



Figure 8.5 Anglesea Market, looking east c.1910. (RSAI)

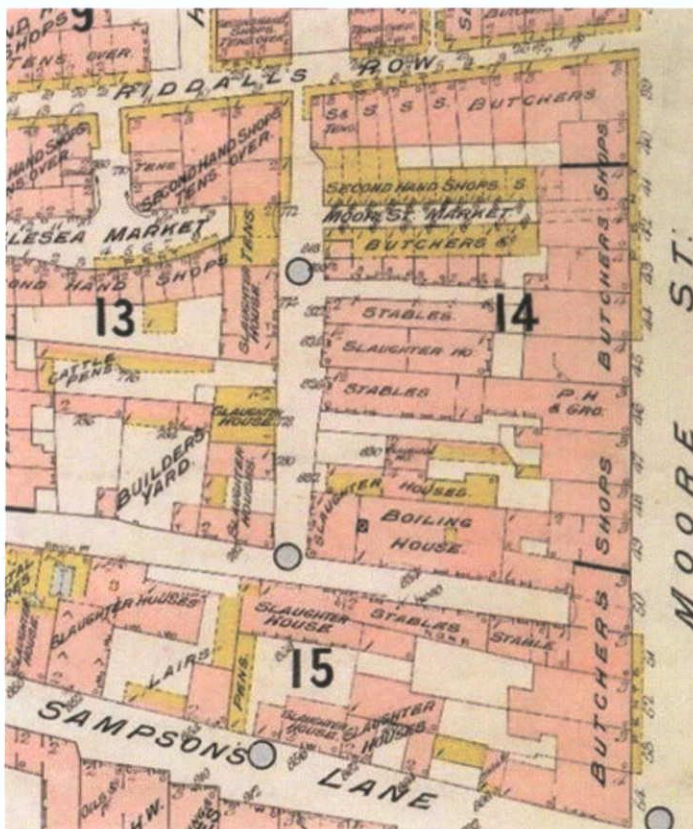


Figure 8.6 1893 insurance map of the west side of the central portion of Moore Street. The layout of these markets streets and courts arises from the boundaries of the eighteenth-century market gardens. As well as the onetime mews lanes of Riddall's (Riddles) Row and Sampson's Lane, entry into this quarter from Moore Street was through archways in the terrace connecting to Moore Street Markets and further south to Moore Place, the street above Sampson's Lane. The yellow represents wooden structures. Those along the street fronts are prentices (semi-permanent canopies).

This market warren connected with Moore Street via two arches; to the north, from Moore Street Market (Figure 8.4, 8.6, 8.7 & 8.8), a narrow passage, lined with shops or booths; to the south, from Moore Place. The yards at southern end of this urban block contained slaughterhouses that supplied the line of butchers' shops on the west side of Moore Street, Moore Street Market and Riddles Row. (Figure 8.6) The butchers still have a presence on Moore Street today but gone is the complex of markets to the west that was swept away to provide a *tabula rasa* for the development of the ILAC shopping centre, opened 1981.



Figure 8.6 West side of Moore Street, c.1955 the archway between nos 41 and 42 led into Moore Street Markets, a passageway lined with shops or booths. (see Figure 8.7 below) This then led beyond through another archway into Angelsea Market. (IAA)

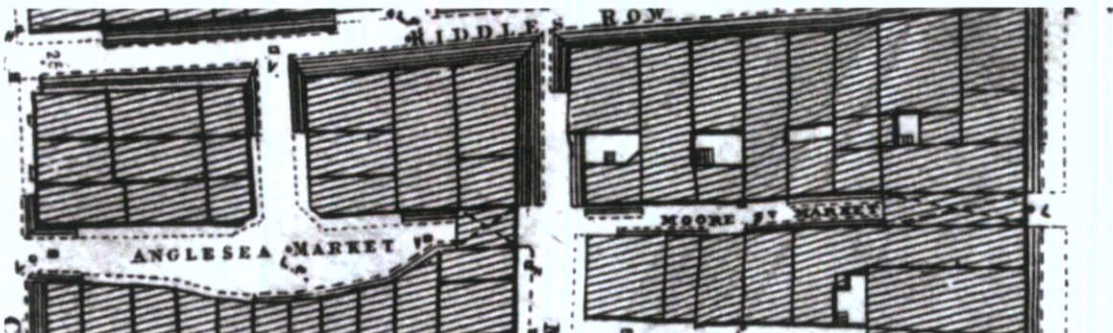


Figure 8.7 Detail of 1891 OS Map showing a detail of the market zone. On the far right is Moore Street, an archway led through the building of nos. 41 and 42 into "Moore Street Market (Figure 8.6) past the lamp, marked "L" (seen in Figure 8.8) and beyond through another archway into Angelsea Market.



*Figure 8.8 Looking east along Moore Street Markets towards the archway into Moore Street, the arch frames No. 22/23 George Price, Crockery, and the lamp at the entrance can be seen on the 1891 OS map, c.1900. (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland)*

Moore Street, because of its greater width and direct connection with Henry Street and the dense network of the markets to the west, was ideal for street traders and their temporary stalls. (Figure 8.9)



Figure 8.9 Looking north along Moore Street. 1930s (Military Archives)



Figure 8.10 Moore Street looking north. In the central section of the street a series of buildings display their origins in the Dutch Billy form with some modifications. (Military Archives)

The properties along the central section of the east side of Moore Street were of the so-called *Dutch Billy* form, with gables to the street and a roof ridge perpendicular to the street. (Figure 8.10) Although built c.1760, their modest pretensions and narrow plots had characteristics and details of a tradition continuing from earlier in the century.



Figure 8.11 Looking south over Moore Street on the right and Moore Lane to the left, 1949. (Britain from Above ref. XAW027121)



Figure 8.12 A single building had occupied the plots of 22 and 23 Moore Street with a completely glazed first floor display. (Military Archives)

Behind Moore Street the plots had been filled with buildings, warehouses and other supports for the enterprises. (Figure 8.11) Where the urban block is widest (bottom centre of the photograph), there were supporting industries for the commercial activity on O'Connell Street. Prominent are the three- and four-storey buildings onto O'Rahilly Parade and one-time printers and bookbinders serving the publisher, Gill's. The properties on Moore Street were rebuilt or adjusted to support the retail and wholesale activities. (Figures 8.10 & 8.12) Independent industries emerged around the junction of Moore Lane and Henry Place, taking up some of the depth of the Moore Street plots. (Figure 8.13 & 8.14)



Figure 8.13 Looking east down Henry Place, 2020.



Figure 8.14 Looking north along the west side of Moore Lane, showing the remnants of the commercial buildings developed in the rears of the Moore Street plots. 2020

Numbers 1 to 7 Moore Street were destroyed in 1916. Their rebuilding as a co-ordinated terrace relates to the rebuilding of the section of Henry Street round the corner. (Figure 8.15) After the corner plot, the terrace along Moore Street picks up some of the language of the Henry Street facades, initially with stone articulation and then continues in a modest fashion in brick and minimal stone detail from numbers 1 through 6. The ground floor shop/pub fronts also reflect this gradation, changing from the elaborate pub façade at numbers 1 & 2 with polished granite pilasters, to the limestone framing of the archway into the court and stone beyond, now painted and obscured.



Figure 8.15 Numbers 1 to 7 Moore Street, 2020

The composed façade(s) of numbers 1 to 7 on the east side of Moore Street is mirrored the other side of the street, the first section of the west sided used similar language and details to compose a terrace that is still extant today. (Figures 8.9 & 8.16) On the east side the composite façade of numbers 1 to 7, gives way to a medley of modest brick facades of different vintages, reflecting repairs to, or rebuilding of individual plots. (Figure 8.17) Today, numbers 14 to 17 form a centrepiece, with their facades rising to gables, which although rebuilt, belie the history of Moore Street as a terrace of Dutch Billys. (Figures 8.10 & 8.18) Towards O’Rahilly Parade, the scale of the properties marginally increases in height and width. The final block before Parnell Street, is now occupied by a single building that attempts to engage with Moore Street while increasing the scale, a partial cladding of brick acknowledging the predominant material of Moore Street. (Figures 8.16 & 18)

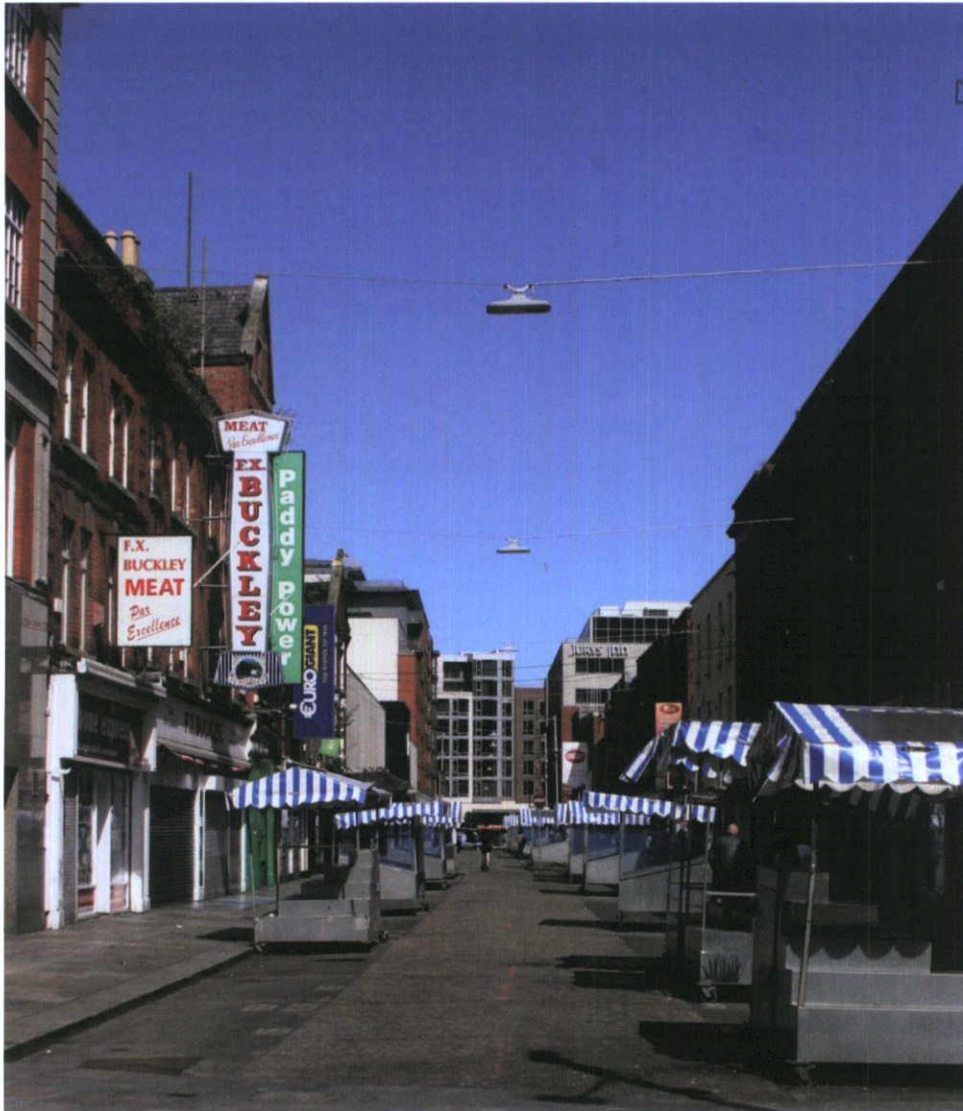


Figure 8.16 Looking north along Moore Street. The first section of the street is framed by the terraces on both sides of the street, rebuilt following the destruction of 1916 and sharing a similar language of architectural detail. At the far end of the street there is a large step up in scale of buildings that also face onto Parnell Street. 2020



Figure 8.17 Looking north down Moore Street, 2020.





Figure 8.18 Looking north along Moore Street, 2020.

Looking towards Henry Street, we can observe how the corner plot orientates itself to the geometry of Henry Street. This gives it more presence and prominence in the streetscape of Moore Street, looking south. (Figure 8.19)

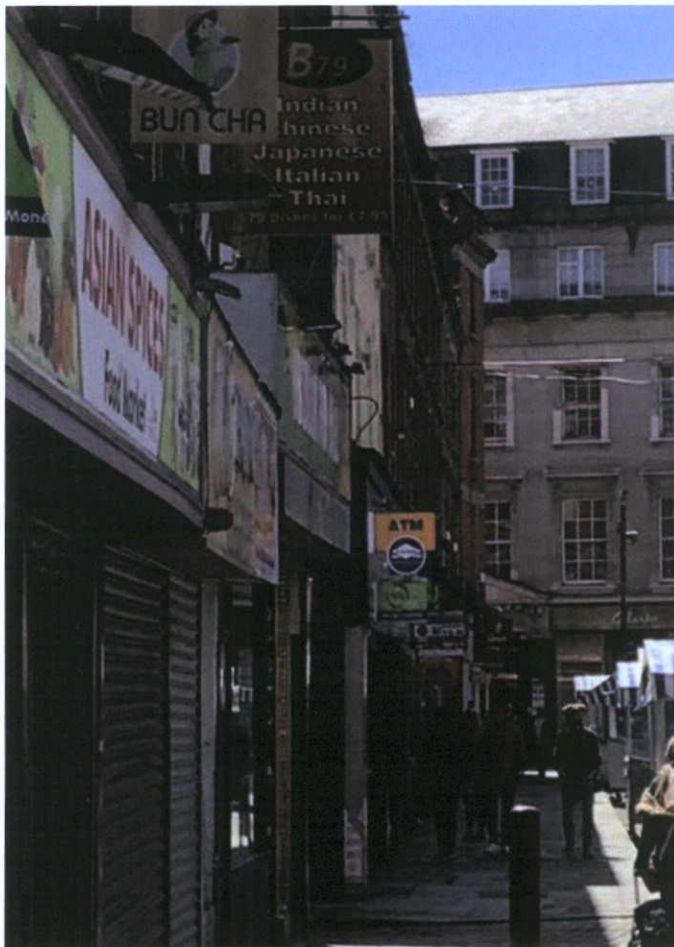


Figure 8.19 Looking south down Moore Street. 2020

Today, the east and west sides of Moore Lane consist of remnants of nineteenth-century buildings related to the commercial and institutional transformation of Moore Street and O'Connell Street. Some of the façades and buildings are distinguished but all is overlaid with ad hoc, aggressive security measures. (Figures 8.14 & 8.20)



Figure 8.20 Looking north down Moore Lane, 2020.

O'Rahilly Parade (previously Sackville Lane) had been bounded with substantial industrial buildings until the 1970s. (Figures 8.11 & 8.21) Today, a single building occupies the north side of O'Rahilly Parade; the all-but-blank bulk of the hotel contributes little to the street, instead dominating it. (Figure 8.22) A palisade-fence enclosed yard occupies the south side. The view east along the street is terminated by the rear block of 46 to 49 O'Connell Street. (Figure 8.23)



Figure 8.21 Looking west along O'Rahilly Parade (formerly Sackville Lane) towards Moore Street, 1952. (Military Archives)



Figure 8.22 Looking west along O'Rahilly Parade towards Moore Street, 2020.

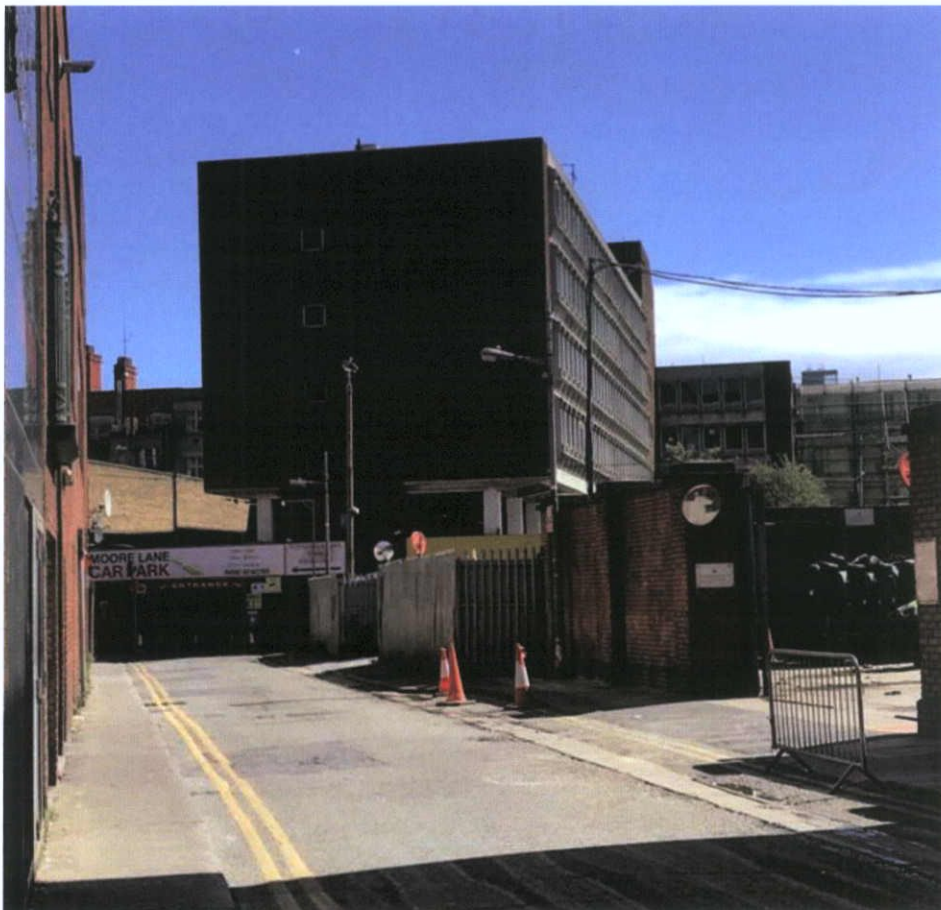


Figure 8.23 Looking east along O'Rahilly Parade, towards the rear block of numbers 46 to 49 O'Connell Street. 2020

## 9. Gardens, Landscape and the Surface of the Public Realm

DQC PLAN NO. 5432/22  
RECEIVED: 13/12/2022

### Gardens

The Dublin Central site is situated in what initially constituted part of the demesne of the wealthy St. Mary's Abbey. Before the development of the Moore Estate, the landscape was most likely productive, supplying food to the city. Following the dissolution of the monastery, those who gained control of the land may have then sublet smaller parcels of land for market gardens. This had been the case in London.<sup>13</sup> As the population of Dublin grew, so the market for the horticultural products would have increased. In turn, the productive gardens on the Moore Estate, as in London, gave way to brick making and then to house building.<sup>14</sup>

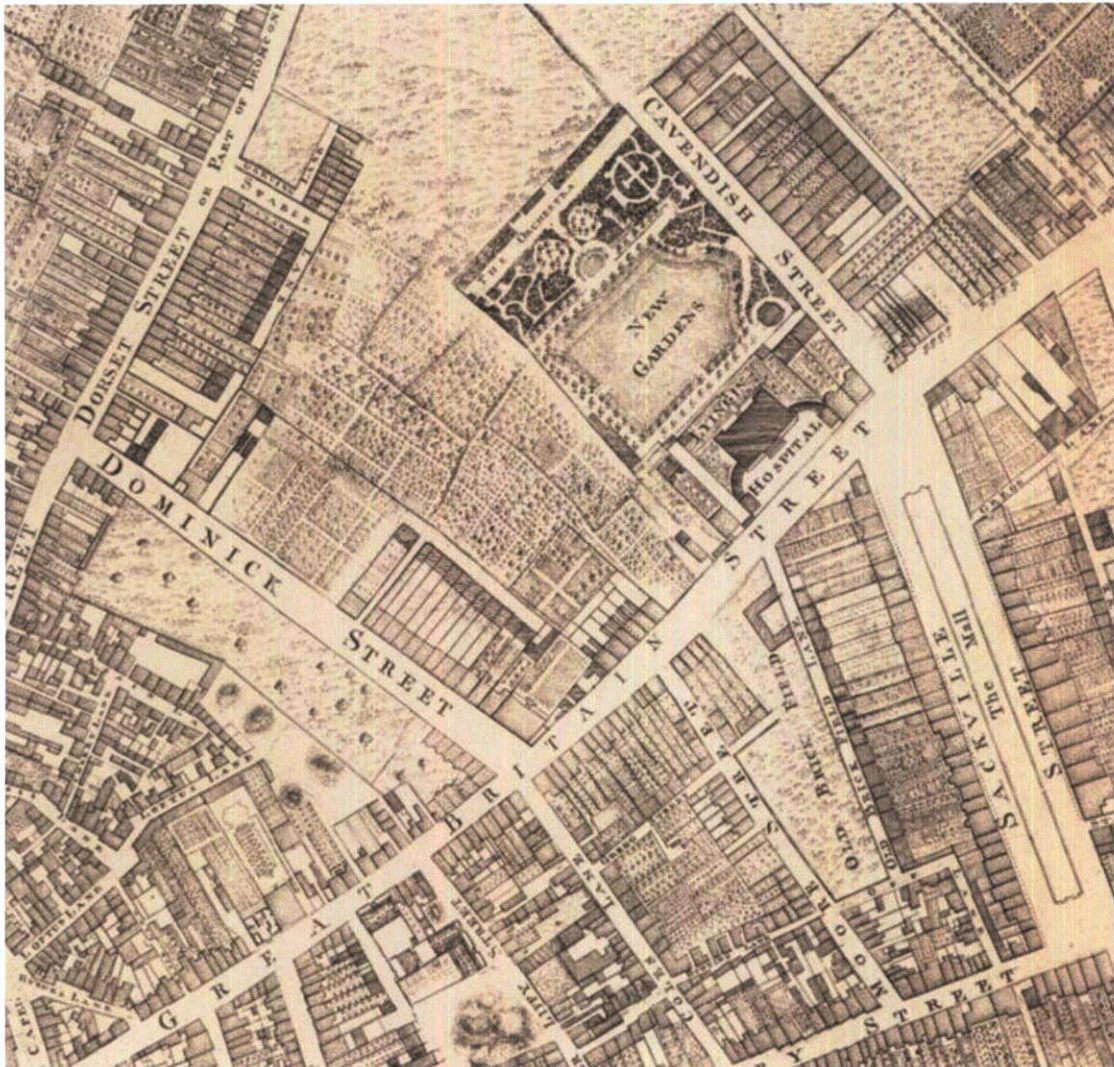


Figure 9.1 Detail of the Rocque map. North of Great Britain Street the pleasure gardens of the Rotunda Hospital and the adjacent market gardens and orchards took advantage of the microclimate and prospects afforded by the southerly slope.

The Rocque map of Dublin depicts extensive market gardens around Dublin; some were orchards, others a mixture of trees and horticulture. North of Great Britain Street, where the land rises, orchards and gardens took advantage of the microclimate afforded by the southerly aspect of the sloping site. (Figure 9.1) The Pleasure Gardens, laid out and opened to the public to fund the Lying-In (Rotunda) Hospital, also took advantage of the microclimate

<sup>13</sup> Malcolm Thick *The Neat House Gardens: Early Market Gardening Around London* 1998

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Willes, *The Gardens of the British Working Class*, (2014) p.193 also graphically illustrate by Plate VII. Elizabeth McKellar, *Landscapes of London*, (2013) pp.207-208

and of the prospects. On the flatter land of the Moore estate to the south, Rocque reveals a set of gardens (previously mentioned) on the west side of Moore Street. These are probably survivors from an earlier more extensive area of horticultural production. Seventeen years later, in 1773, these gardens still existed although the gardens and orchards next to the Pleasure Grounds had been lost to development. (Figure 9.2)

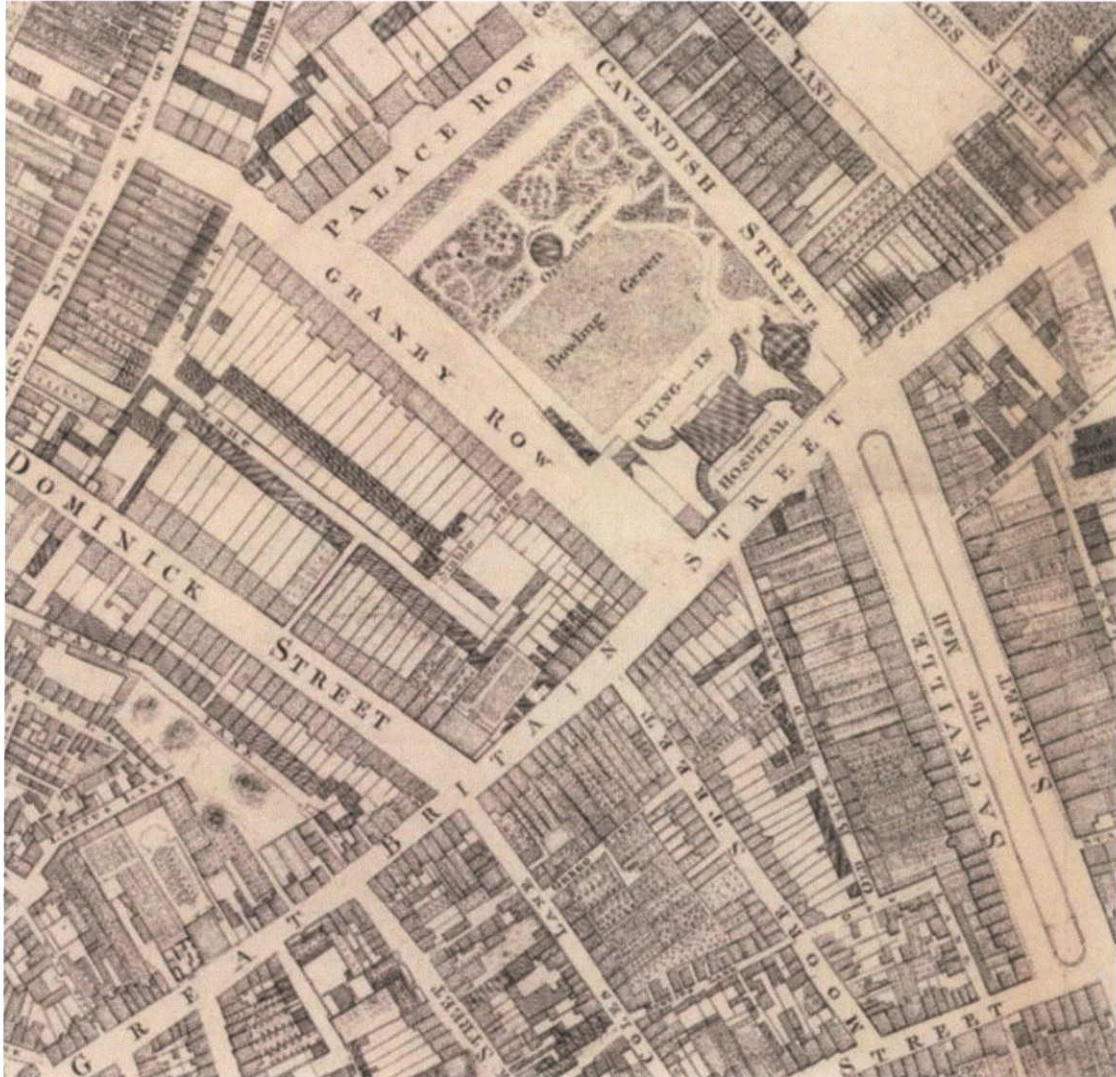


Figure 9.2 Detail of Scalé's 1773 updated edition of Rocque's Map. The horticultural lands west of the Pleasure Grounds have been laid out as Granby Row and Dominick Street; the gardens west of Moore Street have survived.

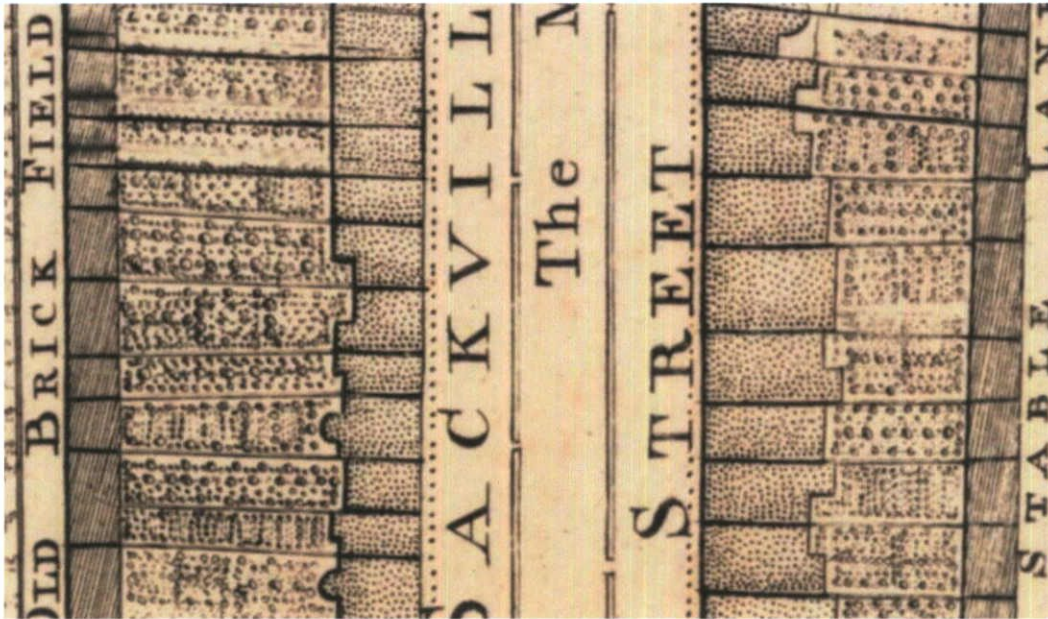


Figure 9.3 Detail of Rocque map 1756. Sackville Street/Mall: the west side with plots 200 feet deep provided for the creation of gardens; the deeper larger house plans of the east side leave less space for gardens. The layout of the gardens is probably notional rather than actual.

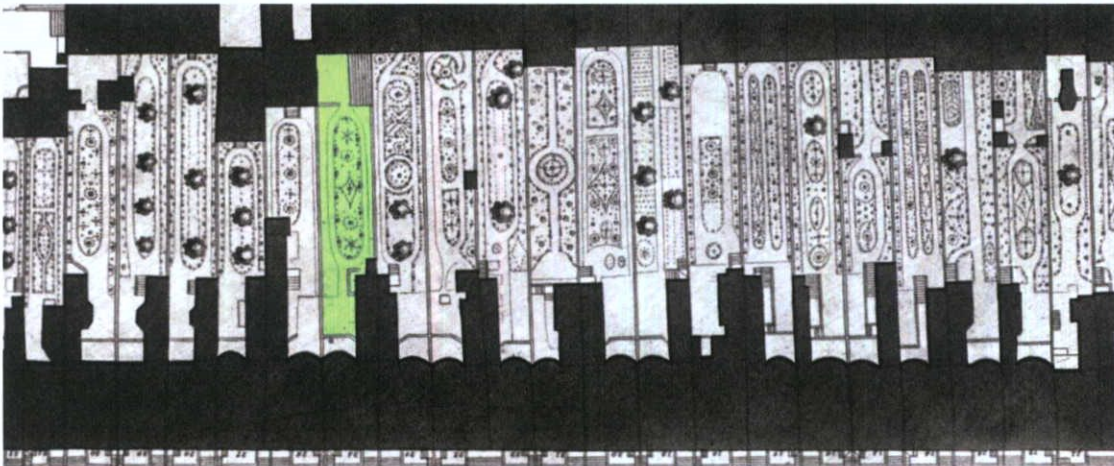


Figure 9.4 Detail of 1847 OS 5-foot map of Merrion Square South. The layout of the gardens was enjoyed, carpet-like, from above. Note the bowed windows to the rear. (UCD Digital Library with permission of Osi)

Each grand house on the west side of Sackville Street, with its deep plot of 200 feet had an opportunity to create a garden. The Rocque map acknowledges the gardens suggesting a variety of layouts, although these may be notional rather than accurate. (Figure 9.3) These gardens would have been prominent in the view from the principal rear rooms of the *piano nobile*, in particular and many of the houses have bow fronts, even at this early stage. The later gardens on Merrion Square, as revealed on the 1847 five-foot maps, could give an idea of the form of the gardens that may have graced the houses on Sackville Street. (Figure 9.4).<sup>15</sup> Such gardens were an ornament, seen from the principal rooms of the *piano nobile* and other upper rooms, their designs appreciated from above like a carpet. These designs

<sup>15</sup> A garden in Merrion Square has been restored recently and archaeology confirmed aspects of that shown on the 1847 map. The garden is at 63 Merrion Square which is occupied by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. On the map it is no.25 and indicated in green in Figure 9.4.

seem to accord with those in London,<sup>16</sup> where the planting of scented and aromatic plants was often recommended to counter the undesirable smells and pollution of the city.<sup>17</sup>

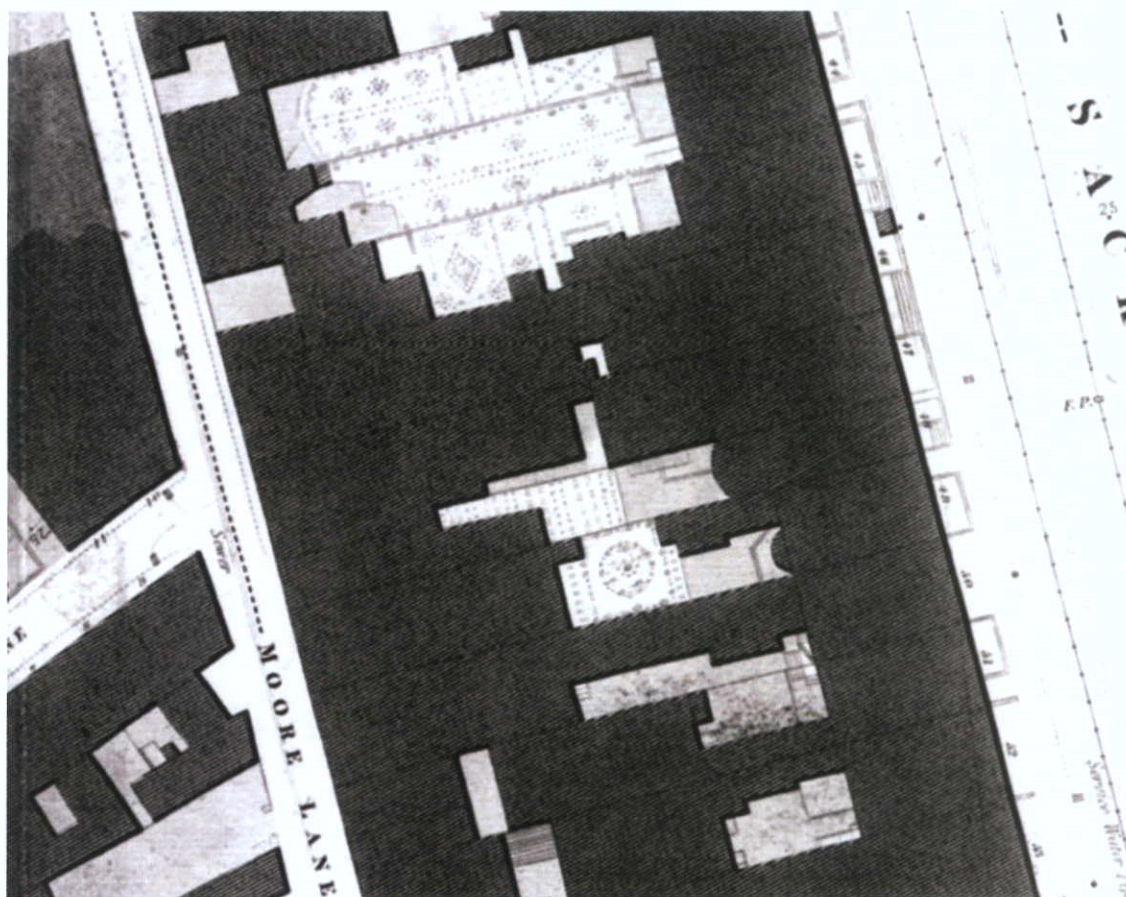


Figure 9.4 Detail of the 5-foot OS map of 1847 showing a section at the northern end of the west side of Sackville Street with the layout of the surviving fragments of earlier gardens indicated. (UCD Digital Library with permission of Osi)

By 1847, there were but few fragments of the gardens surviving on the west side of Sackville Street. (Figure 9.5) The transformation of Sackville Street from residential enclave to thoroughfare dominated by commercial and institutional premises, led to development within the depths of the plots to serve the new functions; in the case of Gilbeys', development covered the whole of plots 46 and 47. The buildings were often (like Gilbeys') of considerable height, and thus overshadowing adjacent plots. Even without this process of intensification, the original walls separating plots would have limited access to light and sun to some degree. In London, there were concerns about overshadowing and the difficulties for maintaining a garden arising from high party walls.<sup>18</sup> However, Thomas Fairchild, a nurseryman, writing in 1722 gives examples of plants thriving in the smallest of overshadowed spaces in London and advocated using every opportunity to plant in window boxes "and even upon the leads on the Tops of Houses amidst the Chimneys"<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden* (2001)

<sup>17</sup> Writing in the seventeenth century, John Evelyn advocated in his *Fumifugium: or The Inconvenience of the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated*, (1661) the planting of scented vegetation in London to counter pollution and smells. In 1722 Thomas Fairchild in his *The City Gardener* repeatedly recommends scented plants for gardens and city spaces.

<sup>18</sup> Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden* (2001) p.9

<sup>19</sup> op. cit. Thomas Fairchild, *The City Gardener*, p.57

**Street Trees**

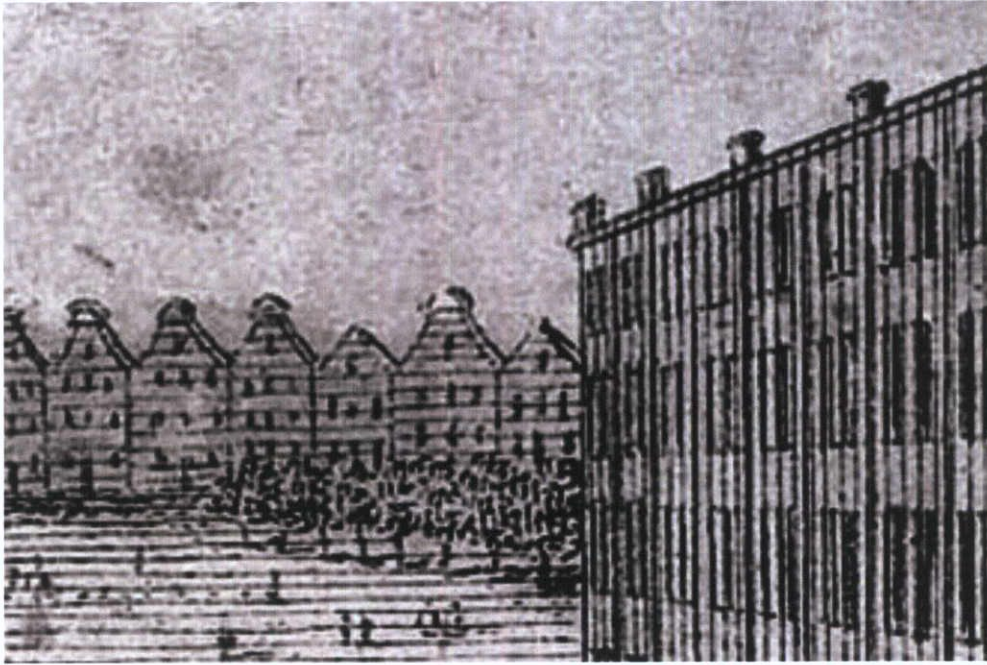


Figure 9.5 Detail of Joseph Tudor's perspective of Sackville Street c.1750. A short row of trees appears to line the north side of Great Britain Street. (NGI)

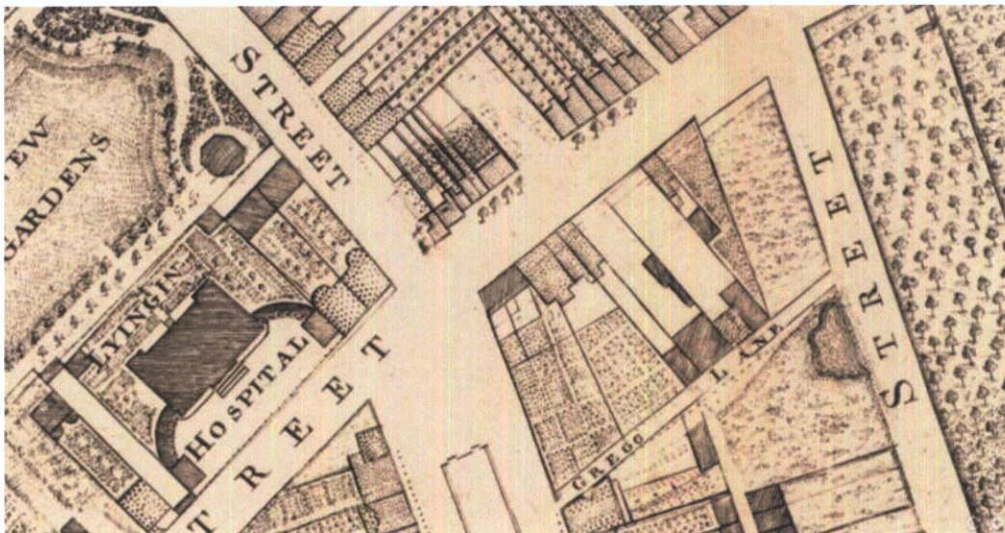


Figure 9.6 Detail of the Rocque Map of 1756 showing a row of trees on Great Britain Street.

To the east, beyond the north end of Sackville Street and to the right, as shown in Tudor's watercolour was a line of street trees in front of a terrace of *Dutch Billy* houses. (Figure 9.5) The trees also appear on the Rocque Map of 1756. (Figure 9.6) They are the only trees shown in a street on the entire map of Dublin. Even the tree-lined walk around St Stephen's Green was inside the Green's boundary. It is not clear whether the trees on Great Britain Street are a surviving remnant of a tree-lined road approaching the city, or a first tentative planting of urban street trees. (Figure 9.7)





Figure 9.7 Detail of a Prospect of the City presented on the Brooking Map of 1728. A tree-lined road approaches Dublin from the north. (RIA)

Although there were tree-lined promenades in Dublin at the city basin and around St. Stephen's Green these were separate entities from the streets. The merits of planting trees to grace the streets of Dublin was raised by Charles Topham Bowden in his *A tour through Ireland* of 1791. He wrote:

*I proceeded to the Circular Road, and walked and ... (was) absolutely astonished at the succession of charming views and beautiful scenery. ... If both sides of the road were planted with trees at equal distances, ... I do not believe there would be so fine an environ in Europe.*<sup>20</sup>

John Ferrar wrote in 1796:

*The circular road, which was finished in 1780, is a considerable ornament to the city, and such as no other in Europe can boast of. This and the park [Phoenix Park] must add greatly to the recreation and health of the citizens; yet they are both forsaken for the banks of the canal, which appear like a beautiful avenue lined with trees, enlivened with boats and company passing and repassing.*<sup>21</sup>

It was the nineteenth century before trees appeared on the streets of Dublin, when it was first attempted on Sackville Street. *The Garden* magazine reported in 1873 that "the Corporation of Dublin have resolved to plant a line of trees on each side of Sackville Street, the principal street in the city, and the favourite promenade of the citizens. We only wonder that this has not been done before. Imposing as the aspect of Sackville Street is as one looks upon it from Carlisle Bridge, the addition of trees will render it one of the handsomest of city thoroughfares."<sup>22</sup>

However, the planting was not a success, for *The Garden* reports in 1878, a discussion for replanting. The nurseryman, the famed Ninian Niven offered a gift of trees for replanting Sackville Street but with certain conditions: "One of these was that the flagway on both sides of the street should be widened in order that the trees, when in position, would stand well

<sup>20</sup> Charles Topham Bowden, *A tour through Ireland* (1791) p.10

<sup>21</sup> John Ferrar, *A view of ancient and modern Dublin, with its improvements to the year 1796* (Dublin 1796)

<sup>22</sup> *The Garden* 1873 vol I p.154

inside instead of, as now, outside the kerbstone.”<sup>23</sup> Although these conditions were removed, still nothing appears to have been done. The original planting was located in the street to avoid the vaults under the pavement. In 1884, the Council again resolved to replant Sackville Street and in 1894 a limited planting of a variety of species was to be carried out to determine which fared best in the urban environment.<sup>24</sup> Many the late-nineteenth century photographs of Sackville Street show soot and/or gypsum crust on buildings, so the concern was justified. Late-nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs reveal very few trees down the centre of the street, and these mostly, if not wholly on Sackville/O’Connell Street Upper, seemingly planted in the 1890s. (Figures 9.8, 9.9, 9.10 & 9.11) Over a century was to lapse before the pavements were widened and the street was lined with trees.



Figure 9.8 Father Mathew Monument unveiled 1893 and no new planting. The original attempt of planting had long since been removed. (Military Archives)



Figure 9.9 Late nineteenth-century photograph, (after 1894 and before 1898), showing the appearance of trees in the centre of Sackville Street Upper. (IAA) (This photograph shows no gantries for the electrification of the trams, which began in Sackville Street in 1898.)

<sup>23</sup> *The Garden* 1878 vol XIII, p. 172

<sup>24</sup> Mary Forrest, “Street tree planting in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Dublin” *Irish Forestry*, 2019, vol 76 pp.74/5



Figure 9.10 Trees planted only along the centre of Sackville Street Upper c.1910 (NLI)



Figure 9.11 1933: The trees are on O'Connell Street Upper only. There appears to have been some recent replacements. Note also the sole, overgrown surviving tree in a garden on the west side. (Britain from Above, photograph ref XPW043448).

### Paving of the Public Realm

From the outset Sackville Street was to be paved and lit. The roadway was finished with stone setts and the pavement with stone flags. At the curb there were bollards to ensure carriages were kept to the roadway. The Rocque map suggests that the paving and erection of bollards was the responsibility of each plot to provide. At the south and north ends of the Mall where the street is occupied by the side of plots addressing Earl Street or Great Britain Street there were no bollards, and one wonders whether there was any paving. Behind the grand street the mews lanes, that accommodated carriages returning to the stables and coach houses, would also have been laid with setts. The layout of Moore Lane and Henry Place (previously Off Lane) with their roadways of stone setts, underwent changes in extent of inclusion of accompanying pavements with granite curbs and flagged paths.

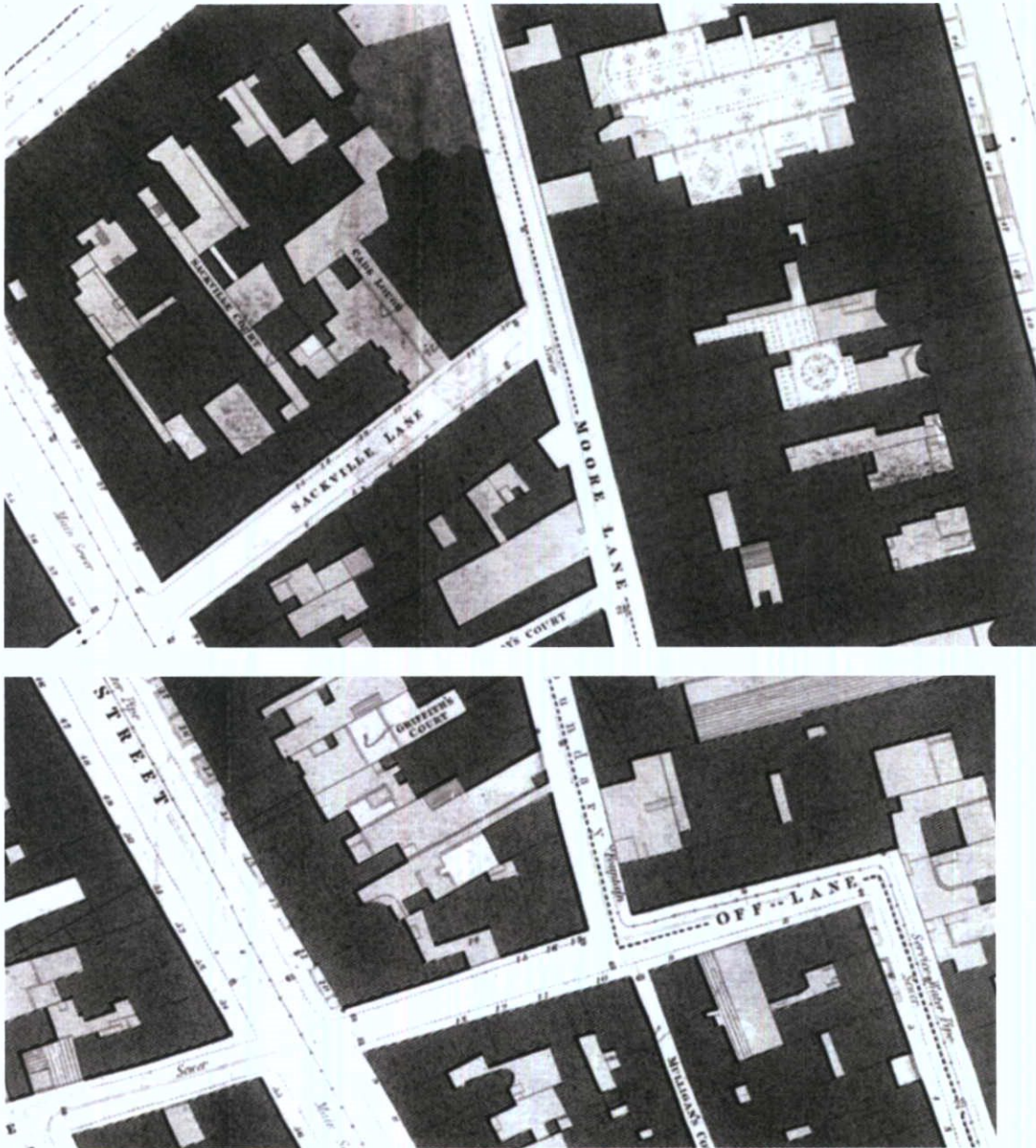


Figure 9.12 Two details of the 1847 5-foot OS Map. In each, dotted lines show the extent of paving at the northern end of Moore Lane (top) and in Off Lane (later Henry Place) by 1847. The drains on Moore Lane are located at the centre of the roadway. (UCD Digital Library with permission of Osi)

In 1847, Moore Lane had no pavements from Henry Place to O'Rahilly Parade. (Figure 9.12) The lane drained towards the centre line and through inverts into the line of the sewer. There were pavements on both sides of Henry Place, except for a stretch from Moore Lane to the

elbow of the lane on the north side. By 1891, pavements were complete in Henry Place and may have been present all the way down both sides of Moore Lane to join up with those at the junction with Sackville Lane (now O'Rahilly Parade) and beyond. (Figures 9.13 & 14) However this stretch may have existed as a gully now that the lane had been regraded to drain to each side. At the Henry Place end of Moore Lane there is a short run of pavement still extant but from there to O'Rahilly Parade the lane is without pavements. (Figures 15 & 16)

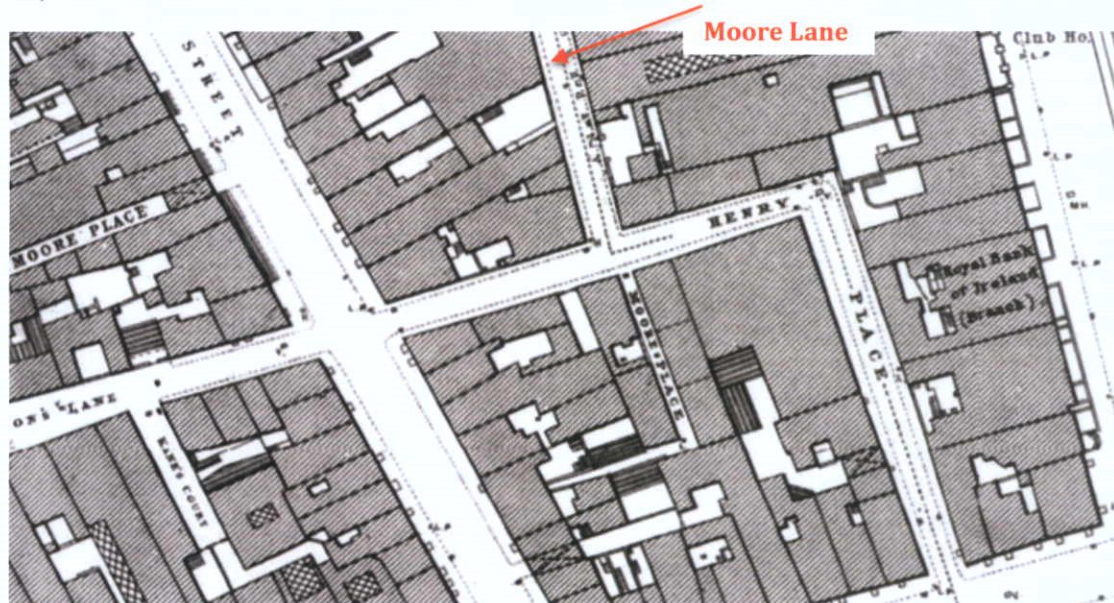


Figure 9.13 1891 5 foot OS Map. (UCD Digital Library with permission of Osi)



Figure 9.14 Looking south down Moore lane paved with setts and grade to drain to gutters either side. (RTE Archive)



Figure 9.15 Looking north along Moore Lane with short stretches of kerbed paving on either side. 1952 (Military Archive)



Figure 9.16 The Junction of Moore Lane with Henry Place. 1952 (Military Archive)

there may be surviving fragments of stone setts in the roadway of Moore Lane and on Henry Place there are stretches of pavements with their kerbs, although some granite kerbstones vary in width. (Figure 9.17)



Figure 9.17 Henry Place some surviving sections of pavement. A section on the right has larger width granite kerbstones. 2020

In the market zone on the west of Moore Street the courts and market streets were paved with stone flags but not until sometime after 1818.<sup>25</sup> (Figures 9.6, 9.7 & 9.8) There is a possibility that Clarke's and Mulligan's Courts were similarly paved, although this is not known.



Figure 9.18 Anglesea Market completely paved with stone flags, c.1910. (RSAI)



Figure 9.19 Looking east towards Moore Street, the original mews lane to Parnell Street, later part of the Moore Street market zone and most recently called Riddle's Row. 1972 (Courtesy of Dublin City Library and Archive)

<sup>25</sup> J.Warburton, J. Whitelaw and R. Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, (1818) p.1128. Of the Moore Street market zone they commented: "It is not flagged, the passages are confined and dirty".

In the detailing of the stone setts in the paving of the roadways there was opportunity for facilitating the definition of the hierarchy of streets and facilitating the pedestrian crossing at junctions. Figure 9.20 shows the junction of Henry Place and Moore Lane, where at one time, larger and possibly smoother setts defined the end of Moore Lane and the continuity of the pavement along Henry Place. Where the pavements of Sackville Street and Westmoreland Street meet Carlisle Bridge, a late nineteenth-century photograph suggests different coloured setts were used to define the crossing for pedestrians. (Figure 9.21)

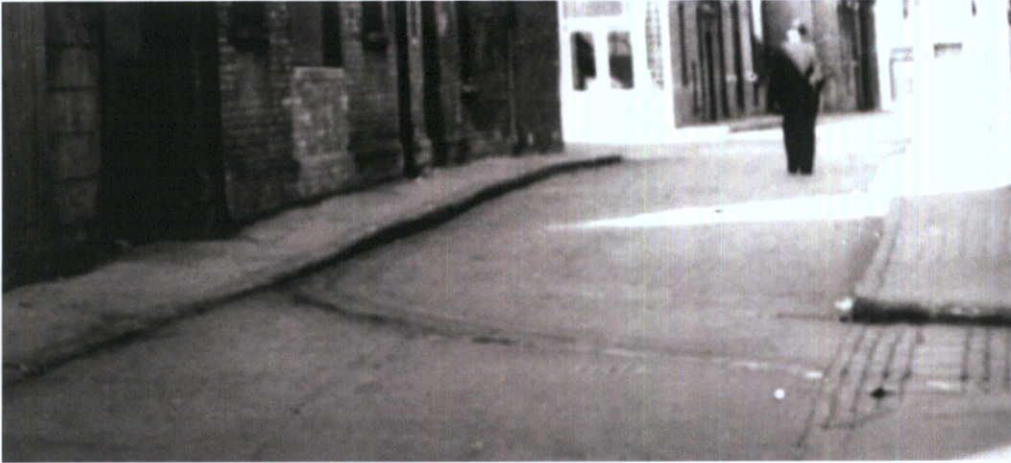


Figure 9.20 Looking west along Henry Place on the right note the detailing of setts at the junction with Moore Lane. 1952 (Military Archive)



Figure 9.21 Carlisle Bridge late nineteenth century. Apparently, different coloured setts were used to define the junction and indicate the crossing for pedestrians. The ladies appear to use the light coloured area to cross, indicating that it may have been smoother and easier to walk on. 1892 (Military Archive)



## 10. The Urban Landscape and the 1916 Battlefield Site

There has been substantial rebuilding and changes in land use and occupation since 1916. This, combined with decline and decay of the existing urban fabric in the last ninety years has left the 1916 battlefield site with little tangible and sensible evidence of the experience of the conflict played out in the locality. While contention persists as to what building fabric remains from the moment of the conflict, the context: economically, politically, socially and architecturally, has been considerably transformed.

Many of the significant and historically important battlefields that have been investigated and recognised, are located in the open rural landscape and at a substantial distance in time marked out in centuries.<sup>26</sup> Although still rural and open landscapes, the occupation and organisation of the land may have changed radically; agricultural activity, its techniques and crop types will have overlain the terrain with patterns of routes, boundaries and field geometries, as well as different textures, colours and forms. However, what often remains of the battlefield is the topography: the larger scale contours of the land that were significant factors in the organisation of the battle and how it panned out. Although rivers and marshes, once obstacles and severe disadvantages, are now bridged and in the case of marshes are orderly fields of waving corn with no trace of water, it might still be possible to apprehend their prior role in the outcome of the conflict.

How then does such a piece of landscape become a heritage site and what is there to be commemorated or experienced? Is it a monument to the battle/siege/conflict or is a monument to the fallen; those of one side or other, or both; those local or those from a foreign jurisdiction or agents of such?<sup>27</sup> With the public's apparently insatiable appetite for heritage is the site appropriate for re-enactment?

The 1916 Easter Rising was staged at a number of sites in Dublin, but the central symbolic theatre of the action was the GPO, a monumental building that has commanded the country's broadest thoroughfare since 1818. The GPO was the centre for communications; controlling post, telegraph and telephone from the instrument room, and so, the first target in the interior. The grand portal was a fitting stage for the fraternity of dramatists who had penned the audacious declaration and announced an Irish Republic.

After the audacious declaration, how was the GPO besieged and defended by the rebels, how was the evacuation from the burning building achieved and where was the location that the final hours before surrender were spent? This has been addressed in detail in a separate appendix. Here we shall briefly consider the landscape in which the events occurred. For a rural battlefield, there is a landscape with features all of which might make it possible to apprehend something of the spatial disposition of the conflict. Here there is the urban landscape. Straight streets with varying degrees of interconnection characterise central north Dublin's urban landscape developed in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries and promoted by the Wide Streets Commission. The straight streets provided arenas of conflict; however, in contrast with the labyrinthine, organic nature of urban landscapes of medieval origin, they provided exceptional opportunities for surveillance and control.

Individual buildings, monumental or modest in scale or character, could become sites of siege and resistance, but with limitations and opportunities for defenders and aggressors alike that are distinctly different from the traditional castle, redoubt or bastion. The narrative of escape from the GPO to the final surrender in Moore Street is dealt with in Appendix 4, however, it will be explored here in terms of the urban fabric and landscape.

The dash across Henry Street to enter Henry Place (Figure 10.1 - A) had its dangers because of the straight form of the former. However, the bulk of the pedestal of Nelson's Pillar blocked the view from Sackville Street/O'Connell Street to the east and hampered the deployment of firepower.

<sup>26</sup> *Bloody Meadows: Investigating Landscapes of Battle*, John and Patricia Carman, 2006

<sup>27</sup> *Battlefields from Event to Heritage*, John and Patricia Carman, 2020

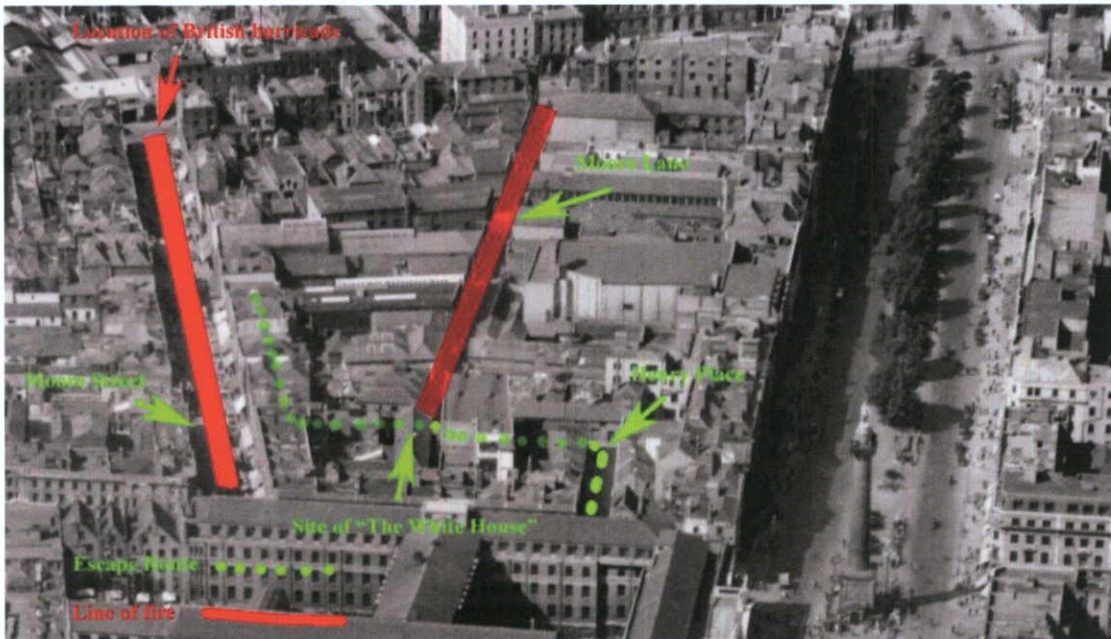


Figure 10.1 Battle zone indicating the location of The 'White House', No. 10 Henry Place, and the escape route (Britain from Above)

After crossing Henry Street, Henry Place offered the best shelter from fire, but at its junction with Moore Lane, there was a clear line of sight all the way north to Parnell Street. The junction was under surveillance from Moore Lane, from the Rotunda Hospital and possibly from Findlater's Church and hence, the republican combatants could have come under fire along the lane from a distance and from snipers. The narrowness of Moore Lane and its containment with buildings either side meant that only a short distance needed to be crossed to get beyond danger.



Figure 10.2 The 'White House', No. 10 Henry Place, showing bullet marks in that part of the elevation that was exposed to fire power from within and beyond Moore Place. (Military Archive)

The almost iconic photograph of the so-called White House, No. 10 Henry Place, shows the consequences of the three-dimensional landscape of the battlefield. (Figures 10.1, 10.2 & 10.3) That part of the elevation that was exposed to fire power from within and beyond Moore Lane is pock-marked with bullet marks. There is a distinct absence of bullet damage on the right-hand side of the elevation, being outside the line of sight along Moore Lane and hence, beyond the narrow tunnel of exposure to distance rifle fire. To the left in the image is Moore Place, its entrance just in sight along Moore Lane, but at an angle to the line of Moore Lane. However, fire entering the court would have ricocheted to reach the end wall.

If crossing Moore Lane had its dangers, Moore Street, with its much greater width, was a far greater barrier to an escape to the safer, somewhat labyrinthine market and service zone to the west, with its markets, courts and passages. Crown forces stationed at a barricade at the northern end of Moore Street rendered the street treacherous, with only doorways to offer a little by way of shelter. The Volunteers were effectively trapped within the urban block, bounded on the west and east by Moore Street and Lane respectively; to the south the bombardment and destruction of that section of Henry Street was underway. As on battlegrounds in earlier times and in the open countryside, they "dug themselves in" making a defensive structure-come-fortress out of a terrace of buildings. This was done by mining through the series of party walls to create a possible alternative safe route of escape and in the meantime to take command of a group of buildings. There was no practical exit arising from the dual cordon of Moore Street and Lane with their containment and the lines of sight and surveillance afforded by their form. The Volunteers finally surrendered from this terrace on Moore Street.

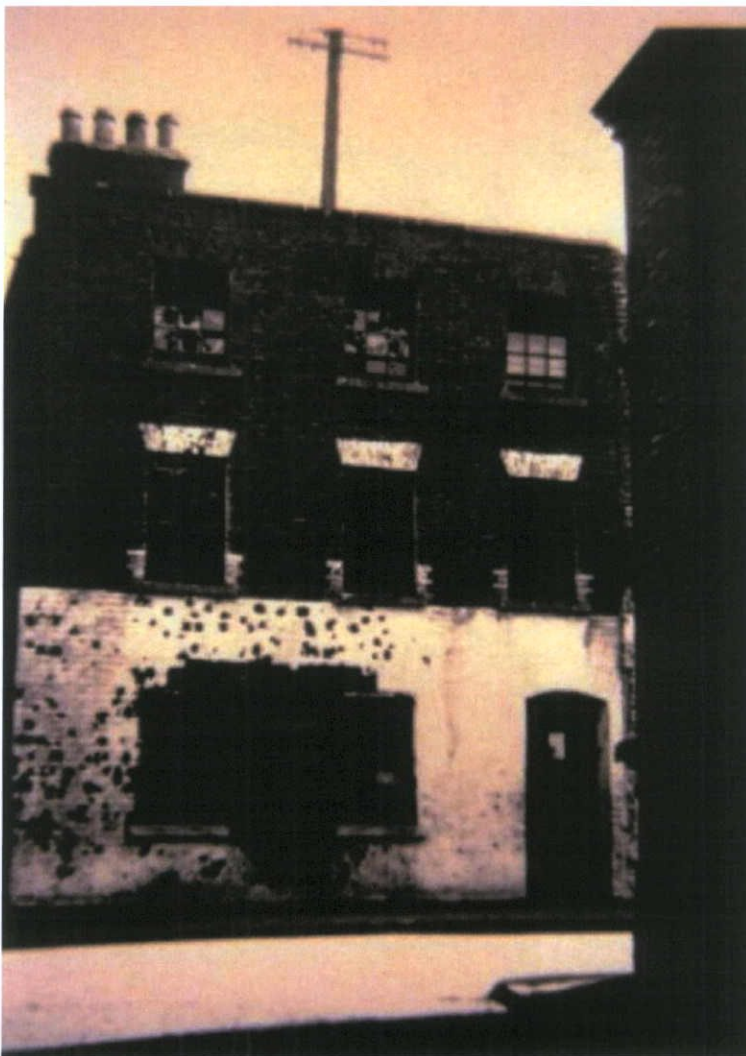


Figure 10.3 The 'White House', No. 10 Henry Place(Military Archive)

This is the landscape of the battlefield. Here we will examine the degree of survival, in terms of physical battle marks, street patterns, building forms, scales and uses and surfaces. After 1916, some buildings were rebuilt, making good damage by firepower, artillery and rifle. In the intervening century, social and economic forces and fortunes have waxed and waned in the Moore Street/Moore Lane/Henry Street/Parnell Street urban block, as elsewhere in the city. No. 10 Henry Place and the plots of the tenements behind was combined and replaced by a motor repair shop. The locus of final standoff - the east side of Moore Street, the terrace of houses and businesses, with the mined connections through party walls - has remained, with some plots rebuilt to similar proportions, albeit inferior in quality. Of these, four have been designated National Monuments.

All of the streets and lanes in the Moore Street/Moore Lane/Henry Street/Parnell Street urban block have survived.

The three-dimensional form of that crucial junction of Moore Lane and Henry Place remains, and the view up the lane to the Rotunda Hospital and Findlater's Church is there, albeit diminished by the increasing scale of buildings on Parnell Street. The street pattern and its three-dimensional form survives, at least in abstract and diagrammatic form, making it possible to gauge something of how the urban fabric formed the field of conflict.

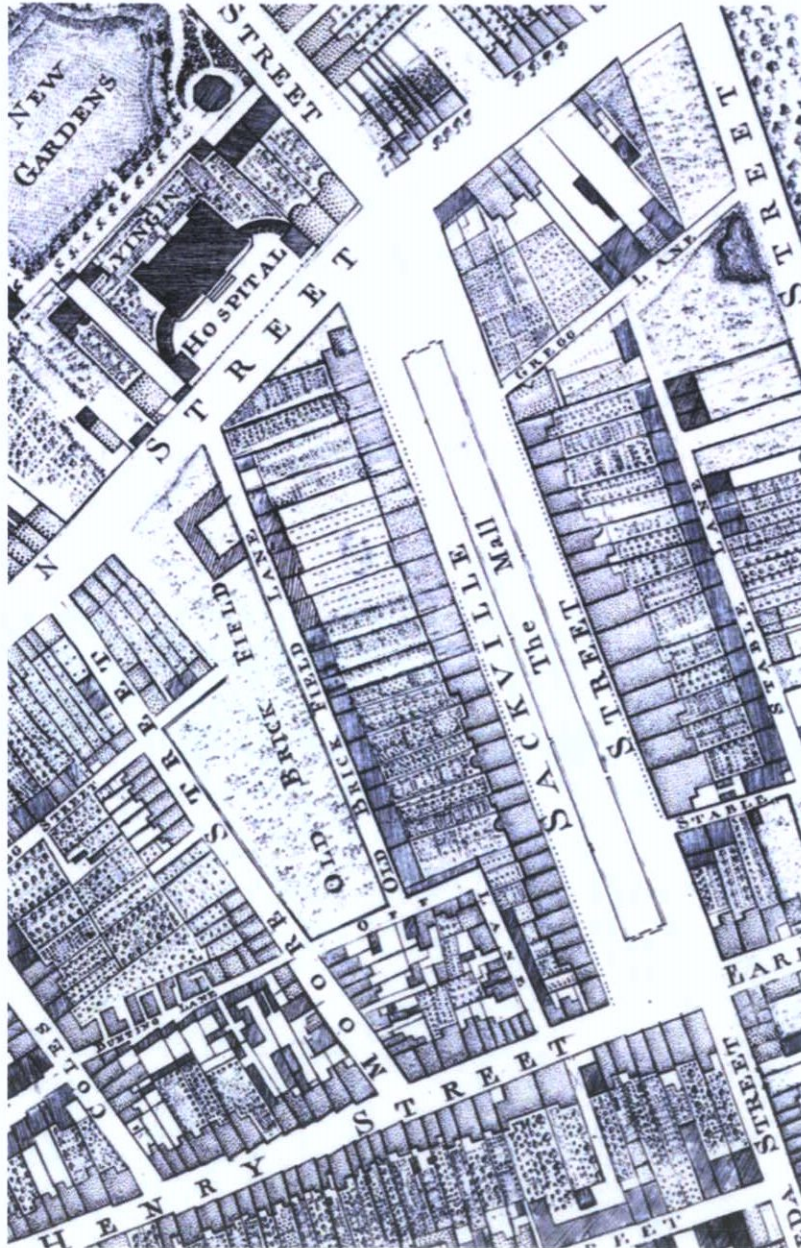
Many building heights and appearances have changed. There has been wholesale replacement of buildings and the replacement of multiple plots with single large buildings. The tenements in Moore Place were replaced with commercial and industrial buildings. Some buildings have survived but in an unrecognisable form. In some instances, building heights have been reduced to a single-storey; elsewhere, the buildings have been cleared resulting in vacant plots and still others have been replaced with very high buildings. Hence, the urban space framed by the streets, lanes and courts, the voids and enclosed courts between buildings has been modified over the years.

In the course of the twentieth century, Moore Lane grew in its share of businesses of an industrial nature, extending already existing enterprises (some with an O'Connell Street presence), before declining to its present state of vacancy and dereliction. The Market Area to the west side of Moore Street was obliterated by the ILAC Centre and Moore Street itself, and its market, has declined. Gone is the social and economic context of the moment.

In some instances, buildings, ostensibly rebuilt after the 1916-22 period, have in fact, retained their structures. However, much of Moore Street and Henry Street, as detailed in this report and others, have post 1922 buildings. There are few, if any, extant, unaltered building surfaces bearing testimony to 1916. In the lanes, the surviving granite kerbs and stone setts provide important tangible connections with the past, embodying much of the diminished character and authenticity of the spaces.

## Dublin Central Masterplan Area Conservation Management Plan

### **Appendix A4** The Urban Battlefield



John Rocque 1756 Harvard Map Collection

# DUBLIN CENTRAL MASTERPLAN AREA CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN

## Appendix A4

### BASELINE ASSESSMENT OF 1916 AND 1922 BATTLEFIELDS WITHIN THE DUBLIN CENTRAL MASTERPLAN AREA

February 2021



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Note: While every endeavour has been made to identify and acknowledge the sources of illustrations/photographs, Molloy&Associates wish to apologise if any copyrighted material has been inadvertently included without due acknowledgement.

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#### A4.1 INTRODUCTION

Appendix 4 of the Conservation Management Plan identifies the significance of fabric connected to the 1916 Easter Rising battlefield and this understanding will inform a strategy for its conservation, which is to be balanced with the needs of landowners, the various stakeholders, tourist interest, the archaeology and conservation departments of Dublin City Council, the Department of Heritage, Culture and the Gaeltacht and planning policy and other statutory requirements.

This document was reviewed in draft form by Professor Diarmaid Ferriter, Professor of Modern History at UCD.

As far as possible the recommendations in Professor Ferriter's review have been taken on board and amendments have been made.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to address all points made, given the constraints arising from the restrictions imposed as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic which has been ongoing since prior to the commencement of work on this project by the conservation team, resulting in the closure of libraries and archives.

A great deal of forensic research has been carried out on the buildings within the site and this will provide new information for future scholars. The interpretation of baseline research together with new findings transcends the requirements of a planning report, as the national importance of this research deserving of a careful, unbiased collation of material, is acknowledged.

It is therefore recommended that on completion of the works the results of the findings to date should be combined with any additional findings in a final report, carried out by an appointed historian.

### PART 1

#### A4.2 THE 1916 EASTER RISING

##### A4.2.1 Background to the subject site's relationship with the 1916 Easter Rising

The events relevant to the subject site primarily relate to the final 24 hours of the 1916 Easter Rising commencing with the evacuation of the Volunteers from the GPO on Friday 28<sup>th</sup> April and finishing with the decision to surrender on Saturday the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1916. A summary account of these events as described by Courtney Deery Heritage Consultancy is provided below.

##### A4.2.2 Summary account of the 1916 Easter Rising

*(Written by Courtney Deery Heritage Consultancy, 2011 and 2012)*

On April 24, 1916, Easter Monday, the republicans launched attacks on key buildings in Dublin. From the GPO, the designated headquarters of the Provisional Government and the principal position of the

Rising, the rebels hoisted their flag above the General Post Office and declared a republic. They hoped the actions would trigger an uprising across Ireland, but elsewhere the rebellion was limited. In Dublin, however, the fighting lasted for six days before the authorities were able to re-establish control.

On Friday 28<sup>th</sup> the GPO was engulfed by fire and the garrison was forced to evacuate. They planned a move to the Williams & Woods factory (demolished in 1978) on Great Britain Street (Parnell Street) and this was led by Michael Joseph O'Rahilly. 'The O'Rahilly', as he was known, was shot several times as he made his way northwards along Moore Street. Connolly was incapacitated, having been hit by a sniper in the leg and during the evacuation of the headquarters and the combatants moved him on a stretcher. They left the GPO by a side entrance into Henry Street and made their way along Henry Place, coming under intense fire at Moore Lane from a contingent of soldiers behind a barricade on the Parnell Street end of this lane, some of whom may have been stationed on the roof of the Rotunda Hospital.

Unable to go down Moore Lane or go onto Moore Street, from Henry Place, they broke into Cogan's house in No. 10 Moore Street and began to tunnel northwards through the party walls of the houses. They did not reach the factory and part of the garrison took up new positions in the houses along Moore Street where they spent the last two days of the Rising.

From No. 16 Padraig Pearse saw the bodies of the civilians on Moore Street and in order to prevent the loss of further civilian life he and four other leaders namely Connolly, Clarke, MacDiarmada and Plunkett decided to surrender. It is thought that the first-floor rear room in No. 16 is where the final Council of War was held and the decision to surrender was made.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> April 1916, at 12.45 p.m. Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell, a member of Cumann na mBan, emerged from the terrace in Moore Street with a Red Cross flag with directions to inform General Lowe that Pearse wished to negotiate surrender terms. Eventually, however Pearse and the leaders surrendered unconditionally.

*In order to prevent the further slaughter of Dublin citizens, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered the members of the Provisional Government present at Head-Quarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender... (P.H. Pearse, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1916).*

In response to the execution of the leaders and the backlash that followed, guerrilla warfare broke out in large parts of Ireland in 1919–21, ending in a truce and an Anglo-Irish Treaty. The terms of the Treaty were accepted by a parliamentary majority but did not meet the aspirations of a significant cohort of Republicans or satisfy the ambitions of some of their leaders. This led to a destructive Civil War that ended in 1923 and caused bitterness and disillusion that lasted for generations. Two separate states in Ireland, the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, came into existence in 1920–21.



### A4.3 THE EVACUATION ROUTE

Part of the evacuation route that the Volunteers took from the burning GPO to the last Headquarters in Moore Street is within the subject site.

#### A4.3.1 Mapping the evacuation route

Figures 1 and 2 are maps of the evacuation route which have been generated using the following primary sources;

- Witness statements in the Military Archives
- Reference to contemporaneous maps (Goad's Fire Insurance Maps, 1893 and 1926)
- 1914 Post Office Directory and
- Thom's Directory of 1917

#### A4.3.2 The Evacuation from the General Post Office (GPO)

The texts below describe the Evacuation from the south of the site, and northward through the site.

##### Evacuation of the wounded to Jervis Street Hospital

The evacuation began at dusk on Friday night, 28<sup>th</sup> April, from the side door of the GPO on Henry Street. It was Connolly's intention to try to reach the Williams and Woods Factory in Parnell St.<sup>1</sup> Before the evacuation of the GPO began, the wounded were moved first to the Coliseum Theatre and later were brought to Jervis Street Hospital<sup>2</sup> aided by members of the Cumman na mBan.<sup>3</sup>

##### Michael Joseph 'The' O'Rahilly Charge (Refer to Figure 1)

On Friday evening, Pearse assembled a group from amongst the GPO garrison in the smoke-filled hall and instructed them to load up as much food and ammunition as possible and to make their way to a new position at the Williams and Woods factory in Great Britain Street (Parnell Street). Witness Statements suggest that there were about eleven men in this advance guard<sup>4</sup>, though the number is more likely to have been between twenty and thirty.

O'Rahilly took the advance guard out of the side entrance of the GPO in an attempt to clear the way. Holding his sword in front of him, he led his men up Henry Street but as they rounded Moore Street, they found themselves confronted by a barricade, constructed across the top of Moore Street at Great Britain (Parnell) Street. The O'Rahilly advanced up the east side of Moore Street, and was some distance ahead of rest of the rest of the group.

*Up the street we rushed, men quickly falling as we went, and the further we went, the more quickly they fell (Sean MacEntee, W.S. 1052)*

<sup>1</sup> W. S. 1052, Sean MacEntee, W.S. 1686 Ruaidhri Henderson

<sup>2</sup> W.S. 249, Frank Henderson

Thomas Devine had advanced up the west side of Moore Street and sheltered in Riddal's Row, from where he could see The O'Rahilly sheltering in a doorway of Lehy's public house.



Fig. 1 Evacuation route taken by The O'Rahilly and his group of volunteers as described in the witness statements in the Military Archives.

- 1 Approximate location where The O'Rahilly was shot several times.
- 2 Approximate location where The O'Rahilly later died.

<sup>3</sup> W.S. 359, Aoife de Burca

<sup>4</sup> W.S. 488, John (Jack) Plunkett

*In the narrow framework he got sufficient cover by standing stiffly erect. Simultaneously, we seven swerved into Riddle's (sic) Row, an alley on the opposite side of Moore Street, and here we stood and stared across at him awaiting a signal (Thomas Devine, W.S. 428)*

When O'Rahilly stepped out, he was shot several times [marked 1 on the map in Fig 1] and managed to drag himself into Sackville Lane, where he later died. [marked 2 on the map in Fig 1]

*I looked up and saw the dead body of the O'Rahilly lying about four yards up the lane his feet against the steps of the first door on the right side the side entrance to Kellys shop. Moore Street and his head out on the kerbstone.' (Elizabeth O'Farrell, Recollections in An Phoblacht.)*

Written after I was shot — in now. I got more one bullet I think  
 Darling Nancy  
 I was shot leading a rush up Moore Street took refuge in a doorway while I was there I heard the men pointing out where I was & I made a bolt for the lane I am  
 Jones & tons of love dearie to you & to the boys & to Nell & Anna It was a good fight anyhow  
 Please deliver this to Nannie O'Rahilly  
 40 Herbert Park  
 Dublin  
 Good bye dearie

P 1 Image of note written by The O'Rahilly to his wife Nancy after he was shot.

Seamus O' Sullivan was instructed by Pearse to be second in command of this advance attack. He recounts suggesting to O'Rahilly that they should advance through Henry Place rather than Moore Street, but was overruled.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> W.S. 393 Seamus O'Sullivan



P 2 Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) during the Rising, Daily Sketch Photographer Source: Imperial War Museum.

Evacuation of the Main Group (Refer to Figure 2)

The main group left via the side door of the GPO on Henry Street (A) and dashed in twos and threes across the street into Henry Place. Some men were wounded in the crush to evacuate when a couple of shotguns were accidentally discharged.<sup>6</sup> Witness accounts suggest that the initial group running across were not fired upon, but subsequently firing intensified from the direction of Mary Street to the west and Amiens Street to the east.

In Henry Place some confusion spread amongst the group. The Volunteers were sheltered from fire but prevented from progressing the advance past the junction at Moore Lane.

O'Brien's Mineral waters were positioned on the corner and the Volunteers broke into the premises and dragged out a van to put across Moore Lane to provide some cover from the opposing forces.

The bend in Henry Place (B) is frequently referenced in the witness statements. This reference point is both an identifiable physical feature and defines a new stage in the battle; the GPO has been left behind and the Volunteers were sizing up the next challenge; crossing the junction at the southern end of Moore Lane to reach number 10 Moore Street (C) which was under intense fire from soldiers based

<sup>6</sup> W.S. 388, Joseph Good

in the Parnell Street area. The front gable of 10 Henry Place, facing onto Moore Lane was heavily damaged and is described in the witness statements as 'the white house'.

The Volunteers broke into 10 Moore Street (D) and the headquarters were initially established here, whilst the men worked through the night at breaking through the party walls of the terrace of 10 to 25 Moore Street to eventually reach Sackville Lane (O'Rahilly Parade).

A small number of Volunteers occupied 9 Moore Street (E) for a time, prior to crossing the street to enter 10 Moore Street to join the rest of the party. Their progression was hampered by the fire which had spread to the buildings at the corner of Henry Street and Moore Street.<sup>7</sup>

Connolly was moved on a blanket through the openings in the walls to a position midway along the terrace. Although not unanimous, previous studies generally suggest that he lay in the rear room of 16 Moore Street (G), and that it was here that the last Council of War was held.

Approximately three hundred Volunteers were spread out along the terrace, with gatherings in the rear of Hanlon's (F). On Saturday morning, a group of about twenty men were assembled in Kelly's Yard (H) and poised to charge through the gate onto Sackville Lane towards the army barricade at the top of Moore Street. This charge never materialised as the decision to surrender was announced.

Significant locations on the evacuation route referenced in multiple witness accounts identified on Fig.2.

- A Side Door of GPO
- B Bend in Henry Place
- C 10 Henry Place / 'the white house'
- D 10 Moore Street (headquarters on Friday night, 28<sup>th</sup> April)
- E 9 Moore Street 4
- F Hanlon's rear yard
- G 16 Moore Street, location of the final headquarters
- H Kelly's Yard

Elizabeth O'Farrell emerged from the terrace on Moore Street under a white flag to surrender, and subsequently returned to Pearse. Pearse then emerged from the Moore Street terrace surrender on Parnell Street.

The wounded were lined up in front of Hanlon's (20-21 Moore Street).<sup>8</sup>

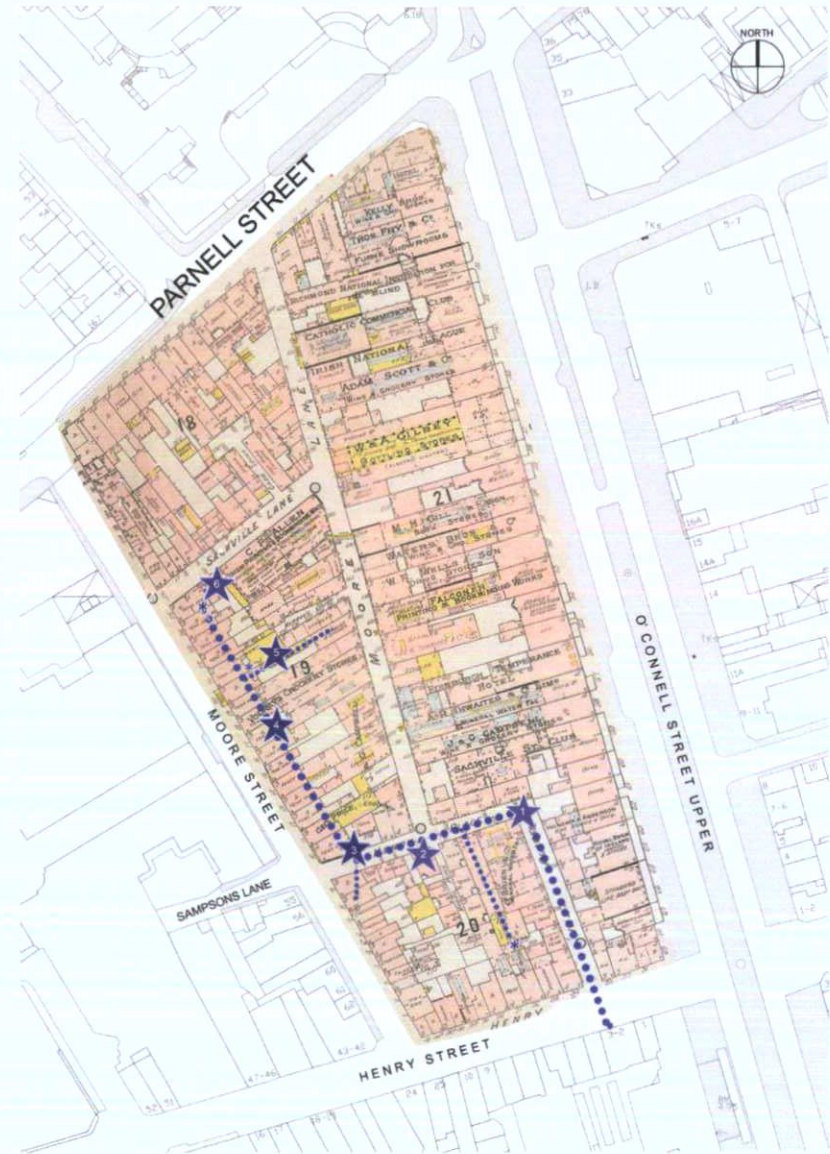


Fig. 2 Evacuation route taken by the main group, as described in the witness statements in the Military Archives.

<sup>7</sup> W.S. 4, Diarmuid Lynch

<sup>8</sup> Sean McLoughlin W.S.290

The Republican forces were corralled down Moore Street, into Henry Place, out onto Henry Street and instructed to lay their arms at the foot of the Parnell Monument on Sackville Street (O'Connell Street). The prisoners then spent the night in the open on the grounds of the Rotunda Hospital.



P 3 Evacuation of Volunteers post surrender Easter 1916.



Fig. 3 Route taken by the volunteers post surrender, as described in the witness statements in the Military Archive

Legend: Fig.3

- A: The wounded were lined up in front of Hanlon's.
- B: The volunteers were ordered to lay down their arms
- C: Surrendered arms were collected at the base of the Parnell Monument.
- D: The Volunteers spend the night in the open in the grounds of the Rotunda

#### A4.4 RECORDED FATALITIES

Eight Republican combatants are known to have been killed in action:

Charles Carrigan  
Henry Coyle  
Francis Macken  
Michael Mulvihill  
John Neale  
Patrick O'Connor  
The O'Rahilly  
Paddy Shortis

Eleven civilians are known to have died:

Edward Byrne (22), Corporation Buildings  
Mary Anne Corrigan (34), Moore Lane  
Robert Dillon (55), Moore Street  
John Doyle (37), Moore Street  
Elizabeth Hanratty (28), Moore Street  
William Heavy (34), Moore Street  
Brigid McKane (15), Henry Place  
Patrick McManus (60), Moore Street  
William Mullen (9), Moore Place  
John Murphy (61)  
Robert O'Beirne (51)

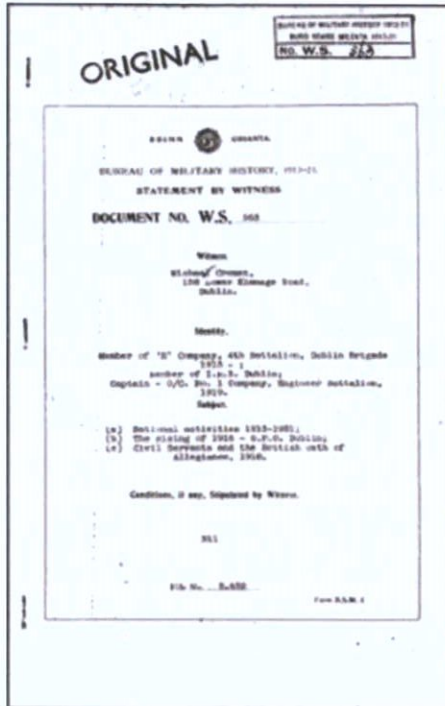
The Irish Times of the day also reported that between two to four soldiers were killed in the vicinity of Moore Street, though only one is, in fact recorded, Frederick Burke of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

#### A4.5 IDENTIFICATION OF PRE-1916 FABRIC WITHIN THE SITE

##### A4.5.1 Methodology to identify pre-1916 fabric within the site

- Consult primary sources, (witness statements, photographs etc.) to identify the routes / streets and buildings involved, where lives were lost, significant locations.
- Overlay historic maps & field inspection information to identify physical fabric surviving from 1916.
- Undertake forensic investigations (petrographic analysis of mortar samples) to distinguish between pre-1916 structures and those reconstructed using pre-1916 fabric.

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**Review of primary sources:**  
Witness statements held in the military archives.



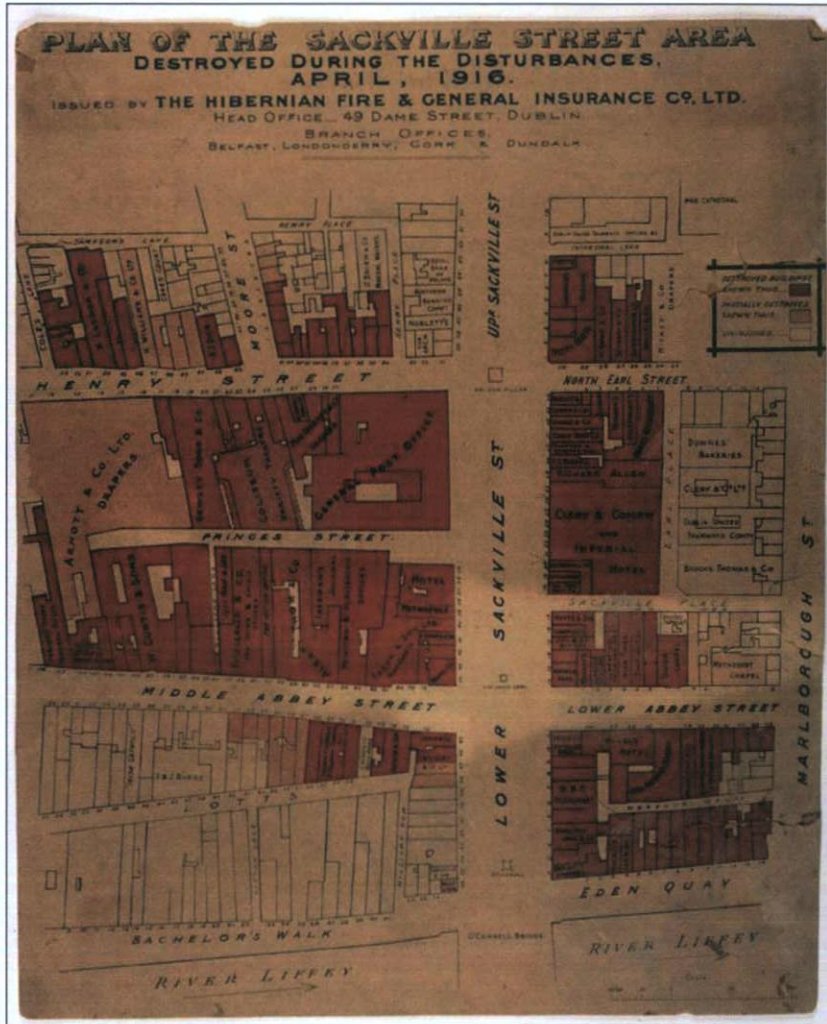
**Review of primary sources: maps, photographs and documentation**  
Extract of 'Co. Borough of Dublin, Map of Premises destroyed or damaged during riots of April and May 1916' – Fire Department.



**Examination of physical building fabric**  
Samples collected and tested in a mobile laboratory on site by Dr Jason Bolton.

Fig.4 Study Methodology

A4.5.2 Damage to building fabric during and in the aftermath of the Easter Rising 1916



P 4 The Hibernian Fire and General Insurance Co. Ltd Plan of the Sackville Street Area Destroyed during the disturbances, April 1916, National Library of Ireland.



P 5 View Henry Street from Nelson's Pillar post-1916 Rising, Source: Digital Repository of Ireland.



P 6 View of junction of Henry Street and Moore Street, Source: Warhistoryonline.com



P 7 Destroyed buildings at the junction of Henry Street and Moore Street, looking towards Nelson's Pillar 1916, Source: National Library of Ireland.



P 9 View of Henry Street, Source: Digital Repository of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy.

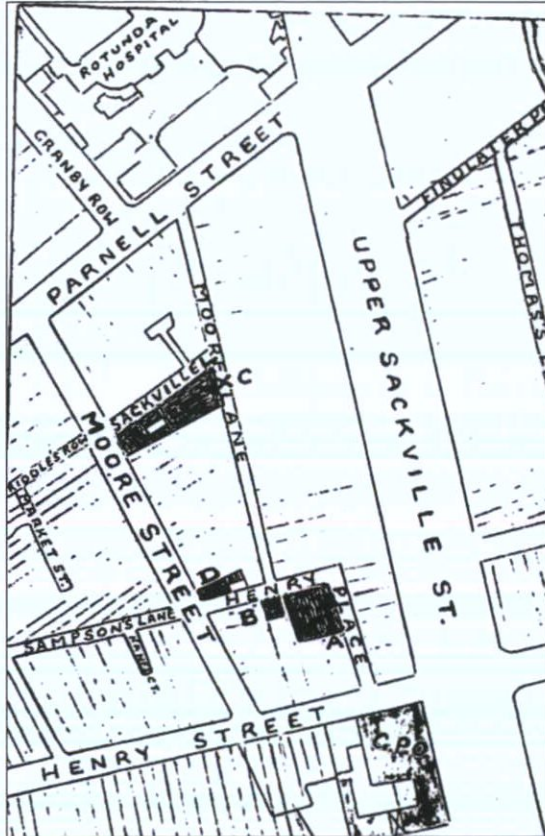


P 8 Henry Street Looking westwards from Nelson's Pillar, May 18 1916, The Westropp Collection, Digital Repository of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy.



P 10 View of Henry Street and Mary's Street as seen from the west side of Nelson's Pillar, NMI Collection.





P 11 Map contained in Michael Creman's witness statement (W.S. 563) identifying the following significant places.

- A: Shot lock on door in laneway in attempt to gain access
- B: Mineral water stores thought to be occupied by the British forces
- C: Position on Moore Lane occupied by British forces
- D: Nearest House on Moore Street that we (the volunteers) were directed into
- E: Storehouse at rear of last house, was provided with a large bay window at rear

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#### A4.6 PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF CONFLICT

##### A4.6.1 Methodology to identify physical evidence of battle

- Analyse desktop research to identify areas of interest.
- Undertake physical inspection of site to identify and record remains of battle: bullet holes, broken openings through party walls etc.
- Review previous reports undertaken e.g. Myles 2012 report.

##### A4.6.2 Comment on previous assessment by Courtney Deery Heritage Consultancy

In this part of the city, many of the buildings were totally destroyed as a result of the Easter Rising of 1916 particularly along O'Connell Street and Henry Street. A subsequent Fire Insurance Plan (Goad, 1926) shows that almost all of Sackville Street Lower was destroyed and the block enclosed by Middle Abbey Street, Henry Street and Liffey Street Upper, excepting the Arnott's department store.

Recent research, in response to an additional information request as part of the Ministerial consent process to facilitate investigative and protection works to the National Monument, has greatly contributed to our understanding of the final movements of the Leaders during the Rising and to a further understanding of the significance of Nos. 14-17 Moore Street. An assessment of the wider battlefield context was carried out on the streets and lanes between the GPO and Parnell Street and on the structures fronting them to identify any surviving evidence of the conflict associated with the 1916 Rising (Shaffrey Associates Architects and Myles, 2012). The objective of the study was to survey and assess the physical landscape and the materiality of the conflict throughout the defined area, both in terms of the public realm and within the buildings and back plots. It examined the recorded human experience of the conflict on the government side, the civilian side and on the side of the rebels as the dramatic events over the final days of the Rising unfolded (ibid.).

The investigation into the existing public realm included the Henry Street area along the route between the GPO and Henry Place, Henry Place, Moore Lane, Moore Street and O'Rahilly Parade. The facades and primary interiors of Nos. 14 to 17 Moore Street were in place before the Rising; however, the shop fronts are of later date. No physical evidence of the Rising was evident on the front façade or rear elevation of No. 14 and No. 16. The façade of No. 17 is damaged on the upper courses of the brickwork; this is unlikely to have been caused by gunfire as one would expect the entire façade and north-facing window reveals to be similarly damaged. Nos. 18 and 19 Moore Street comprised hoarded-off vacant sites at the time of the Rising. They have concrete block party walls and are modern, and similarly No. 13 has a new façade and a modern interior.

Nos. 10-11 Moore Lane, to the rear of Nos. 15-16 Moore Street, comprises the unified façade of a late 19<sup>th</sup>- or early 20<sup>th</sup>-century warehouse, there was no interconnection between the Moore Street plots behind. Along Moore Lane, with the exception of a possible single bullet hole (a .303 round) which was

recorded on an entrance reveal to the rear of No. 57 O'Connell Street, opposite the warehouse, no substantial evidence of the conflict was identified within the public realm area. It was found that the structures outside of the National Monument that were most likely to have retained evidence of the conflict are the mineral bottling stores of Michael O'Brien & Co. (Nos 11-13 Henry Place) and No 10 Henry Place on the corner of Moore Lane, to the rear of Nos. 10-11 Moore Street. This area was briefly occupied by a detachment led by Frank Henderson. The gable-fronted former beer store (formerly 'the White House') at the junction of Henry Place and Moore Lane, now a store house, has been significantly altered since the events of 1916. Given its position at the top of Moore Lane, 'the White House' would have been exposed to the direct line of fire from the northern end of Moore Lane. However, to date no physical evidence of the conflict was identified in examining these buildings externally or internally. The building has undergone further assessment by the conservation architects for the Dublin Central project.

This assessment concluded that the lack of physical evidence of conflict (e.g. bullet holes etc.) surviving in the public realm is likely to be due to the fact that the gunfire was concentrated at waist level by the crown forces who held barricaded and sniper positions and that the shop fronts, now long gone, bore the brunt of the damage. Elsewhere in the city the force of attack and ammunition used was much greater and destroyed blocks of buildings, Moore Street in comparison remained relatively unscathed.

Though the historic streetscape has been largely altered, particularly with the development of the Ilac Centre, the street plan does survive. The street layout of the evacuation route that the rebels took from Henry Place is considered to be significant.

The urban landscape including the buildings and public realm of the Dublin Central site and record of the 1916 events are being examined in detail by the conservation team. Many new publications have been released since the 2012 report by Myles in anticipation of the centenary and may shed further light on the events of the rising and the part these structures and streets had in it.

In addition to the streets, the evidence of the openings in party walls formed by rebels in Easter 1916 within the national monument site is an extremely significant discovery. It confirms the statements and recorded accounts of the conflict and provides astonishing physical evidence for the rebel movements during the last hours of the Rising.

Despite the lack of evidence for conflict in the public realm and indeed on the front and rear exterior of Nos. 14 to 17 Moore Street, the pre-1916 date of the structures and their associated surviving fabric, combined with the discovery of the uninterrupted route of the tunnelled openings within them, has shown that Nos. 14 to 17 Moore Street retain a tangible resonance with the events of the Rising. This significance is reflected in its designation as a National Monument.

A thorough building assessment has been carried out by the conservation team for every structure within the proposed development. All features or evidence pertaining to the rising identified will be fully recorded and appraised as part of the assessment.

**A4.6.3 Physical evidence of conflict identified with the application site**

**Bullet damage**

(Possibly) bullet damaged brickwork on Moore Lane is thus far the sole surviving evidence of conflict found in the public realm. The Myles report identifies the rear of 63 O’Connell Street as the location. A photograph of the fractured brick suggests that this is actually the rear of No 57 O’Connell Street.



P 12 Evidence of possible bullet damage at rear of 57 O’Connell Street Upper



P 13 Possible bullet damage at rear of 57 O’Connell Street Upper

**Creep-holes knocked through party walls in Moore Street terrace**

Within the Moore Street terrace (Nos 10-17) the creep holes created by the Volunteers within the party walls, subsequently infilled, are extant in the locations identified within in the Shaffrey / Myles report.

Further investigations were undertaken by this team in 2020, during which one further opening was uncovered in the party wall between No.12 and No.13 Moore Street. Refer to Plate 15. This pre-1916 party wall can be seen on Moore Street, sandwiched between the mid-twentieth century facades of Nos 12 and 13.

**Street level (rear room)**

2100 mm from rear wall of house  
1500mm in height  
700mm in width

**First floor level (front room)**

1850mm from front wall  
690mm in height above floor level  
900mm in width

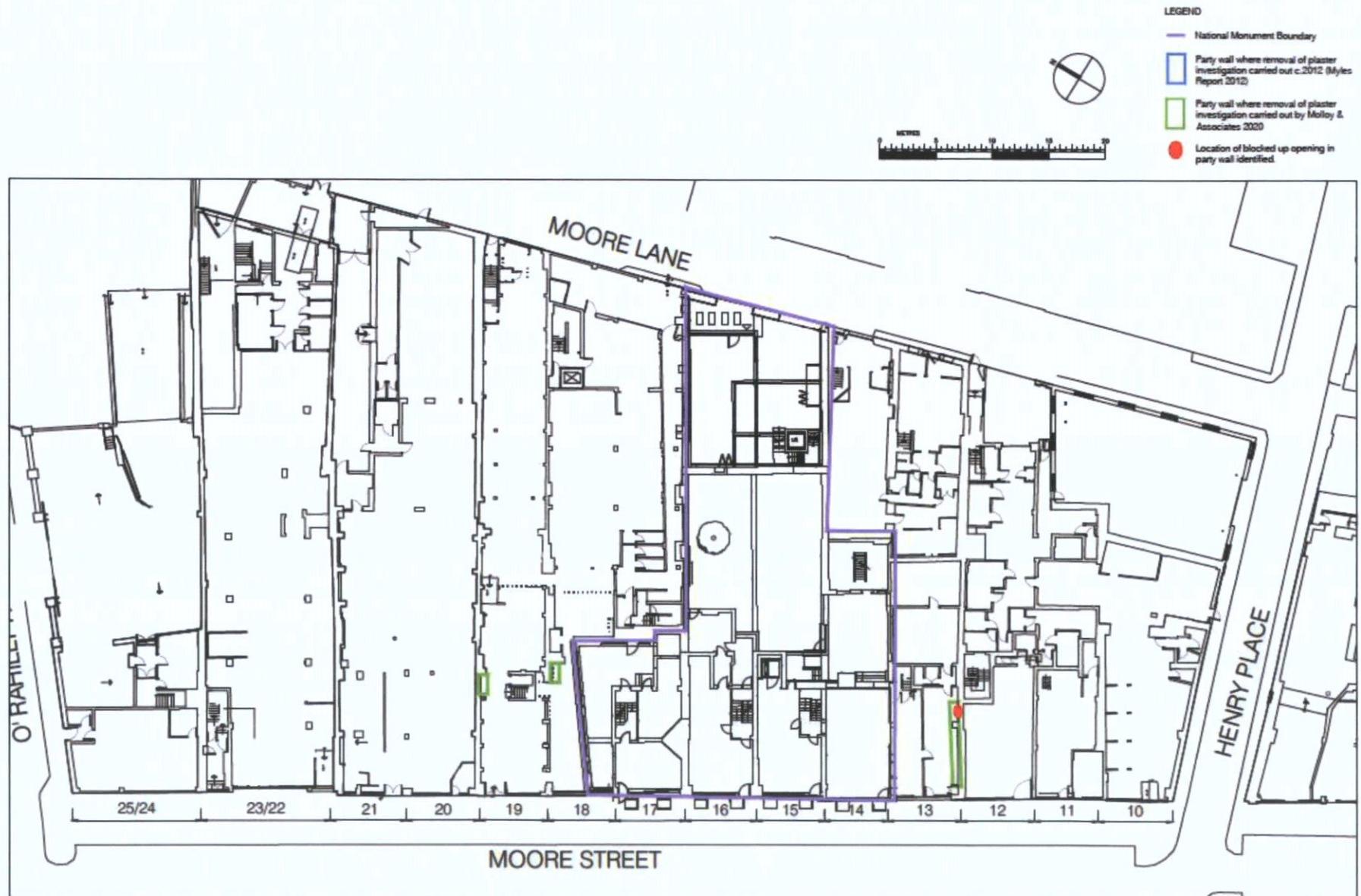
400mm above floor level



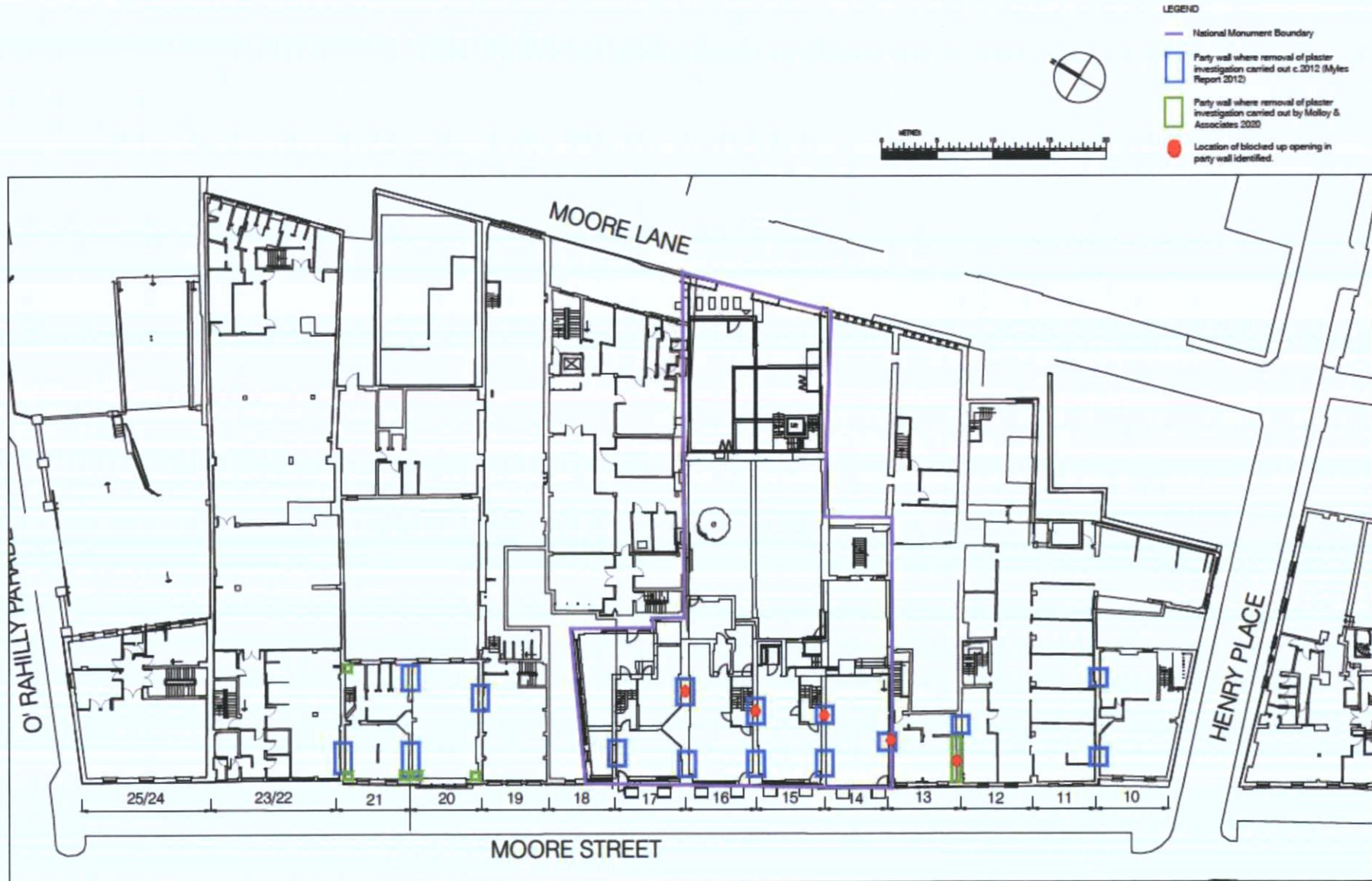
P 14 Infilled opening recorded in 10 Moore Street, Extract: Myles Report.



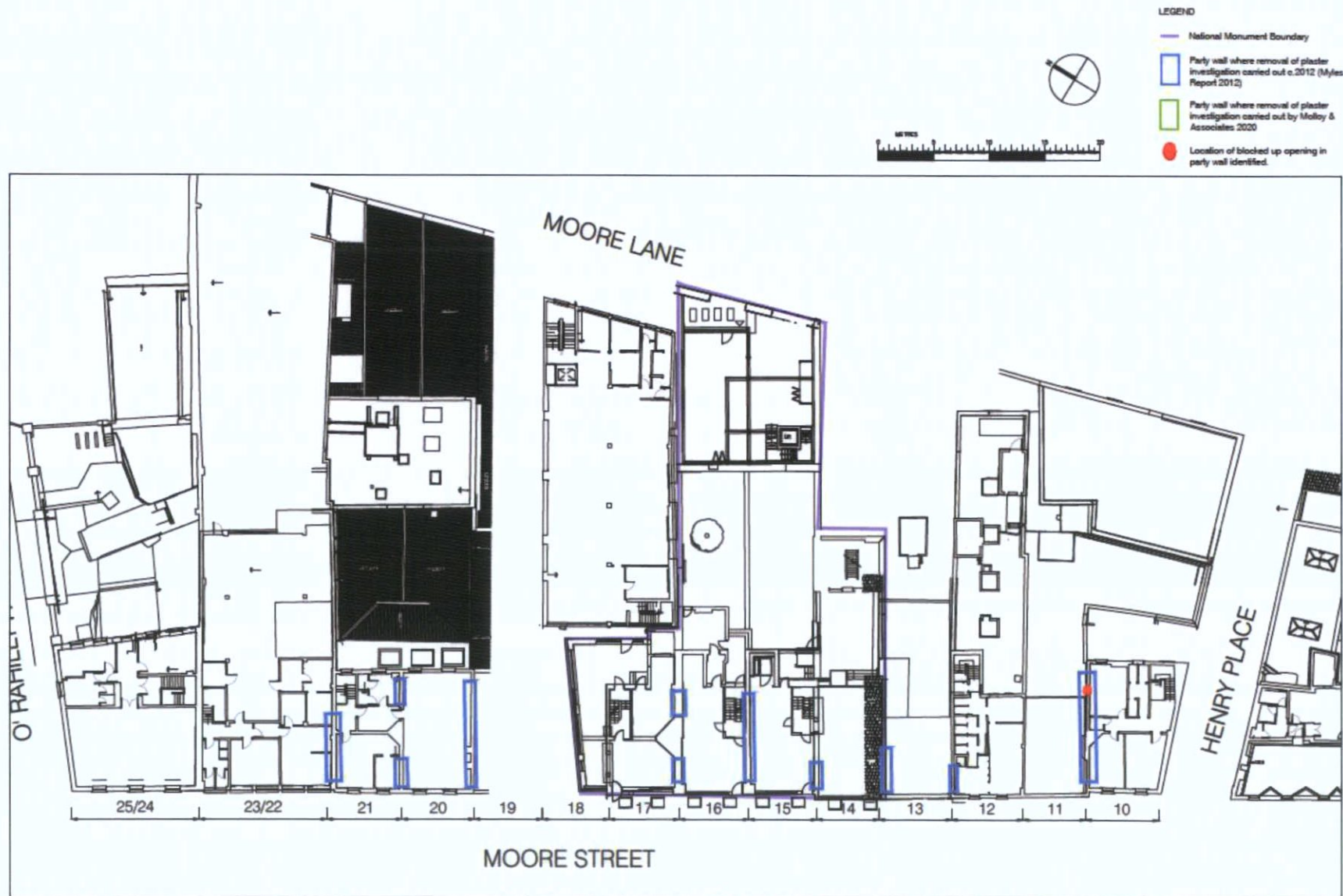
P 15 Infilled opening identified under plaster at first floor level, front room, 13 Moore Street, October 2020.



P 16 Ground Floor of buildings between 8-25 Moore Street where investigations were carried out in party walls. The red dot indicates where evidence of blocked up openings in party walls were found.



P 17 First Floor of buildings between 8-25 Moore Street where investigations were carried out in party walls. The red dots indicate locations where evidence of blocked up openings in party walls were found.



P 18 Second Floor of buildings between 8-25 Moore Street where investigations were carried out in party walls

A4.6.4 Forensic examination of built fabric

Both desktop research and visual examination of the building fabric were used to identify areas that that would benefit from further investigation. Dr. Jason Bolton was engaged to collect samples and undertake petrographic analyses of stone, brick and mortars by microscope. This process is used to identify the constituent materials of the sample to assist in determining the date of construction, relative to 1916.



P 19 Samples of mortar collected on site by Dr. Jason Bolton for analysis.



Fig. 4 Map of study area identifying walls subject to forensic investigation in RED.

**A4.7 SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS AND PLACES ALONG THE EVACUATION ROUTE**

A4.7.1 Buildings/plots within the development site that played a role in the Evacuation Route, some building fabric of which survives in 2021

Address	Event/ Role in events	Surviving Fabric
5-8 Henry Place (O'Brien and Co. Mineral Water factory in 1916)	Volunteers forcibly broke into building to get material to block fire from crown forces, which was coming down Moore Lane, also in an attempt to gain entry to the rear of the tenement houses on Henry Place.	The external walls from street up to first floor level are comprised of 19 <sup>th</sup> century brick, incorporating an in-filled brick arched door opening on the east wall, largely concealed behind a painted portland cement render. Walls above first floor level, roof and internal fabric were reconstructed twice when it was destroyed by fire initially in 1956 and again in 1982. No evidence of the conflict was identified.
10 Henry Place (the White House)	'The White House' at No. 10 Henry Place was believed to have been occupied by crown forces and was stormed by volunteers. What they had thought was smoke was later understood to be plaster dust created by heavy firing directed at the façade.	The original No.10 Henry Place comprised a three storey house with rear yard adjoining No. 5 Moore Place (Mulligan's Court) to the south, which in turn adjoined No.4 Moore Place, a laneway which has since been privatised and used by surrounding properties.  The building as it exists in 2021 represents the amalgamated plots of No.10 Henry Place, Nos 4 and 5 Moore Place.  No.10 Henry Place (The White House) was wholly reconstructed after the conflict. The southern-most external walls forming the rear of the amalgamated plots incorporate 19 <sup>th</sup> century brickwork, pertaining to the former terraced tenement at No.4 Moore Place. All other walls extending to Henry Place postdate 1916. The east and west

Address	Event/ Role in events	Surviving Fabric
		façades are comprised of c1920 yellow stock brick, laid in cement mortar, with masonry piers evident internally embedded with a lime-cement mortar.  No evidence of the conflict was identified.
11-13 Henry Place (later Goodall's)	O'Brien's stables (later Goodall's) was occupied by the Volunteers.	'O'Brien's' painted signage visible under later Goodall's sign on façade. The building is constructed using yellow stock brick bedded in lime with contrasting red-brick detailing. The east elevation which incorporates a chimneystack, visible internally, is comprised of handmade red brick. Records show that the form of the building dates from the early 20 <sup>th</sup> century. The interior has been reconstructed. The parapet has been raised using modern red brick, bedded in portland cement.  No evidence of the conflict was identified.
17-18 Henry Place	O'Brien's store for empties, occupied by the Volunteers. The wounded assembled here.	External walls at ground floor level are early 20 <sup>th</sup> century and are comprised of machine-cut perforated brick, with an inner leaf of yellow stock brick bedded with lime. There is a terracotta keystone of the arch in the south wall. The opening has been modified and a steel inserted to widen the original arched opening. The multi-storey building has had its upper floors demolished. The north wall appears to be earlier, comprised of hand-made red brick, concealed behind a cement-based render. This wall might date from the late 18 <sup>th</sup> century or early 19 <sup>th</sup> century.



Address	Event/ Role in events	Surviving Fabric
		No evidence of the conflict was identified.
9 Moore Street	A group of volunteers, (possibly about a dozen) led by Diarmuid Lynch occupied these houses and bored through the party walls until Saturday 29 <sup>th</sup> April, when the intensity of a fire prevented them continuing.	This building, together with No.8, is late 18 <sup>th</sup> / early 19 <sup>th</sup> century in origin. Its north-facing gable has been altered, the pitched roof was removed, and the apex of the gable was truncated to align with the profile of the later flat roof. The party wall between Nos 8 and 9 no longer exists on the upper floor levels and the properties are amalgamated internally.  No evidence of the conflict was identified.
10 Moore Street	Initial point of entry into Moore Street terrace. This building served as the headquarters on Friday night 28 <sup>th</sup> April.	Evidence of a repaired opening or 'creep hole' at second floor level in (north) party wall. The northern side of the party wall is externalised owing to the later removal of No.11 Moore Street.
11 Moore Street	Part of evacuation route	No 11 Moore Street was reconstructed in 1960. Evidence of opening through to No.10 now externalised on boundary wall.
12 Moore Street	Part of evacuation route	No. 12 Moore Street was reconstructed in 1960. The party wall between Nos 12 and 13 survived the reconstruction and was inspected for evidence of the conflict. From within No.13, two infilled openings were found. The opening within the rear street level room is not considered large enough to have served as a 'creep hole'. The repaired opening discovered in the first-floor front room in party wall with No 13 is similar to those found elsewhere in the terrace and is considered to be a genuine 'creep hole'.
13 Moore Street	Part of evacuation route	See note for No.12 above.

Address	Event/ Role in events	Surviving Fabric
		Evidence of repaired opening in party wall with No.12 in first floor front room. Repaired opening between 13 and 14 on first floor level, evidenced on No. 14 side.
6-7 Moore lane	This building did not form part of the evacuation route, but flanked the west side of the Moore Lane battlefield.	Nos 6-7 Moore Lane, a late 19 <sup>th</sup> century building, shares a northern party wall with the National Monument.
14 -17 Moore Street - National Monument.	Widely considered to be the final Headquarters, exit point of Elizabeth O'Farrell and Leaders of the Rebellion	Multiple repaired openings have been identified in the National Monument. The National Monument is outside the study area.
18-19 Moore Street	A vacant plot within the terrace which the Volunteers passed through.	No pre-1916 fabric was identified.  The buildings were both constructed post-1916.  The party wall with No.17 is of 20 <sup>th</sup> century concrete construction.
20-21 Moore Street & 12 Moore Lane. (Hanlon's)	Hanlon's fishmonger and ice merchants, with barn at rear	The party wall between Nos.20 and 21 at first- and second-floor level is comprised of handmade brick and clearly predates 1916. The (north) party wall with No.22 is later, comprised of machine-cut brick and dates from the first quarter of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century. It is not possible to determine if it predates 1916, based on inspections to date.  No evidence of the conflict was identified.
22-23 Moore Street	Part of route	No pre-1916 fabric was identified.  Present building built in 1965.
24-25 Moore Street	Kelly's Fish Shop, with yard to rear and gate onto Sackville Lane	No pre-1916 fabric was identified within Nos 24-25.

Address	Event/ Role in events	Surviving Fabric
(Kellys)		<p>Present building built in 1990s. A section of the calp limestone southern boundary wall in the rear yard at 14 Moore Lane is pre-1916.</p> <p>No evidence of the conflict was identified.</p>



Fig. 5 Premises identified in the witness statements description of the evacuation route.

#### A4.7.2 5-8 Henry Place O'Brien's Mineral Water Factory



##### A4.7.2.1. Significance to 1916

O'Brien's Mineral Waters premises was broken into by the Volunteers, to find material to form a barricade across the south end of Moore Lane to provide cover from the fire from crown forces. The witness statements recount attempts to forcibly enter the locked building.<sup>9</sup> Harry Coyle died just outside, and a number of Volunteers were wounded outside in Henry Place. Some of the witness statements suggest that he was killed by the accidental discharge of his rifle, Thomas Leahy (W.S.660), stated that Coyle was killed by a sniper's bullet while trying to open the side door of a shop on the lane.

The present industrial building on the site was substantially rebuilt post-1916, incorporating the existing ground- and first-floor walls and an early party wall shared with No.9 Henry Place to the west.

O'Brien's Mineral Waters building features in the Witness Statements as follows:

*'We smashed open the door of a mineral water place and found a motor van. I got a number of men to pull this out and we pushed it across the end of Moore Lane to screen us from view.'* Sean McLoughlin (W.S. 290)

*'Having crossed into Henry Place I saw some of our forces bunched at the angle ... where it returns at right angles towards Moore St. As I came up with them, I passed by a dead volunteer in front of the double doorway of O'Brien Store ... A few paces further I met Padraig Pearce who ordered me to take half a dozen men to break into O'Brien's across*

*the roofs to Moore St to avoid running the gauntlet of enemy machine gun fire down Moore Lane - which was the cause of the holdup at the angle of Henry Place, and occupy the houses on Moore street between Henry place and Henry St.*

*From O'Brien's roof we managed to step across an open-air shaft and into the next building. Here our advance was checked by an intervening laneway which we could see from a second-story window, but into which we could not get as we had no implements with which to bore the wall. Thus, we were compelled to make our exit through a window on the ground floor into Henry Place.'* Diarmuid Lynch (W.S. 4)



P 20 Exterior of 5-8 Henry Place, the site of the O'Brien's Mineral Waters at the bend in Henry Place.

*While in a mineral stores that night an explosion, believed from the G.P.O., caused part of the stores (in which we were guards for the night) to fall in on us.* (Charles Donnelly W.S. 824).

##### A4.7.2.2. Archival research describing the development on the site from 1916 to present

The structure that occupied the site in 1916 was Michael O'Brien & Co mineral waters factory constructed in 1873. This building was two-storey, with a slated roof along most of its length and a roof of slate and metal at the northern end, where there were two long skylights, orientated east-west. The open yard to the west of these properties, formerly part of number 8, was initially occupied by sheds before being converted for use as stables to serve the principal use of the site.

<sup>9</sup> W.S.488 John (Jack) Plunkett

In the later 1930s the business was taken on by N McLoone & Co, who were also tea and wine merchants. From the late 1940s the building was occupied by J Roche & Co and a number of businesses operated from the premises, including Roche's clothing factory, Roche's chemists and the Atlas Cine Company. In January 1956 a fire broke out in the film library of Atlas Cine and turned into an intensive fire, following which the Valuation Office deemed it to be in ruins. The building was refurbished to the designs of Robinson Keefe and Devane and reoccupied by J Roche & Co as well as Atlas Cine Supply, Leverett & Frye Ltd and Glomeys, the latter two using it as storage.

From the late 1970s the premises were converted to use as a snooker club, a pool room and an audio-visual centre and in 1982 the building was again destroyed by fire, believed to be malicious. The premises were repaired once more and reopened as an amusement centre. This use continued into the twenty-first century, though the building has now been vacant for more than ten years except for casual storage.

#### A4.7.2.3. Visual inspections

Site investigations show that some elements of the original building have been altered, though traces remain. A photograph of Henry Place taken c1926, P18, depicts a round-headed entrance doorway which has been blocked up and covered over, but still survives.

#### A4.7.2.4. Summary of forensic analysis findings

To accurately determine the origin of building fabric where the archival evidence and visual examination of the building was inconclusive, forensic analysis was undertaken by Dr. Jason Bolton. The findings are summarised below:

##### Pre-1916 Fabric surviving

The external walls, to first floor level are comprised of 19<sup>th</sup> century brick, incorporating a filled-in brick arched door opening on the east wall, largely concealed behind a painted Portland cement render.

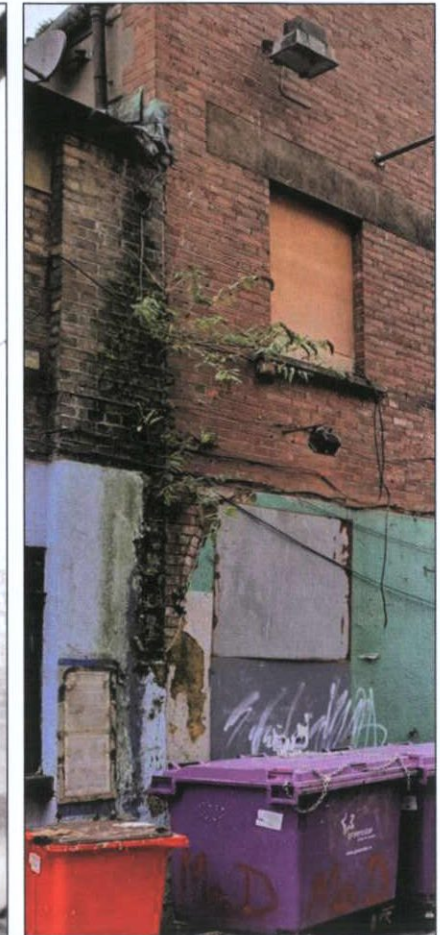
Walls above first floor level, roof and internal fabric were reconstructed twice when it was destroyed by fire initially in 1956 and again in 1982.

##### Evidence of Conflict

None found



P 21 Eastern façade of 6-8 Henry Place, 1952, depicting lower floor and arched headed doorway which survives, though blocked up. Source: Military Archives.



P 22 Detail of arched-headed door opening, revealed where later render has failed. Fabric on top level is post-1916.

#### A4.7.3 10 Henry Place ('the White House')



##### A4.7.3.1. Significance to 1916

The 'White House' is generally understood to refer to 10 Henry Place, positioned on the south side of Henry Place, facing onto the junction at Moore lane. One of the Volunteers, Joseph Good, describes firing from the White House preventing the group advancing from Henry Place. He believed it to be occupied by the Republican forces, firing at them in error. When O'Rahilly left to assemble his group he initially wondered if he was intending to charge the White House. After O'Rahilly's charge, Good attempted to find a grenade to charge the white house himself but then he returned to Henry Place, by which time the firing from the White House had stopped and he observed Michael Collins assembling a barricade at the end of Moore lane to shelter the passing Volunteers. Collins acted as an aide-de-camp to Plunkett in the GPO. He survived this Rising and became a key figure leading the Irish forces in the War of Independence (1919) and provisional government forces in the Civil War (1922).

*About halfway up Moore Lane [Henry Place] which is L-shaped there was a small, whitewashed house. As our men were passing this house there was fire from 5 to 10 rifles some of them Howth rifles ... This house was held by our own men, but they did not know who was approaching and thought we were the British. There were shouts of "you are firing on your own men" from our party, but the firing persisted. I saw one or two men fall while trying to pass the house. Our advance was halted ... (Joseph Good W.S. 388)*

Significantly, Good's account of the white house suggests that they thought fire was coming from the white house prior to O'Rahilly's charge.

*'... I heard a rush of feet in Moore St, then a burst of fire for a short period and the rush was over. Apparently, O'Reilly had left Moore Lane preceded up Henry and charge down Moore St. By this time the firing from the white house had ceased. Michael Collins was helping to form a barricade across a small laneway opposite the white house, down which apparently the military were firing. We were now able to proceed, stooping, past the white house in relative safety to the top of Moore Lane.' (Joseph Good W.S. 388)*

Crown forces were firing from the Rotunda and possibly from the northern end of Moore Lane. In Henry Place, Liam Tannam pointed out to Pearse that there was heavy firing on a white-washed cottage that faced Moore Lane. Tannam deduced that either Pearse, or the person whom Pearse issued instructions to, misunderstood and thought that there was heavy firing from this house. When the house was charged by the Volunteers, no one was inside, and the smoke observed was thought to have been plaster blown off by the hail of bullets on the façade.

*I was searching through the men for Pearse ... I showed him where my men were and pointed out to him that there was very heavy firing on a white-washed cottage which faced Moore Lane. ....I learned afterwards that either Pearse had taken me up wrong or the person to whom he issued instructions took him up wrong and it was understood through this error that there was heavy firing from the white-washed cottage instead of on the white washed cottage and that about a dozen men were detailed to charge the white-washed cottage in order to clear it and a number of these were wounded by the firing from Moore Lane before they gained an entrance. I also heard that when they did gain an entrance, they found a .45 service revolver, the remains of a meal at a table. (Liam Tannam W.S. 242)*

Sean McLoughlin, who took charge in Henry Place, ordered a charge at a white house, having been told that it was occupied by British forces. His group broke through the doors and went upstairs. No one was in the house.

*Some one shouted that we were being fired on from a white cottage which was directly opposite Moore Lane. Smoke could be seen coming from the upper windows. I hurriedly gathered some of the column amongst whom were Michael Staines<sup>10</sup>, Oscar Traynor, Tom McGrath and others. I forced open the door with my shoulder and we dashed up the stairs but there was no one in the house. (Sean McLoughlin W.S. 290)*

Oscar Traynor was part of this group and gives a similar account to Sean McLoughlin.

*I joined this group together with volunteer Liam Cullen. We charged the building, entered it and found it unoccupied. What McLoughlin took to be fire from this building was in fact the splashes of plaster caused by the volume of machine gun fire which was crashing*

<sup>10</sup> Michael Staines makes no reference to this in his statement.

against the front of the house and which was being directed from the Rotunda Hospital in Parnell Street. Cullen, who was with me when we entered the building, went out to look into the front room and was hit on the leg and fell to the ground. We got Cullen back out of the line of fire. (Oscar Traynor W.S.340)

Charles Saurin followed Oscar Traynor in the house.

With an excited crowd of bayonet men, I dashed around the corner to the left and we were ordered to storm a white-washed house which we were told was being held by the enemy. I could see puffs of white smoke coming from the front of it, which I imagined to be enemy fire from the windows. With the crowd I went charging into the side entrance ready for a hand-to-hand encounter. Oscar Traynor was in front and with Liam Cullen of our company got in before us and found the house was completely empty of enemy, and what seemed to be fire directed from it was the flaking and scattering of the white-washed surface by the countless bullets fired down Moore Lane opposite from British machine guns at the other end in Great Britain St. ... Out we came and found we now had to cross through this heavy fire. We bunched together at the end of the lane and an officer with high yellow boots who was standing at the far side, was waving a sword and calling to us to 'come on for Ireland's sake' in the best tradition. I waited for a lull in the firing but there was none and taking a chance with all the others I rushed across. (Charles Saurin W.S. 288)

Fergus (Frank) de Burca (WS 694) was also among the men at the bend of Henry Place ordered by McLoughlin to charge at the white house. Conversely, the description of the house suggests that he was in No 9 Moore Street. Notably he refers to meeting Michael Collins here.

Just at the bend of the lane "Commandant" McLoughlin ... was roaring and shouting at us to "charge the white house". I'm blessed if I could see any white house but in company with the rest I charged. We had to pass a laneway which runs parallel with Moore Street down to Parnell Street. At the Parnell Street end there was a barricade from which the British were firing. We got by the lane opening safely, however, and it was then that I saw the white house indicated by our officer. It was at the corner of Moore street and Henry Lane. We broke in the door and found ourselves in a 'stone-beer' store. There was no enemy in waiting for us and for the moment we were out of the firing line. Bat Burke, Paddy Donnelly and the Sweeney brothers all, of "E" company were with me inside. We went upstairs and proceeded to barricade the windows on the instructions of a fine young Captain in full uniform. This was our first meeting with the famous Mick Collins. ... After some time we got orders to leave the store and go into the house opposite. This house faced onto Moore Street and our men had bored their way through the houses until they

reached a yard which opened out on the second lane in Moore street near Parnell Street end. (Fergus (Frank) de Burca W.S. 694)

Eamon Bulfin (W.S.497) recalls;

At the junction of Henry Place and Moore Lane, there was a house which we called the "White House". It was a small one-storeyed slated house, as far as I remember, and was being hit by machine gun fire and rifle fire from the top of Moore Lane.

The accounts of what happened and the description of the building in the statements vary. It is possible that the white house was charged on more than once, due to the confusion and poor visibility in Henry Place at the time. It is clear that the site of 10 Henry Place is significant on the evacuation route.



P 23 Northern façade of 10 Henry Place, facing Moore Lane. (2020)



P 24 Unknown Building 1916, thought to be on the site of 10 Henry Place, depicting significant damage from fire on the front.



P 25 View of same building depicted in P23, depicting the entirety of the front façade.