set about trying to unravel the secrets of his Chaocipher.

Anyone researching Byrne today will find a huge amount of information about him online. This largely concerns his reputation as a chess player and his cryptographic invention, the Chaocipher. There is a large online community of chess players, and many websites supporting them. There is something of an affinity between chess enthusiasts and cryptologists, and Byrne features prominently on the websites of both.⁵³

In a digital age, when the need to preserve internet security is such a concern, cryptography has suddenly assumed a new importance. There are now many websites devoted to cryptography. Within this community, and 40 years after his death, Byrne and

his Chaocipher finally achieved the respect that he had dreamed about. The challenge he had set in *Silent Years*, of breaking his code, had fired the imaginations of a whole new generation of cryptologists. Still, no-one could decipher the encrypted passages in *Silent Years*. Then, a software engineer, Moshe Rubin, based in Israel, who became aware of Byrne and his Chaocipher through his reading of David Kahn's book *The Codebreakers*, decided to try to track down any surviving members of Byrne's family who might be able to shed light on the Chaocipher.⁵⁴

In 1990 two cryptanalysts had written an article in the journal *Cryptologia*, revealing that they had met with Byrne's son and had been shown the surviving materials from Byrne's work on the Chaocipher. They had been sworn to secrecy and revealed no details about their contact.⁵⁵

In 2008, Moshe Rubin embarked on a twin approach. He set up a website called *The Chaocipher Clearing House* in an attempt to co-ordinate research on the Chaocipher, and to eliminate duplication. He also embarked on a desperate race against time to contact surviving relatives of Byrne, especially his son, John, lest they pass on, taking their secrets with them. He knew that Byrne's son lived somewhere in the state of Vermont, and so he began cold calling all the Byrnes in Vermont. Eventually he spoke to a woman named Patricia Byrne, who turned out to be the widow of John Byrne, J.F. Byrne's son. Tragically, John had died in the previous year, but his widow had preserved all her husband's and her father-in-law's materials. She was happy to speak with Rubin. She still hoped that there might be some commercial potential for the Chaocipher, and

Rubin offered to help her explore this. However, she was soon persuaded that a better option would be to donate the entire Chaocipher collection to a reputable research institute and allow scholars to assess the merits of her father-in-law's invention. The materials were deposited in the National Cryptologic Museum in Fort Meade, Maryland.

Moshe Rubin used the materials deposited in Maryland to begin to work on Byrne's challenge. The first fruits of his research were published in the prestigious journal *Cryptologia* in 2011. It is likely that Byrne's challenge will finally be met in the coming years, more than 65 years after it was set. Byrne would surely derive great consolation in knowing that his fame in today's world rests largely on his reputation as the inventor of the Chaocipher.

In his notes on the Headen family home, La Bergerie, John Stocks Powell, recounts an intriguing story that circulated around Portarlington. He attaches a caveat to it, but considered it worth relating:

- At the end of the 19th Century, La Bergerie came into the hands of the Headens, an educated Catholic family who aspired to gentility to which the necessary income often presented problems... A daughter was sent on a tour of Europe for her education but got as far as Lisbon where she met the captain of an American ship. Off she went, married him, and as an elderly widow with a Californian accent, she returned to Portarlington decades later and saw La Bergerie, the slates

off, trees growing in the hall, pieces carried off to others' houses and tears in the eyes as the dew on the grass spread over the once fine drive.⁵⁶

J. F. Byrne and Mary Alice Headen had a daughter, Mary Philomena, known as "Phila" Could the mysterious visitor to La Bergerie have been Phila? According to Joyce, Phila was working for the Irish consulate in Lisbon in the 1940s⁵⁷ and she later moved to California.

There remains the question of whether Joyce ever spent time in Carrigmore. The evidence, or lack of evidence, seems to suggest that he did not. As already stated, Joyce's ostentatious disbelief, and the embarrassment that this might have caused Byrne within his adoptive family at Carrigmore, probably ensured that Joyce would not be invited to stay there. Cranly's reluctance, in *Stephen Hero*, to reveal his address in Wicklow has the ring of authenticity about it. This was no longer the case in 1904 when Joyce wrote to him at Carrigmore requesting a loan, but by then Joyce was preparing to leave Ireland.

Mick Fogarty referred to Joyce playing chess and playing handball. According to Byrne's memoir, however, Joyce did not know one chess piece from the next.⁵⁸ As for handball, he had attempted to partner Byrne once or twice in UCD, but rather than play the ball, Joyce would try to whoosh it away with both hands, probably on account of his

poor eyesight.⁵⁹ The strongest argument against Joyce having spent time in Carrigmore is the absence of evidence for such a visit, either in Byrne's memoir or in Joyce's writings.

And yet... It has been stated that absence of evidence cannot not be taken as evidence of absence.⁶⁰ Joyce spent very little time in Ireland after 1904. If, by any chance, he visited Byrne at Carrigmore after 1904, one of the few opportunities for a visit would have been when he was in Dublin for several months in 1909, supervising the development of Dublin's first cinema, the Volta, While Joyce was supervising the development of the Volta, he made several trips outside Dublin to look at other possible venues for cinemas , including Belfast and Cork. I asked the Arklow Historian, Pat Power, if he had ever heard stories of Joyce spending time in South East Wicklow. He was inclined to give the stories some credence, and did not dismiss them. He himself had been told by a fellow Arklow resident, Alexander McGowan, that Joyce had once visited Arklow, and had stayed in the McGowan family home on Ferrybank in connexion with a cinematograph that was being run by McGowan's father on the South Quay, Joyce being known to have some expertise in that area.

Brian White, in his *Wicklow Database* has an entry for the opening of the Cosy Picture House Cinema on the South Quay in Arklow on 17 November 1913.⁶¹ This

would have been too late for Joyce to have been involved. His very last visit to Ireland was in 1912, and he spent most of his time then with Nora's family in Galway. Byrne had left Ireland for the United States at this stage. Although The Cosy Picture House may have been the first permanent cinema in Arklow, cinematographs were common long before this. Usually they were part of a funfair, like a house of mirrors. They were usually mobile installations housed in tents. Is it possible that while Joyce was setting up the Volta in 1909, he travelled to Arklow to help with, or to investigate, a piece of equipment in the McGowan theatre on the South Quay? Byrne was still in Ireland at this stage and was still spending time in Carrigmore. Might Joyce have stopped off to visit his friend in Carrigmore on his way to or from Arklow? This scenario seems to offer the only possibility of a visit. Joyce left Ireland soon afterwards, and returned to Trieste. Soon afterwards, Byrne departed for the United States. With both Joyce and Byrne abroad, had a hat been left behind in Carrigmore in 1909, it might well have survived there for want of a forwarding address.

In *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce used a play on words incorporating Arklow's Lighthouse and the German Electrical engineering firm, Siemens, who had installed the lighthouse lantern. It suggests some familiarity with Arklow, and perhaps with mechanical illumination:

- Arcglow's seafire siemens lure- (FW 245. 8)

i.e. the lighthouse at Arklow, like a sapphire seafire, built by the engineers Siemens, is a lure to seamen.⁶²

Joyce liked this so much that he used it again later in *Finnegans Wake*, referencing lighthouses around the South-East coast:

- Wykinloeflare, by Arklow's sapphire siomen's lure and Wexterford's hook and crook lights - (FW 549 18)

As to forensic evidence, there was the straw hat that Mick Fogarty was brandishing in 1993. This became a familiar object to the residents of South East Wicklow over the years, when Mick would display it proudly. On at least one occasion in the 1990s it was put on display in the RDA Hall in Rathdrum during the Cartoon Festival, and labelled as 'James Joyce's hat'. Were it still around, it could, perhaps, be DNA tested! Alas. It has not been seen for many years.

Michael Fogarty died in August 2005, and the house and farm at Carrimore were later sold. Michael's sisters, Lil and Hannah, died in 2012 and 2017, respectively. In later years the house had become quite dilapidated and it was demolished in late 2018 to be replaced by a new dwelling.

I am very grateful to several friends who have read this paper in draft form and who offered comments and suggestions. They include Charles Callan, Catriona Crowe, Fergus A.D'Arcy, Mick McCarthy, Willie Nolan, Irene Parsons, Pat Power, Moshe Rubin and Micheline Sheehy Skeffington.

¹ “Up in his hat” was a phrase that was used to indicate a person was very pleased with himself. I am not aware if there was a female equivalent. I heard it used regularly by my parents. It was also used by Dan Breen to describe Michael Collins’s reaction to the Soloheadbeg ambush which began the War of Independence, as broadcast on *Bowman Sunday 8.30*, on 24 November 2019 on RTE Radio One. (I am grateful to my former colleague, Catriona Crowe, for bringing this interview to my attention).

² Ken Hannigan, “*The Evolution of Skeffy*,”: *Francis Sheehy Skeffington (1878-1916)*, Minor Thesis, Department of History, UCD, August 1973.

³ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: New and Revised Edition*, Oxford, 1983, p. 62.

⁴ J. F. Byrne, *Silent Years: An Autobiography with Memoirs of James Joyce and Our Ireland*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953, p.138

⁵ Byrne, p. 4 and p.21

⁶ *Census of Ireland*, decennial published reports, 1851 – 1891.

⁷ Byrne believed that Bill was eleven years older than himself, but he was not always accurate on such details. Like many others, the Fogartys seem to have been unsure of their exact ages, and believed they were younger than they actually were. On their 1901 and 1911 Census returns the ages of all members of the family were understated by six or seven years! For a comment on this discrepancy see Declan Byrne, ‘Entries in a Family Diary’, *Wicklow Roots*, No. 3, Wicklow County Genealogical Society, Wicklow, 1998, pp. 2-6

⁸ Vivien Igoe, *The Real People of Joyce’s Ulysses: A Biographical Guide*. University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 2016.

⁹ Ellmann *James Joyce*, p.162 Ellmann used the phrase “naked in the highlands”, Perhaps the word “country” rather than “highlands” conveys more accurately Byrne’s intimation and location.

¹⁰ Ellmann, *Joyce* p.278.

¹¹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, Francis John, The National University of Ireland, certification of record for John F. Byrne, 1923.

¹² Byrne, *Silent Years*, pp.43-5.

¹³ Ellmann, p.753, note 24. Elaine Byrne ‘The “So called” Real Person Who Lived at No. 7 Eccles Street, in *Wicklow Roots*, No. 9, Wicklow County Genealogical Society, Wicklow, 2004, p.10.

¹⁴ Stanislaus gives very detailed but unflattering descriptions of Byrne’s appearance and manner in his memoir, which was published posthumously in 1958. Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother’s Keeper: James Joyce’s Early Years*, Da Capo Press, Cambridge MA, 1958

¹⁵ John Wyse Jackson and Peter Costello, *John Stanislaus Joyce, The Voluminous Life and Genius of James Joyce’s Father*, Fourth Estate, London, 1997, pp.139-152.

¹⁶ *U*, p. 795. In *Ulysses* this meeting is set in 1892, but the Joyce family had moved from Bray in 1891.

¹⁷ James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, (Penguin Edition), 1960, pp. 36-37

¹⁸ Patrick J. Power, *The Arklow Question: Sectarian Disturbances in the late 19th Century*, dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the College Diploma in Local History, National University of Ireland. St. Patricks College, Maynooth, 1995.

¹⁹ Stanislaus Joyce, pp.210-12.

²⁰ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence, 1909 – 1959, letter of reference, 27 August 1909, from J. Brennan, SJ, recommending Byrne for the post of Librarian at UCD and Letter from Denis J. Coffey, Medical School, St. Cecelia St., Dublin,, 30 April 1909, endorsing Byrne’s candidature for Junior Inspector under the National Board.

²¹ Byrne, *Silent Years*

²² University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence from Francis Sheehy Skeffington, 1910 -1915. The letters from Sheehy Skeffington include a charming one, dated 25 August 1910 in which he tells Byrne of his intention to attend a flying meeting at Leopardstown “when I hope to see a man fly for the first time”.

²³ Byrne, *Silent Years*

²⁴ I am grateful to Micheline Sheehy Skeffington for sending me a copy of the handbill advertising this memorial meeting.

²⁵ Leah Levenson and Jerry H. Natterstad, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington: Irish Feminist*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, NY, 1986 p.142. Byrne, *Silent Years*, pp.139-140

²⁶ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence 1917 -1959, letter to Richard Ellmann 29 January 1957, and typescript of Byrne's Cornell address, 14 April 1959. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp.279-281, Brenda Maddox, *Nora, a Biography of Nora Joyce*, Minerva, London, 1989, p.128

²⁷ *Letters I*, p. 261, letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, 9 November 1927. University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence, 1917-1959, letter to Richard Ellmann, 18 August 1958.

²⁸ Byrne, *Silent Years*, p.149

²⁹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence from Richard Ellmann, letter dated 22 October 1955.

³⁰ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence, 1917-1959, letter to Richard Ellmann, 18 August 1958. Byrne later commented to Ellmann "He [Joyce] could not help proving himself to be on occasion a Smart Alec and he could not bear in mind the loyalty and truthfulness that he owed to me...", University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence 1917-1959, letter to Richard Ellmann (unsent?), undated, (1958?)

³¹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence, A-L, 1909-1959, letter from A.L. Laney, *The New York Herald, European Edition*, 30 March 1929.

³² Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp. 663-4, Brenda Maddox, *Nora*, pp. 386-92

³³ *Letters I*, p.411

³⁴ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence, A-L, 1909-1959, letter from Paul Leon 22 June 1933.

³⁵ Gorgon Bowker, *James Joyce, A Biography*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2011 p. 451. Bowker suggests that Byrne had invited both Nora and Lucia to stay with his family in Ireland, and that Joyce was horrified at the thought of them both going to Ireland. In fact Joyce seems to have been quite happy for

Lucia to travel to Ireland in 1935. Byrne himself claimed that the Joyces believed Lucia was simply not well enough to travel in 1933, but that they thought such a visit might be possible at a later stage. When Lucia was staying in Bray two years later, she wrote to Byrne about the possibility of visiting him in Portarlington, but the Byrnes had already returned to the US at that stage. (Byrne Cornell lecture, 1959)

³⁶ A detailed list of these papers is available on the website of the Harry Ransom Center at www.hrc.utexas.edu

³⁷ Moshe Rubin, “John F. Byrne’s Chaocipher Revealed, an historical and technical appraisal” *Cryptologia*, Vol. 35, Issue 4, 2011. See also Moshe Rubin’s website The Chaocipher Clearing House, <http://www.mountainvistasoft.com/chaocipher>

³⁸ ‘Something of Himself and M. Joyce’, review of *Silent Years* by Frank O’Connor, *The New York Times*, 22 November 1953. There is a link to this review on the The Chaocipher Clearing House website, <http://www.mountainvistasoft.com/chaocipher>, in ‘Progress Report # 26’, 2019

³⁹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence, letter to William F. Friedman, 17 February 1957, incoming correspondence, A-L, 1909 – 1959, letter from William F. Friedman, 3 March 1957.

⁴⁰ The Chaocipher Clearing House website, <http://www.mountainvistasoft.com/chaocipher>, includes transcripts of Friedman’s 1954 lecture, and Rear Admiral Dundas Preble Tucker’s letter to David Kahn, 17 February 1968, in which he recalled what he termed Byrne’s “arrogant condescension” in demonstrating his Chaocipher.

⁴¹ Information supplied by Moshe Rubin on 31 December 2018.

⁴² Elaine Byrne in *Wicklow Roots*, No. 9, pp.18-19.

⁴³ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, Gertrude, correspondence, 1954-1955, letter, 7 April 1954, from Farrar, Straus and Young.

⁴⁴ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, Gertrude, correspondence, 1954-1955, letter dated 18 November 1954 to Farrar, Straus and Young.

⁴⁵ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, incoming correspondence from Richard Ellmann, 1953-1958, letter dated 30 November 1953.

⁴⁶ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence, 1917-1959, letter

to Richard Ellmann, 7 December 1953.

⁴⁷ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence, 1917-1959, letter to Richard Ellmann, 21 August 1954.

⁴⁸ *Letters I*, p. 261.

⁴⁹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, outgoing correspondence 1917-1959, letter to Richard Ellmann, 1 February 1958.

⁵⁰ The most comprehensive account of Stannie's collection and its sale to Cornell is contained in Brenda Maddox, *Nora: A Biography of Nora Joyce*, London, 1989, pp.510 – 524.

⁵¹ University of Texas, Joyce Collection, Byrne, John Francis, typescript review of *James Joyce*, by Richard Ellmann, 1959,.

⁵² David Kahn, *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (Revised Edition), Scribner, New York, 1996. This account is based on the Kindle edition of this book.

⁵³ See, for instance, www.chesshistory.com/winter/winter76.html

⁵⁴ Moshe Rubin, "John F. Byrne's Chaocipher Revealed, an historical and technical appraisal" *Cryptologia*, Vol. 35, Issue 4, 2011, pp. 328-371.

⁵⁵ Moshes Rubin, pp.338 -339

⁵⁶ Representative Church Body Library, Irish Huguenot Archive, IHA 49, Notes by J. S. Powell on La Bergerie.

⁵⁷ *Letters I*, p,417.

⁵⁸ Byrne, *Silent Years*, p.43

⁵⁹ Byrne, *Silent Years*, p.176

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Charles Callan of Wicklow for this very wise observation.

⁶¹ Brian White, *The County Wicklow Database, 432 AD to 2006 AD*, Nonsuch Publishing, Dublin 2006, p. 141.

⁶² Edward M. Burns with Joshua A. Gaylord (eds.), *A Tour of the Darkling Plain: The Finnegans Wake Letters of Thornton Wilder and Adaline Glasheen*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 2001.