

SUBMISSION
ON THE FUTURE OF THE
MOORE STREET QUARTER
TO
THE MINISTER OF HERITAGE'S
MOORE STREET
CONSULTATIVE GROUP

6th Feabhra 2017

Diarmuid Breatnach

A Dhaoine Uaisle, dear Sirs and Madams,

I trust that it will be acceptable for me to lay my own vision of the future of Moore Street -- its preservation and development -- before you. There have been at least two submissions which have been made to you in which I have had a hand but none of those reflected all my thinking to the extent that I wish to do here.

As an individual citizen of Ireland I feel that I am as entitled as any other to comment on this matter and to express my wishes; indeed, as a citizen of the World, I own I have that entitlement, for part of the Moore Street history is an important part of world history, with an impact demonstrably felt from Russia to the southern Basque Country, from Britain to Australia, from North to South America, from India to Vietnam.

I do not acknowledge the right, whether by birth, family, or position in society, of anyone to a greater say in this matter than have I or my fellow-citizens. I draw neither on the history of my great-grandfather who was part of the defence team of the Invincibles and later helped Parnell successfully sue the London Times for publishing the Piggott Forgeries, in which I take some pride, nor in my grandfather's support for Redmond and British military service in World War I, in which I take none.

If I do have some special claim and, believing as I do in participatory democracy, perhaps I do, it is that I been active sporadically in the campaign to save Moore Street since 2009 when I became aware of it and more intensively than any but a handful since September 2015, when I co-founded the Save Moore Street From Demolition campaign, which has contributed most significantly to the general, broader campaign since.

I have also long been interested in reading, investigating, debating and explaining history, have conducted history tours around parts of Dublin and have many years' experience as a community activist in another city.

My vision for the Moore Street quarter exists in the context of the historical importance of the quarter in terms of the 1916 Rising against the most powerful Empire the world has ever known, and its place also in the social and cultural history of Dublin as the last remaining street of a centuries-old street market quarter, a virtual bazaar or souk, the rest of which now lies buried under the ILAC, or Irish Life/Chartered Land/Hammerson, Dunnes Stores & Debenhams, with their satellites of other chains and businesses.

In any development plan, one should watch out not only for negative impact (for example, of a cultural or social nature, a frivolous suggestion to most speculators, I know). One should also look out for opportunities. "If we build this street here, what can we do *around* it to make the area better?" And also ask questions like "How will this look in twenty, fifty, a hundred years?" (a novel suggestion for most politicians).

My vision for the Moore Street quarter seeks to locate it within the physical context of its location in the north inner city centre, an area with huge living, cultural and leisure potential but which, by contrast with the south city centre, is currently mostly dead at night. I intend here to address all those aspects of the conservation and development of the Moore Street Quarter.

Faithfully,

Diarmuid Breatnach

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THE 1916 HISTORY AND MOORE STREET

Since this aspect of Moore Street has been most commented upon, understandably and rightly so, I do not feel it is necessary for me to do aught than to outline the bare bones of the historical case.

The Easter Rising began on Easter Monday April 24th -- it was a momentous occasion in Irish and in world history (*see* 1916 RISING – OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN IRISH AND INTERNATIONAL HISTORY *in this document*) and of unparalleled significance in making possible the present national and international status of Ireland (whether it or subsequent events resulted in true independence or lived up to the dreams and vision of the Rising's participants is another matter).

April 24th was not only the day the “Republic was asserted in arms” but also the day it was declared by written and spoken word, to Ireland and to the world. That was done through the Proclamation, signed earlier in the week at No.21 Henry Street and then read out by Patrick Pearse outside the GPO on behalf of the Irish Republic, copies being also distributed through the city.

Why read out at the GPO? Because the HQ of the Rising was there, the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. And on Friday 28th, when that building was no longer habitable due to shell-fire and flames, the Government and those remaining of the GPO garrison evacuated the building.

Leaving by a side door that no longer exists, the evacuees crossed a smoke-covered and bullet-lit Henry Street and entered Henry Place. There they made their way to the corner of Moore Lane and two men died on that journey. They entered houses seeking British soldiers, ready for hand-to-hand fighting and found none – the British soldiers were at distant remove and armed with machine-guns and rifles on the roof of the Rotunda and at a barricade on Parnell Street.

Building a temporary barricade for cover, the evacuees made their way across this gap – indeed a *bearna baoil* and continued on towards Moore Street. Here again the main body came to a halt, as another British barricade was firing down this street too.

Possibly one Volunteer died trying to cross here; certainly the majority instead decided to enter No.10 Moore Street (junction with Henry Place) and some houses in the northern terrace (that whole terrace and a part of No.10 were later destroyed by shelling and flames). Some volunteers also occupied the furthest house south but were forced by flames and heat to evacuate it later.

In No.10 Volunteer Nurse O'Farrell set up the field hospital, treating up to 20 wounded men, including a wounded British soldier picked up under British fire by George Plunkett from near a Volunteer barricade at the Moore St./ Salmons Lane junction and brought inside to be cared for.

Such details would make No.10 of great historical importance but it is trumped by another – this was also where the Provisional Government met on the evening of Friday 28th, the last night of the Rising. And it was here that the decision was taken to tunnel through the rest of the houses.

Through the rest of that night tunneling continued to the last house in the terrace, which is to say at the lane now named O'Rahilly Parade. And the Government relocated to nearer the centre of the terrace, almost certainly No.16. Those facts alone make the whole terrace of important historical significance.

Yet there is more. Just prior to the evacuation, The O'Rahilly led a detachment of volunteers (in both senses) in a charge along Moore Street at the barricade. Of those who remained in the street only one somehow appears not to have been wounded but his luck was about to run out: as he ran across the road to the laneway which now bears his name, The O'Rahilly was hit by five bullets and lay, dying, in the lane. Here he composed and wrote that prosaic and yet heart-rending letter of farewell to his wife and children, the script and content of which is reproduced in the monument currently on the wall in this lane-way, near the junction known for generations locally as “Dead

Man's Corner”.

In this lane-way the next day, Saturday 29th, there gathered another barricade suicide attack party mobilised by Seán McLoughlin, to provide at least a diversion for the rest of the Garrison to escape and proceed westward to continue the resistance. Included in this group was Oscar Traynor, subsequently serving at different times as Minister for Post & Telegraphs, Defence and Justice (also President of the Football Association of Ireland) (but also later instrumental in denying McLoughlin a pension at commanding officer level).

Impressed by McLoughlin's conduct earlier and during the evacuation, Connolly had appointed him to replace himself as head of the GPO Garrison now in Moore Street: yet another great historical importance of Moore Street – McLoughlin went on to become an IRA organiser in Limerick and also Commandant of a Flying Brigade in Limerick during the Civil War (by which time he had become a communist).

McLoughlin's group were pulled back from their attack almost at the last moment as Pearse was now contemplating surrender. A number of civilians, including women, had been shot dead by the British in Moore Street (the Volunteers had shot two civilians with an accidental discharge upon entering No.10, wounding a father and killing a teenage girl, – incredibly almost, the father pleaded the Volunteer be not punished and the mother cooked for the soldiers).

In pursuance of the decision to surrender, Elizabeth O'Farrell left the terrace (perhaps from No.14) under an improvised white flag of truce (despite a civilian man lying dead in the street under another such improvised flag), climbed over the British barricade and met with General Lowe, then returned to Moore Street and eventually emerged again with Pearse, whereupon the Surrender was formally agreed and Pearse's order and Connolly's co-signing was also decided.

All those events make the whole Moore Street quarter of huge national historical significance but there is yet one more – McLoughlin marched the garrison out under arms, in defiance of the orders of the British and they retraced their evacuation route, saluting the GPO as they passed it on their way up to the Gresham and captivity.

Apart from the civilians and Volunteers wounded and killed in that quarter, five of the Signatories of the Proclamation, including the Commander-in-Chief of the Rising and with his brother Willie, six of the fourteen executed in Dublin spent their last days of freedom in Moore Street.

During the Easter Rising Volunteers and their supporters or anxious relatives came and went to and from the GPO and other buildings in the area, some of them taking side streets to do so, many passing through the Moore Street quarter (including parts of it now buried under the ILAC). From the GPO to the Moore Street quarter is clearly the site of a historical urban (and WWI) battlefield, most of it intact.

Judge Barrett rightly pointed out that the issue is not how many of the houses are of pre-1916 construction (despite the State's defence team making much of this issue) but rather of the historical footprint. In other words, Max Barrett took an archaeological historical view rather than a historical architectural one.

Without being unmoved by architecture, I would concur with this viewpoint and emphasise it in stressing the historical importance of the street, laneways and buildings (including the eastern side of the southernmost terrace of Moore Street, included in the threat from the giant shopping mall plan). Nevertheless, it is a fact that some of the buildings in the street are of pre-1916 vintage and that virtually all contain some of the original building, or cellars or curtilage. On the northwest side, bullet marks may be found on houses including the remains of the wings of the 'grotesque' (on the roof of a fine “Dutch”-style house) which were shot off by British Army soldiers during the Rising.

THE HISTORIC STREET MARKET

Historically, the Moore Street quarter deserves preserving in its own right and should have been so. Instead, it has been both neglected and preyed upon. But so has the street market.

As the only traditional food street market of antiquity remaining in Dublin, considering also its iconic status to not only Dubliners but migrants through the centuries and to visitors from the countryside, the street market should also have been saved. Such features in cities abroad are promoted for tourists, and indeed both Fáilte Ireland and Tourism Ireland *do* promote the market to visitors to Dublin. One can see the bemusement of the faces on many as they wander through in groups and imagine their thoughts (or overhear their expression):

“*This is the famous street market? Are we sure we haven't taken a wrong turning?*”

It is easy to understand their confusion. Had they come a half-century ago, before the ILAC was built, they would have seen a bustling street, with stalls and shops both sides of the road along its length, and some businesses in side streets. Two decades ago, they would have found no difficulty in imagining the market's former glory, for much of it remained still. Even a decade ago, perhaps, enough remained to imagine it. But now? With shops closed and ugly hoardings squeezing the street? With big business shops pushing out in Moore Street? With independent shopkeepers offered only one-year leases at a time and pushed out willy-nilly? With only 15 street trading licences in operation and only some of those on the street at any one time?

The street market is not beyond saving and I will devote some space to that issue but first let us examine how it has come to this, for overcoming those causes is part of the solution.

In a Rogues' Gallery of those guilty for bringing about this state of affairs, first in line must stand the Planning Department of Dublin City Council, which has made the decisions about what could be built and what demolished.

I know not how much money was placed into how many brown envelopes nor the names of all those who received them (though I have a fair idea of the identities of some of the recipients), nor what other favours were dispensed. But what is clear is that there was massive favour given to big business and speculators, the legendary Gombeen Men, and massive disfavour to street traders, small independent businesses, workers and working class residents. This of course has happened in many other areas of Dublin City and County and indeed elsewhere in Ireland. But one of the most concentrated areas of abuse has been the Moore Street area. And it continues to suffer that abuse.

Who, wanting to conserve a street market, would allow a giant supermarket chain outlet at one end of the street and another next door, in a city centre already abundantly served (if that is the word) by supermarkets? Who, wanting to conserve such a street market, would grant planning permission to huge shopping centre buildings to cover the entire area on each side of that remaining street market? Who, in good stewardship of our city centre, would grant a huge extension on a bad planning permission when the original one of a decade was running out *with no work of any significance having been done on it to that point?* And what public servants would so callously and nonchalantly ignore the wishes expressed by its citizens and, indeed of late, by the majority of their elected representatives?

Since no other motivations are apparent, one is entitled to assume either idiocy or rapacious greed; since the men involved on both sides of those arrangements are not idiots in the normal sense, that leaves an intelligent observer with only one alternative. And ask most ordinary people in Dublin and they will freely name the alternative, the real motivation.

Next into that rogues' gallery must step the Department of Dublin City Council responsible for Street Trading – it is they that issue the street trading licenses to the street traders, lay down

conditions and enforce restrictions, and in conjunction with other departments, provide their facilities.

Yes, well – *facilities*? One covered stall, open on all sides. No heating. No lighting other than the dim amount in the street. No water supply near to stalls. No toilets or changing rooms for the traders. Year after year, despite promises to the contrary, these disgraceful conditions continue. Some of the current traders are the fourth generation of their family in such work but is it any wonder that few stall-holders believe their children or grandchildren will follow them into the trade?

As if that were not enough, around the time the Moore Street campaign was heating up further, when Chartered Land was gearing up to make its 'land-swap' offer, a deal promoted by the head of the Planning Department and lauded by Minister for Heritage Heather Humphreys, Dublin City Council put not one but *two permanent Market Inspectors* on the street (at that time I think there were only 16 street licenses in operation there). Previously, one inspector would tour the market perhaps once or twice a day, for an hour at most.

What was the practical need for bumping up to this relatively high level of inspection? These inspectors have no powers other than instructing the shops and traders about street and pavement regulations and fining them for non-compliance. They do not attend to any other matters. They do not even claim to monitor the quality of the produce sold in the street.

There is no reasonable answer to this question, unless the purpose is to harass the small shopkeepers and traders further, in the way that unscrupulous landlords harass their tenants when they want to get rid of them but find it difficult to do so legally.

I do not accuse the individual inspectors of having that intention – only those who conceived of the idea and put them on that street. But employ two men on a street which they can clearly see often contains only ten stalls, tell them they have to enforce the street trading rules or their jobs will be in jeopardy -- and what will they do? Urged by employment insecurity and sheer boredom, they will go up and down the street, criticising traders and even shopkeepers for extending some inches outside their allotted space (*though there are many empty metres to each side and their neighbours are not complaining*), or for continuing to sell some minutes after official closing time, threatening and even fining those trying to make a living with legitimate businesses and stalls on that street.

One might almost suspect that between speculators, big chain businesses and certain Dublin City Council officials, there is a conspiracy to run the street market into the ground, in order to make the whole a *rasa tabula*, a board wiped clean, upon which powerful financial interests can write their plans. Or an eyesore that few will bother to defend. And I say that such a conspiracy exists. Generally in this world, what looks like, feels like and smells like is indeed the substance one suspects.

The Moore Street Market should be cherished, nurtured and supported. Perhaps it is too late to do anything about those already in existence around it but *no more supermarkets should be permitted in its near proximity*.

The street traders should be given decent working conditions of shelter, heating and light and free from unnecessary official interference (not to say harassment). Small independent businesses should be encouraged in the street and in its surroundings (more on this later). The objective should be to promote a healthy, vigorous, colourful street food market on the spot where such has stood for centuries, with attractive working and earning-a-living conditions for those who work and shop there.

I am not a street trader but I have sold and promoted items publicly on many occasions and I also know something of the conditions in Moore Street, which I attend at least once week and usually a

number of other days too.

When the weather is fine it is pleasant to have an open-air market but when it rains, snows or cold winds blow, shelter is desirable. The only way to be able to benefit from good weather and shelter from the bad is to provide a removable cover over the whole. I am sure that our present level of technology can provide a retractable, transparent roof.

Because the winds can be biting and also to conserve heat in winter, I suggest that sliding doors at each end to of the market should be provided – these can be left open or partially drawn as required.

Each stall should have adequate lighting and heating at hand (or foot!). A water supply should be available nearby no more than a few feet distance from every stall.

Toilets should be provided for traders.

There should be more flexibility in what the traders can sell, without losing the focus on a food market. During the 1916 Centenary year, traders were prevented by market inspectors from selling simple 1916 memorabilia – scarves, copies of the proclamation, flags etc. Such a prohibition in Moore Street was particularly ironic and unfortunate.

The refuse collected in the street should be verifiably recycled, the vegetable and fruit refuse in particular making excellent compost for city gardeners (and perhaps for a garden in the quarter itself).

The market traders do not work on Sundays and this seems an excellent opportunity to provide a farmers' market in the street and lanes, bringing more value to the area.

1916 RISING – OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY

The 1916 Rising, to which Moore Street is so closely linked, represented some very important events for the people of the world and it impacted on people in all populated continents of the globe.

FOR DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY

The 1916 Proclamation, printed in Liberty Hall and signed in No.21 Henry Street, just around the corner from Moore Street, is a document not only of clear patriotic and anti-colonial expression but also a democratic and inclusive one. At a time when hardly a state anywhere in the world permitted women to vote in elections, the document specifically addressed *“Irishmen and Irish women”*. It also clearly expressed the wish of the insurgents to overcome the religious sectarianism which had played such an important part in securing continued colonial rule: *“... religious and civil liberty ... oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.”*

The Rising had expressed the gender equality intentions of the insurgents in more than the words of its address: women fought in the Rising and, in two garrison areas, commanded for awhile. The British colonial authorities recognised the role of some of those women by sentencing one to death, albeit a sentence later commuted, and keeping a number of them in prison even after many men had been released.

FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Irish women organised for and acted in the Rising in two separate organisations: Cumann na mBan and the Irish Citizen Army.

The women founded as an auxiliary force to the Irish Volunteers, Cumann na mBan, later to assert considerable organisational independence, wore their own uniforms and had their own female officers. Women had participated in many insurrections and resistance movements across the world but no insurrectionary force in history ever before had such a consciously women-organised force.

The women in the Irish Citizen Army had formally equal status with men and a number carried arms in the Rising and fired them at the enemy. Men acted on orders from women officers in at least two garrison areas and, in medical matters, also in at least a third.

Such a situation was of great significance in the struggle for women's rights and gender equality, not only in Ireland but in the world.

FOR WORKERS AND SOCIALISM

The Irish Citizen Army was founded in 1913 as a workers' defence force by trade unionists and socialists and later as a workers' army and, despite its strongly anti-colonial stance, until the 1916 Rising, maintained a strict separation from the nationalist republican organisations of the Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan. As detailed earlier, it formally recognised women within the organisation as of equal status with men.

Workers' organisations had existed before, including armed ones but nowhere had such an armed organisation existed outside of armed conflict (1913-1916) for so long, led by socialists and with equal status for men and women. In the history of socialist organisation and particularly of a revolutionary and insurgent kind, this was a development of enormous importance.

AGAINST WAR

The 1916 Rising took place in the middle of the first of two huge international conflicts that were later called World Wars. It was a struggle for markets, resources and strategic positions and bases between a number of states ruled by capitalists and those states recruited heavily from among the nations they had colonised; in Britain's case, that included Ireland.

To many nationalist Republicans, the War represented an opportunity, expressed in the maxim that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity". But to many socialists around the world, the War represented a disastrous pitting of the working people under one Power against the working people of another, as well as an excuse for the suppression of demands to fulfill the needs of their workers while the capitalists gathered huge profits. James Connolly was one of those socialists.

Connolly, Edinburgh-born Irish revolutionary socialist, formerly Acting General Secretary of the Irish Transport & General Worker's Union, had joined the International Workers of the World, the hugely influential in the USA syndicalist organisation. As well as being an energetic organiser, Connolly was a historian and revolutionary theoretician. Connolly took to heart the resolution formally adopted by representatives of the vast majority of European socialists to oppose war and, should it come, to turn it into class war against their rulers. In the event, Connolly was one of the few European socialist leaders to live up to that resolution: as Commandant of the Irish Citizen Army, GPO Garrison commander in a rising against Ireland's British colonial masters, James Connolly was also striking a blow against imperial and colonial war.

That aspect of the Rising, of being consciously or unconsciously against War, predated the February Russian Revolution of 1917, also in part an anti-war uprising, by *ten months*. And of course, predated the October Socialist Revolution in Russia by seventeen months and the nearest uprising geographically to Ireland, also in part an anti-war one, the German socialist uprising in November 1918, by *two-and-a-half years*. For all these reasons, the 1916 Rising, the Headquarters of which were in the GPO and later removed to Moore Street, were and remain of enormous significance in the world-wide history of people's movements against war.

AGAINST COLONIALISM IN THE WORLD

The 1916 Rising reverberated around the world. It took place in what had a century earlier been widely regarded as the second city of the British Empire and, when it erupted, did so against the largest empire, in terms of directly-controlled areas and population numbers ruled, that the world has ever known. How can such an event be of other than huge interest, not only to other peoples under British colonial rule but also to those under the colonial rule of France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Russia and the United States? How could it not have been of considerable interest to socialist revolutionaries everywhere?

Socialists around the world discussed the Rising, at first often criticising it, while Lenin, of huge importance in the socialist movement at that time and some others commented favourably upon it. Consequently, the Rising and the War of Independence was to play an important part in the development of a revolutionary theory around the world that advocated the linking of the struggles of worker, peasant and small farmer, of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism with struggle for a socialist republic.

The Rising was a topic of great discussion in the United States, also of financial and other support, as is well known. Connolly had been active there and had published his songbook in New York in 1910; Larkin was actually there in 1916. Also in Australia. For a number of reasons, including the sentencing to death of Eamon Bulfin for his role in the GPO and in Moore Street, a sentence later commuted and Bulfin deported to Buenos Aires, the Rising was discussed in Argentina and in other Latin American countries (where, at that time, the British were the main imperialist power).

It was certainly discussed in the huge country of India (which at that time included what is now the states of Pakistan and Bangladesh), whose revolutionar nationalists had contact with Fenian

revolutionaries from decades earlier. The Connaught Ranger mutiny in the British Army was a direct result of the Rising and, before the mutiny was crushed, the soldiers and oppressed Indians had begun to make movement towards reciprocal solidarity. And we know, from history and the writings of Indian nationalists and socialists, that the Rising and the War of Independence which organically followed the Rising influenced the struggles against colonialism and imperialism in India right up to the Second World War. We are also aware of correspondence between the Nehru and Gandhi families and the McSwineys.

We know also that the War of Independence influenced African uprisings and Ho Chi Minh, later leader of successful wars against Japanese invasion and French colonialism. In South Africa, the Rising must have been a subject of discussion too, at least among the whites. John McBride, sentenced to death ostensibly for his role in Rising was probably in reality being shot for having organised and led an Irish Brigade to fight the British in the Second Boer War, which had ended but fourteen years earlier.

In Britain itself, the Rising influenced the huge Irish diaspora in England, Scotland and Wales and a significant proportion of the insurgent forces in Dublin had actually come from there. The Rising and especially the War of Independence caused a crisis of a kind in British socialist thinking, threatening an irrevocable rupture between revolutionary socialists and even sections of radical social democrats on the one hand and pro-imperial social democracy on the other.

This is not the place to discuss this further but that situation, allied to anti-colonial struggles around the world, huge dissatisfaction and mutinies in the British armed forces and a growing strike movement in Britain, provided great opportunities for an Irish revolutionary movement to influence the history of the world in a direction other than that which it has taken.

For all the reasons outlined above, the Moore Street quarter should be of recognised World Heritage Status.

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE AND OTHER CONSERVATION STATUS

The Irish State ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1991, which qualifies Ireland to apply for that status for the Moore Street quarter. Up to US\$1 million is available from the World Heritage fund for the saving and development of a World Heritage site and funds are also available for urgent works to save it. World Heritage status attracts considerable tourist interest and substantial revenue is of course also available to the State and businesses surrounding the area from such tourist interest.

Currently Ireland has only two sites which have been accorded full World Heritage status (one of archaeological and the other of natural, mainly geological, importance). However, another seven sites are under "Tentative" categorisation since 2010 and Dublin City is one of those. The Moore Street battleground could be afforded that full World Heritage status in its own right, which I believe its history deserves but it can also be used to strengthen the case for full such status for Dublin City.

The ten grounds on which UNESCO currently relies in order to examine the "the // importance" of a site is admittedly rather restricted in the category of historical importance, particularly in the development of social movements. However, even under the existing list, I would submit that the Moore Street battleground meets four of the criteria: 2, 4, 6 and 8. The US has the Statue of Liberty and Independence Hall building as World Heritage sites.

Registering under EU programs may also be possible, in particular Horizon 2020.

LINKING THE QUARTERS: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL

There is the possibility to easily and naturally integrate the development of the historical quarter with the cultural one above (Parnell Square) and not only is this geographically feasible but also historically and culturally so. On the south-eastern corner of the proposed cultural quarter is the Rotunda, where the first public recruiting meeting for the Volunteers was held in 1913 and also where the GPO garrison and others were kept prisoner after the surrender in Moore Street. Somewhere along Parnell Street between the Moore Street and Moore Lane entrances (the exact site is disputed by historians) was where Volunteer O'Farrell and Commandant Pearse met General Lowe and his son.

Along the west and eastern sides of Parnell Square are hotels in which Volunteers stayed and leaders met, before and after the 1916 Rising and in particular during the War of Independence. Those streets also contain halls and buildings, some of which belonged to organisations linked to the Volunteers, the ICA, Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna, also some of which did not but most of which were used for public functions (as indeed Club na Múinteoirí is still) or secret meetings.

WRITERS

At the northern end of Parnell Square is the Hugh Lane Art Gallery (Dublin Gallery) and the Writers' Museum. The links of the writers' museum with a number of 1916 leaders and participants should require little explanation, for example Pearse and Connolly in particular being prolific writers and others poets but it worth pointing out in addition that other writers of the time and after were influenced by the events of that time and commented on them in creative writing, including contemporarily Shaw, Yeats (both Nobel laureates) and O'Casey. Oscar Wilde's mother was a writer herself and of course one of the Young Irelanders, calling for armed revolution in Ireland and Oscar himself lectured on the Fenians to miners in the USA. James Stephens at the time and others right up to today, Morgan Llywelyn for young adults and others including Colm Tóibín, Anne Enright and Roddy Doyle have commented on the Rising and the event continues to give rise to poetry, literature and drama.

VISUAL ARTISTS

There are less renowned visual artists remembered among the Volunteers but Grace Gifford, an active Republican and Plunkett's bride/ widow was a superb caricaturist, cartoonist, illustrator and commercially successful at periods too. Prominent among artists from the period was Jack B. Yeats, who had several paintings related to the Rising from his *Bachelor's Walk in Memory* and *The Funeral of Harry Boland* to *Communicating with Prisoners*. Sean Keating anticipated the Rising or at least the War of Independence with his *Men of the West* and his later reflection on the war itself with his *Men of the South*. Sir John Lavery too took inspiration from the Rising (*vide The Trial of Roger Casement*), as did Kathleen Fox (*The Arrest, College of Surgeons*). Artists include the Englishman Walter Paget with his wonderful series *Birth of a Nation* (previously also on display at the GPO and now criminally kept out of sight by the OPW) and of course Irishman Robert Ballagh (who reproduced a version of one of Paget's paintings).

Sculptor Oliver Sheppard completed his *Dying Cuchulain* in 1911 (after a series of patriotically-inspired statues) but later had it dedicated to the 1916 Rising at the GPO, where it stands to this day. A later sculptor, Edward Delaney, has contributed a number of pieces related to the Rising, the most specific being in his series of panels around the fountain in Dame Street by the Thomas Davis monument. Sculptors Seamus Murphy, Elizabeth McLaughlin and John Coll all took Constance Markievicz as a subject, the latter's unveiled as recently as 2003 in Sligo. The James Connolly memorial in Dublin was the work of Eamonn O'Doherty.

HISTORY STUDY AND AN GHAEILGE

The Moore Street quarter has nearby primary and secondary schools – why could it not have a creche and playground for a parent to bring small children to while waiting to pick up older brothers and sisters? Why could it not have historical and cultural study facilities for secondary and third-level students? And adult education classes? And, considering the huge role of the Irish language prior to the Rising and during the War of Independence, why not have resources, workshops and classes in the Irish language for Irish residents and tourists? Even the creche being a naíonra?

Even discounting the fact that of the sixteen leaders executed in 1916, no less than *thirteen* were members of Connradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League), and that Casement was a strong supporter of the language in words and deed, and that Clarke had his shop name in Irish, hundreds of Volunteers and others, thousands altogether, had attended Irish classes and socialised at céilidhe put on by the Connradh before the Rising and during the War of Independence.

Scoil Mhuire on the east side of Parnell Square is a primary school teaching subjects through Irish. And perhaps Dublin City Council could even overcome their colossal linguistic and historical mistake in naming the street and lane after an Irish clan “Uí Mhórdha” instead of after Sir Henry Moore, Third Earl of Drogheda, from the English family of Moore (check the official database for place and street names in Ireland <https://www.logainm.ie/1383279.aspx>)

The Moore Street conservation should be linked with the cultural quarter and its development should be linked with the creation of a socialising space by day and by night in a part of the city that virtually dies at night.

OTHER FEATURES OF THE LOCALITY TO LINK INTO HISTORICAL QUARTER CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Whether it is to be a museum or an integrated experience, it cannot ignore its surroundings. The development of a historical and cultural quarter provides the opportunity for regeneration of the north city centre, an area pretty dead at night. The whole quarter – streets and laneways -- should be sensitively developed with social daytime and evening amenities but, unlike what was mooted by one politician, certainly nothing like Temple Bar!

Developing Moore Street appropriately presents challenges but also opportunities and these are great and exciting. A significant part of the north inner city centre can here be generated, linking historic conservation and a vibrant street market to a cultural quarter and to other recreational facilities nearby, bringing in history and culture tourists and providing recreational facilities for both tourists (from abroad and from elsewhere in Ireland) and Dublin residents.

Most social life at night goes south of the river but here in this quarter, with a theatre up the road, a cinema nearby to the east and another to the west, an Asian food quarter nearby, lies the possibility of a north city centre regeneration long talked about but never yet achieved. The opening of a pub or two in the quarter itself, a traditional feature of the past, would do no harm either.

The whole quarter should be pedestrianised and educational and recreational facilities provided along Moore Lane (and perhaps Henry Place).

- Here there could be a children's creche, a naíonra.
- a small playground.
- a small “farm” to bring city children more in touch with a rural Ireland that their grandparents and even parents would have known but which is *terra incognita* to most city children today.
- Some traditional craft workshops to display skills and sell produce.
- An Irish-language education centre and café.
- A children's history study resource centre concentrating on not only 1916 history (linked to the history experience museum – see *A MOORE STREET HISTORY TOUR -- A VISITOR'S EXPERIENCE IN THE FUTURE in this document*) but also local folk history.
- An international centre, drawing on connections of the 1916 Rising and War of Independence with other areas of the world.
- A restaurant offering in large part traditional Irish cuisine (something tourists often ask for but can rarely find).
- A céilí house (or a pub offering same).
- A genuine Irish *open* traditional and folk music session.
- A small theatre.

What a package to present to visitors – and right in the middle of our city, with nearby hotels, public transport, taxi ranks ...!

Perhaps we should not count the benefits of history and culture in cold cash but, since that is all that a small powerful minority think about, it is worth reflecting that such a development will bring revenue year after year to the nation, while the shopping centre will bring revenue for a few years only to a handful of capitalist chains and speculators.

It is not to the shopping centres or chain stores that produce deserts at night that we must look to for such a development but to the small businesses – shops, cafes and pubs. And the development needs to be managed so that we don't end up with a Temple Bar or tacky Paddy Power or Guinness souvenir shops.

CARRYING OUT THE PLAN

So who or what can do this? It cannot be property developers nor big business – it needs to be a partnership between small shops, street market stalls, workers and shoppers in the area, nearby residents, campaigners, historians, architects

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A MOORE STREET HISTORY TOUR -- A VISITOR'S EXPERIENCE IN THE FUTURE

Some decades into the future, I invite you to imagine a foreign-based tourist writing of her experience of the 1916 History and Cultural Quarter. Her name might be Isabela Etxebarria, from Argentina; she may be writing in her excellent English or perhaps her Castillian was translated.

“Dublin is an amazing city for someone interested in culture, literature or history. By virtue of its long existence as a centre of population, and also as a result of its history of invasions, occupations and resistance, it has enormous historical interest. It has also contributed three writers to the Nobel Prize pantheon and arguably would have contributed another one or more, were it not for certain prejudices of their times. I had read something about the Rising in Dublin against the British Empire early in the 20th Century -- right in the middle of the First World War -- and was eager to learn more.

I was also aware that an Argentinian citizen, Eamon Bulfin, of the Irish diaspora to my country, had raised the Irish Republic flag on the GPO, had been condemned to death after the Rising and then deported to Buenos Aires where he had functioned as a foreign representative of the revolutionary Irish Republican government. His sister Catalina had married Seán McBride, a Nobel laureate and also winner of the Lenin Peace Prize, son of John McBride, one of the sixteen executed in 1916, and of Maude Gonne, a prominent Irish Republican activist.

On Friday, we went to experience one of the famous historical tours of inner city Dublin. There are various history tours, some of which lead to a building called the General Post Office but which all the locals refer to only as “the GPO”. Other tours then take the 'GPO' as their starting point and it is one of those that I joined – its title was *'The 1916 Rising – Evacuation, Advance & Surrender'*.

The tickets of those participating were checked (except for children's tours, the regulations restrict to no more than thirty at a time including ten children,) and we were handed audio earphones, radio receivers and issued with our instructions – stay with the group, obey the instructions of the guide, etc.

Our group contained some young children and a few in their late teens, with their parents. About half or more of the group looked like tourists and some asked for the foreign-language options of receivers. There was one man in a wheelchair.

As instructed by the guide in a number of languages, we tested our receivers to find the volume settings appropriate for each individual. Then our guide motioned for us to listen to our earphones ... and the narration began.

Gradually, we were pulled back across the decades until we were in that amazing Rising, taking place in what had once been considered the second city of the British Empire, rising up against that very same Empire, the largest the World had ever seen.

In our imagination, aided by a commentary, it was the fifth day of the Rising and many of the buildings in the city centre were ablaze. Through our earphones, against a backdrop of booming cannon and crashing shell, chattering machine guns, rifles' crack and whining ricochet, we could hear the crackle of flames. Irish Volunteers' voices reported that the glass in Clery's building opposite had melted and was running across the street like water. The heavy ledgers the Volunteers had placed in the GPO windows to protect against bullets were smouldering. Other voices added that despite fire-fighting efforts the roof was on fire and the roof lead melting. We could almost smell the smoke. Then finally, on the following day, the order to evacuate given in an Edinburgh accent – James Connolly, the socialist commandant of the HQ of the Rising, the General Post Office.

In the hubbub of people getting ready to evacuate some voices stood out: Elizabeth O'Farrell, giving instructions about the moving of the injured James Connolly; calls to evacuate by the side door and caution about crossing Henry Street, with machine-gun sniper fire coming from the east all the way down Talbot Street from the tower of the train station at Amiens Street and indeed, some bullets traveling from the west along the street too.

A man's voice in our earphones says "It's lucky we have our Nelson there to shield us some of the way!" and we hear a few people laugh.

Then, The O'Rahilly's voice, calling for volunteers to charge the barricade at the top of Moore Street and a chorus of voices answering, clamouring to be chosen.

Now we are out in a group and crossing Henry Street. The man in the wheelchair, having politely declined offers to push his chair, is propelling his wheels strongly along with his leather-covered hands. Brass 'footsteps' laid into the street draw attention to the GPO Garrison's evacuation route. It is weird to see the pedestrian shoppers and sightseers of the Twenty-First Century as half our minds are back in the second decade of the Twentieth.

Across this short stretch to Henry Place we went, the crack of rifles and chatter of machine guns louder now in our earphones. And explosions of shells and of combustibles. The garrison scurried across this gap carrying the wounded Connolly on a bed frame and Winifred Carney, carrying her typewriter and Webley pistol, interposed her body between Connolly and a possible bullet from the train station tower.

The laneway here has murals and marking on the ground to mark the route of the evacuation. Immediately we stepped on the restored cobbles of the lane-way, the sounds of battle in our earphones receded somewhat.

"No bullets can reach us here!" shouts a voice in our earphones.

"No, but bejaysus them artillery shells can!" replies another.

Other shouts a little ahead warn us that gunfire is being directed down what is now Moore Lane from a British barricade on the junction with Parnell Street.

A sudden shouted warning about a building ahead of us, to our left, facing Moore Lane.

"See the white house? The bastards are in there too," shouts a strong voice which I am told is Cork-accented, a representation of the young Michael Collins'. "Let's root them out. Who's with me?"

Another chorus of voices, a flurry of Mauser and Parabellum fire, then only the steady chatter of the machine gun up at the British barricade and the sound of bullets striking walls.

The Cork sing-song voice again. "I can't believe it -- The place was empty, like!"

"Aye, it was so many bullet's hoppin' off the walls made us think the firing was coming from inside," a voice says, in the accents of Ulster.

Then an unmistakably Dublin working class accent: "Would yez ever give us a hand with this!" followed by the creak and rattle of wheels on the cobblestones as the cart is dragged across the intersection. Now we can hear the machine gun bullets thudding into the cart.

“Quick now, cross the gap!” comes the order and the dash across the gap begins. Nearly 300 men and women? Someone is bound to get hit and yes, they do and we hear that one of them died here.

Across the gap, nowadays mercifully free of enemy fire but still feeling vulnerable, we follow Pela, our guide, to the corner with Moore Street. In character, she peers carefully around as we hear machine-gun and rifle here too, but Mausers and Parabellum as well as Lee-Enfields.

“Gor blimey!” exclaims a London accent from our earphones, reminding us that some of the Volunteers had been brought up in Britain. “O’Rahilly’s lads are getting a pastin’. None of ’em made it as far as the barricade!”

An Irish voice: “Into these houses then – no other way! We have to get into cover to plan our next move.” This is followed by the sound of a door being hit and then splintering as they break into No.10, the first house on the famous 1916 Terrace.

“Careful now,” Elizabeth Farrell’s voice, followed by a muted groan of pain as Connolly is manoeuvred through the doorway and up the stairs.

Pela sends the man in the wheelchair up in the lift and leads us up the stairs. When the lift and the last of our group arrive we proceed across the restored upper floors from house to house, passing through holes in the walls, as the GPO Garrison did in 1916 – except that they had to break through the walls themselves, working in shifts and our ‘holes’ are more like jagged doorways.

No.10 was the field hospital and here, represented by dummies and holograms, are the cramped bodies of wounded Volunteers and the British soldier rescued by George Plunkett. The woman of the house is trying to prepare food for the fighters.

Through a few unshuttered windows, we can see the busy street market below us going about its business, apparently oblivious of our passage above them. But then, thousands of tour groups have gone through here over the decades. The weather being fine, the transparent roof covering the street is withdrawn and through the double glazing of the houses one can just barely hear the street traders calling out their wares and prices.

We pass through those hallowed rooms, listening to ghosts. Here and there a hologram appears and speaks, echoes of the past. Dummies dressed in the uniforms of the Irish Citizen Army, the Irish Volunteers, Cumann na mBan, Na Fianna and Hibernian Rifles are on display here and there. Imitation Mausers and Parabellums and Martinis, each one carefully made and to the same weight as the original, are there. They are security-chained but we know people are free to pick them up and feel the weight, as a couple of children do, to imagine carrying and firing one. But not to be flash-photographed, which is not permitted here. Replica Cumann na mBan medical kits are on display, open so one could inspect the contents. The houses also have period furniture, fireplaces, beds chamber pots kitchens with utensils ... bedrooms There are dummies dressed too in civilian clothes of the time typical of that area -- women, men, children (even the dog fed by Tom Crimmins, the last Volunteer to leave Moore St.).

Here are some Volunteers breaking through a wall; over there, exhausted Volunteers sleeping

We see magnified historical newspaper headlines, photos, badges and medals. A map of Dublin with fighting locations flashing on them, some of them going out as they fall, the dates appearing above them to show when that happened. But many were only surrendered on receipt of the order from Pearse or Connolly.

Snatches of poetry, of song come to us as we cross from room to room, from house to house, some of it nationalist, some traditional or folk, some even music hall from the era. And for our eyes, the holograms of the Proclamation, the portraits of the executed 16 and many others who fought and died or who survived, flags, the Tricolour, the Irish Republic, the green-and-gold Starry Plough, waving in the wind above Clery's

Half-way along the terrace we come to the historical discussion between the leaders, creatively reconstructed on the basis of some witness statements. Pearse wishing to surrender to avoid further loss of civilian life (the names of the dead civilians in Moore Street, their ages and the manner of their dying appearing above him), Clarke arguing, a sob in his voice, Connolly saying maybe they should wait for Sean McLoughlin to get back (he is out preparing a diversion attack to allow a breakout) Then the arguments with some of the other Volunteers, Mac Diarmada having to use all his powers of persuasion.

Oh, such emotion in such short discussions! Then the decision, and Elizabeth O'Farrell volunteering to go with the white flag to open negotiations with the enemy even though civilian men and women have already been shot in died in that street, including one beneath a white flag.

Shortly afterwards, the faces of the dead civilians and Volunteers appear, then the sixteen executed come into view, suspended in the air in front and a little above us. We stand there while passages are read out from their trials, letters from their condemned cells, words to relatives Then the dates appear above them and we hear the fusillades as by one their faces blink out, until finally only Casement remains, the image of the gallows and then he too is gone. All is dark for a moment, then all sixteen faces appear again, over a background of the three flags of the Rising, with a list of the fallen rank-and-file, to a swelling chorus of The Soldiers' Song, in English and in Irish.

At the end of the Terrace, we descend again, somewhat dazed and here view the O'Rahilly monument plaque and in our earphones hear the words of his final letter to his wife read out – he wrote it as he lay dying from a number of bullet wounds. I found my eyes moistening again as they had several times during the tour and some of the others were visibly crying – including other foreign tourists.

The end of our tour lay ahead, through the underground tunnel under Parnell Street to the Rotunda. There the Volunteers had been publicly launched and recruited in 1913 and there too, in 1916, the GPO/ Moore Street garrison had been kept prisoners without food and water or toilet, some for two days, while political colonial police came down to identify whomsoever they could from among the prisoners. Here Tom Clarke had been cruelly stripped by his captors, diagonally across the road from one of his two tobacconist shops, on the corner of Parnell and O'Connell Streets. Elizabeth Farrell had been kept prisoner in that shop too by the British, before being escorted to deliver the surrender order to a number of garrisons.

In between the shop and the Rotunda stands the Parnell Monument, as it did then, honouring “the uncrowned King of Ireland”, who had tried by mostly parliamentary means, two decades earlier, to bring about Home Rule for Ireland and had failed. British officers had been photographed in front of the monument with the “Irish Republic” flag held upside down – had they been entirely conscious of the irony?

Directly across the road from us stands a historic building too – the premises of the Irish Land League and where the Irish Ladies Land League had been formed and also raided by the police.

Now the recordings in our earphones ask us to remove our earphones and to hand them to our guide, also to listen for a moment after she has collected them. Having gathered the sets and put them away in her bag, Pela asks us all to give a moment's thoughts to the men and women and

children, particularly of the years each side of the centenary year of the Rising, 2016, who had campaigned to preserve this monument for future generations. Pela tells us that her own grandmother had been one of the activists.

Incredible though it may now seem, the whole terrace except for four houses had been about to be demolished to make way for a shopping centre, which would also have swallowed up the street market. It had taken a determined campaign and occupations of buildings with people prepared to face imprisonment to protect it for our generation and others to come. The State of those years had little interest in history and much in facilitating speculators.

Pela invited us to applaud the campaigners, which we did, enthusiastically. She then asked us to turn around and view the reconstructed building we had left. There was a plaque on the wall there *“Dedicated to the memory of the men, women, girls and boys of the early 21st Century”* In bronze bas-relief, the plaque's image depicts 16 houses in a terrace with activists on the scaffolding erected by those who intended demolition, with a chain of people of all ages holding hands around the site and in one corner, a campaign table surrounded by people apparently signing a petition.

Once through the underpass and inside the Rotunda building, the tour officially over, we thanked our guide and made for the Republican Café. I found we couldn't say much, as my mind was half back in 1916. My companion was quiet too as were some other from our tour but some of the children seemed unaffected, brightly debating what to choose from the menu in the Rotunda café, or what souvenir they fancied from those on display.

We took a program of events, including film showings, lectures, dramatic representations and music and poetry performances, in order to choose which to attend later. There's also a Moore Street and Dublin Street Traders' Museum in the Rotunda which we intend to visit, perhaps tomorrow, after some shopping in the existing ancient street market.

Some of our tour group, we could hear, including the indefatigable man in the wheelchair, were going on the short walk up to the Remembrance Garden and we heard mention also of the Writers' Museum and the Hugh Lane Gallery adjacent to the Garden.

We'd had enough for one day, however – we were full. It was truly an unforgettable experience and I knew that for me and probably for my companion, it was something that would remain forever alive in our memories.”

CONCRETE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MOORE STREET QUARTER

In consultation with campaigners, street traders, the public, small shopkeepers, local residents, historians, architects and elected representatives: Save, Restore, Rebuild, Improve.

- *The whole area should be pedestrianised with the usual access exemptions for deliveries within certain hours, emergency services etc.*
- *Buildings of the 1916 period in the Quarter should be preserved*
- *All other buildings in the quarter should be preserved, renovated or reconstructed as necessary to appearance appropriate to the period and area (and appropriate to their current use – I am not advocating the building of public outside toilets or slaughterhouses)*
- *The upper floor of the 1916 Terrace should be developed into a 1916 history experience, integrated with the GPO and the Evacuation Route, with disabled access*
- *and the history being 'social' (i.e. how people lived) as well as a 'political' (about 1916)*
- *The Evacuation Route should be conserved and appropriately renovated where necessary, with important events marked by plaques, panels and murals along its route*
- *The Evacuation Route should be brought back to the period cobbles and kept clear of rubbish or graffiti with disabled access*
- *Moore Lane and O'Rahilly Parade should be brought back to original cobbles with disabled access*
- *The Moore Street Market should be valued and promoted*
- *Petty official harassment of traders and small businesses should cease and appropriate expansion and regulations eased to assist in more varied use of the market*
- *The traders should be provided with toilets, nearby water supply ports, heating and lighting for stalls*
- *The whole street market should be provided with retractable transparent roof and sliding doors at each end*
- *The street market should be made available as a “farmers' market” on Sundays*
- *The Historical Quarter and Cultural Quarter should be linked informationally*
- *and with and underground pedestrian way connecting the two under Parnell Street*
- *The development should take place in the context of upgrading the area as a history, culture and leisure area, most of it accessible by day and night*
- *The part of Moore Street not currently part of the Barrett judgement should be included in the overall plan*
- *The State should investigate the potential of applying for World Heritage Status, consulting widely and publishing its recommendations*
- *Also for conservation within a European framework (some aspects of Horizon 2020 may be*

useful in this respect)

- ***In order to do all this, a first priority is to formally urge the Minister to drop the appeal and I submit that the Consultative Group should do exactly that.***
- *Develop a democratic, open and transparent partnership process to oversee the development, with representation for all stakeholders, including street traders and local small businesses, nearby residents, historians, campaigners (including activists currently excluded from the Consultative Group), historians*

A CHRÍOCH -- END SUBMISSION