Ceathrú Réabhlóideach 1916
Fís do lár stairiúil Bhaile Átha Cliath á beartú ag Sinn Féin Átha Cliath
The 1916 Revolutionary Quarter
A vision for Dublin’s historic centre proposed by Sinn Féin Átha Cliath
April 2014/Aibreán 2014
INTRODUCTION

The people of Ireland, the Irish diaspora and friends of Ireland everywhere, are looking forward to 2016, the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising and the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, a pivotal event in our history. Sinn Féin is determined to ensure that the 1916 Centenary is marked in the most appropriate ways possible and that the commemorative events themselves contribute to the achievement of the ideals of the Proclamation.

It would be a national disgrace if, at Easter 2016 and during the War of Independence and Civil War anniversaries which follow it, the 1916 battlefield site were to remain in the ruinous state it is in today.

Today the buildings on Moore Street which were the last Headquarters of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic have been left to slowly fall into ruin. This is despite having been designated as a National Monument since 2007. The buildings that survived British bombardment in 1916 and the 100 years since now face destruction from developers who planned to reduce it to rubble and build a shopping centre in its place.

The deterioration of the National Monument which has languished in a vacant and neglected state for many years and the potential threat to the monument under a current planning application is a matter of serious concern to Sinn Féin and many other citizens. Sinn Féin wish to acknowledge that the dedication of the relatives of the 1916 leaders and those who have supported them in their campaign over many years has ensured that 14-17 Moore Street has been saved - so far - from the bulldozers.

This document is aimed at ensuring that the 1916 National Monument at Nos. 14-17 Moore Street is fully protected and preserved in its entirety as designated and that the surrounding buildings, streets and laneways are retained in such a manner that the potential to develop this area into a 1916 historic/cultural quarter can be fulfilled.

The last Headquarters of the 1916 leaders has come far closer to demolition than their place of execution in Kilmainham Jail. Kilmainham provides an exact parallel with the National Monument in Moore Street. Kilmainham Jail stands today as one of the best preserved and documented and one of the most visited historical buildings in Europe.

Only for the dedication of a group of private citizens Kilmainham Jail would have fallen into ruin and would have been erased from our capital city. A group of volunteers, many of whom had themselves fought for Irish freedom, banded together and through voluntary work and campaigning they ensured that the Jail was saved and turned into a museum. Only then did the State step in.

Similarly, it was the efforts of private citizens, including relatives of the leaders and participants in the 1916 Rising, that saved 14-17 Moore Street from destruction thus far.

It is imperative that the Government act without further delay to ensure the full preservation of the national monument and to develop a plan to transform the GPO/Moore Street area into an historic quarter and battlefield site so as to protect and preserve the 1916 National Monument and the associated streetscapes and laneways, thus greatly enhancing our national heritage and tourist potential in our capital city as we approach the centenary of the Easter Rising.
RÉAMHRÁ

Tá muintir na hÉireann, diaspora na hÉireann agus cairde na hÉireann ar fud an domhain ag tnuith leis an mbliain 2016, ar fáil éimhíodh Chéad Bliain na Cásca agus Phorógra Phoblacht na hÉireann sa bhliain 1916, rud arbh eachtra rithabhachtachta i stair na hÉireann é.

Tá Sinn Féin tionsanta dona chinntiú go gceallúfar Comóradh Chéad Bliain na Bhliana 1916 ar na bealaí is oiriúnaithe agus is féidir agus go gcuirfidh na heachtraí comóthra féin le hídeál an Phorógra a bhaint amach.

Cúis naíre Náisiúnta a bheadh ann dá gcoinneofaí láthair chatha na bliana 1916 ina fothracha le linn Cháisíc na bhliana 2016 agus le linn comóradh céad bliain Chogadh na Saoirse agus na Cogaidh Chathartha a thiofaidh ina diaidh.

Sa lá atá inniu ann, táthar ag ligeann do Shráid an Mhúracháin, ar idh Ceanncheathrú dheireidh Rialtas Sealadach Phoblacht na hÉireann, dul chun anró go mair. Tá sé sin ag tarlú in annseoin go bhfuil siad ina Séadhchomhartha Náisiúnta ó 2007. Na foirgnimh a tháinig slán as ionsaíthe na Breataine sa bhliain 1916 agus sa chéad bliain ina diaidh, is mian le forbóirí lard a scríosadh agus fothracha a dheanamh diobh ar mhaith le hionad siopathaíochta a thógáil ina n-áit. Tá mórimní ar Shinn Féin agus ar chúid mhór saoránaigh eile faoi mheath an tSéadhchomhartha Náisiúnta sin atá ag dul i leig agus rocht folamh gan aird air le blianta fada anuas agus faoin mbagairt don séadhchomhartha sin agus é faoi réir iarratais pleanála san imi láthair.

Ba mhaithe le Sinn Féin aitheantas a thabhairt do dhúthrichtar ghaolta cheanntear na bhliana 1916 agus do dhíograis chog dhuine a thacaigh leo le linn a bhfeachtaí linn i gceist an lá. Chinnigh na daoine sin gur tugadh 14-17 Sráid an Mhúracháin saor go dtí seo - ó hollscartair.

Is é aidhm na caitlísce seo ná a chinntiú go ndéanfar Séadhchomhartha Náisiúnta na Bhliana 1916, atá suite ag Uimhreacha 14-17 Sráid an Mhúracháin, a chosaint agus a chaomhnú ina iomlán tá agus go ndéanfar na foirgnimh, na sráideanna agus na lánabhealaí atá timpeall uirthi a choinnéadh ar bhealaí a fhágann gur féidir an ceantar seo a thhorbairt ina cheathrú stairiúil/chultúrtha don bhliain 1916.

Tá Ceanncheathrú dheireidh cheannairí na bhliana 1916 níos gaire cheana féin dá scartáil ná mar a bhí an áit ar cuireadh chun bás iad - Príosún Chill Mhaighneann - riamh. Is ionann an cás do Phríosún Chill Mhaighneann agus don Séadhchomhartha Náisiúnta ar Shráid an Mhúracháin. Tá Príosún Chill Mhaighneann ar cheann de na foirgnimh stáiríú is fearr caomhóin, is mó cóirí agus is mó cuairt san Eoraip ar na saolta seo.

Muras ann do dhúthcharacht grúpa saoránaigh priobháideach, bheadh drochbriochta ar Phríosún Chill Mhaighneann inniu agus bheadh sé scríosta ónár bpríomhchathair. Ghairgrú dáonna dualgas orthu féin, a lán dáonna a throid ar son shaoirse na hÉireann ina measc, dul i mbun obair dheonach agus feachtaí agus chinnigh is gur mbeadh an Príosún sábháilte agus go ndéanfai músaem de. Ba ag an am sin amhain a tháinig an Stát isteach sa scéal.

Mar an gcéanna, ba iad iarrachtaí saoránaigh priobháideach, lenar airidh gaolta cheannairí agus ranpháirtithe Éiri Amach na Bhliana 1916, a thug 14-17 Sráid an Mhúracháin saor ó scartáil go dtí seo.

Tá sé tábhachtach go ngníomhafaíonn an Rialtais gan a thuilleadh moille chun a chinntiú go ndéanfar an séadhchomhartha náisiúnta a chaomhnú ina iomlán tá agus go gcuirfeadh pléan le chéile chun ceantar Ard-Oifig an Phoist (GPO)/Shráid an Mhúracháin a bhunadh i cheathrú stairiúil agus ina lathair chatha ar mhaith le hSeadhchomhartha Náisiúnta na Bhliana 1916, in eíneacht leis na sráid-dreacha agus na lánabhealaí gaolmhara, a chosaint agus a chaomhnú, rud a cheirfeadh go mór lenár noidhreachta náisiúnta agus lena tharraingt a bheith ar bpríomhchathair do thurasóirí de réir mar a dhruidimid leithchomóradh céad bliain an Éiri Amach.
Moore Street and the 1916 Rising
Sráid an Mhúraigh agus Éirí Amach na Bliana 1916

At eight o clock on Friday evening 28 April 1916, with the GPO engulfed in flames, the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic and the hundreds of men and women who made up Republican garrison, retreated from the building and endeavoured to make their way to the Four Courts area which was still occupied by Republican forces under Commandant Edward Daly. They left the GPO by the side entrance in Henry Street and made their way under constant sniper fire to Moore Lane.

When they reached Moore Street they entered number 10, Cogans Grocery shop, and immediately began tunnelling from one house to another with the aim of increasing their chances of escaping the encirclement of the area by British forces. The next morning, Saturday, they quickly realised that the wounded James Connolly, who had been placed on a panel door as a makeshift stretcher would not fit through the openings they had made. The men then placed Connolly in blankets and bundled him in great agony from house to house. When they reached number 16, Plunketts, a poultry shop, they placed him upstairs in the back room.

This small room, in a small house, in a small market street, in the heart of the capital city was to be the last place where the members of Provisional Irish Government held their council of war. Pádraig Mac Piaraí, Joseph Plunkett, Tom Clarke and Seán Mac Diarmada all took their places around James Connolly and discussed what to do, while Elizabeth O’Farrell, Winifred Carney and Julie Grenan tended the wounded. At the meeting a plan was put forward to rush the British barricade on Parnell Street but when Tom Clarke made his way down to the last house occupied by the Volunteers on Moore Street he simply shook his head and said that they would never succeed.

Tom Clarke returned to the council of war and reported what he had found and the meeting continued in hushed tones. Pádraig Mac Piaraí who, through a shattered window had seen three men carrying white flags shot down, decided that they must surrender. Connolly agreed that the imminent risk of sacrificing further lives must not be tolerated. The leaders argued, wrangled and pleaded to convince themselves that the fight could be continued. But bitter reality just could not be ignored. The frail, grey-haired 58-year-old Fenian, Tom Clarke, openly wept at the final decision.

Conveying the message to the enemy was entrusted to Nurse Elizabeth O’Farrell. With Captain O’Reilly’s handkerchief tied to a stick, she passed through the doorway of Number 15, bravely walking down the street. The British military assisted her over the barricade and conveyed her to Tom Clarke’s little shop in Parnell Street. There, General Lowe demanded that within a half an hour she must return with Pádraig Mac Piaraí to the Moore Street barricade, insisting that the only terms acceptable to him was unconditional surrender. It was 2.30pm when Pearse shook each Volunteer’s hand in final farewell.

In his heavy military overcoat and Boer shaped hat he marched down towards the barricade, Elizabeth O’Farrell by his side. Here he was received by General Lowe, to whom he handed his sword, pistol and ammunition. On the footpath, outside of Byrne’s shop at the corner of Moore Street an old wooden bench was brought out and here Pearse stooped and signed the document of surrender.

Elizabeth O’Farrell agreed to their joint request to deliver the documents of surrender to the various Dublin outposts. Without speaking and with a smile he grasped her hand for the last time.

At the Moore Street headquarters the Volunteers were stunned on learning the terms of the surrender. Most of them insisted on fighting to the death. In the rear
yard of Hanlon's Fishmongers in 20/21 Moore Street. Seán Mac Diarmada addressed the Moore Street Garrison and told them of the surrender and the fight that was yet to come.
Volunteer Séamus Devoy, nephew of the Fenian John Devoy, returned to number 16 informing them that he had made the necessary arrangements to have the Parnell Street barricade opened to receive Connolly. The rest of the men began to gather in the street. Filing up and forming ranks, with sloped arms, the first group marched off under Captain O'Reilly picking up any stragglers on the way. Next, Willie Pearse headed the main body waving his white flag. Close behind him walked Tom Clarke and towards the rear walked Seán Mac Diarmada and Joseph Plunkett, supported by his comrades Julia Grenan and Winifred Carney.
Leaving 16 Moore Street, the temporary headquarters of the Provisional Government, the weary warriors marched not knowing whether they faced a prison cell or an early grave. Yet the actions of Easter Week and the Republic they proclaimed continue to inspire generations of Irish people.

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**The planning background**

*An cúlra pleánála*

- In 1998, planning permission was granted to the Carlton Group for a major commercial development on a one hectare site which incorporated a proposed "Millennium Mall" linking O'Connell Street to Moore Street.

- The decision granted by Dublin City Council planners was upheld by An Bord Pleanála on appeal and the permission incorporated No's 10-25 Moore Street and the approved plans provided for their demolition.

- The Save 16 Moore Street Campaign was formed at a public meeting in 2005 with the specific aim of protecting, restoring and preserving No.16 Moore Street in its context as an appropriate memorial to the events and people associated with the end of the 1916 Rising.

- In January 2007 the then Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government placed a preservation order on Nos. 14-17 Moore Street, Dublin, under section 8 of the National Monuments Act 1930, on the grounds that the buildings are of national importance by reason of their historical significance as the final headquarters of the 1916 Provisional Government following a successful lobbying campaign by the Save 16 Moore St campaign.

- In 2008, Chartered Land Limited applied for planning permission on a larger site, a 2.15 hectare site which incorporated the majority of the city block bounded by Parnell Street, Moore Lane, O'Rahilly Parade, Moore Street and O'Connell Street Upper. A decision to grant planning permission subject to conditions was made by Dublin City Council in December 2008.

- An oral hearing was convened by An Bord Pleanála and took place in April 2009.

- In March 2010 An Bord Pleanála granted permission for the development subject to conditions.

- In June 2011 Chartered Land applied to the Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, for Ministerial Consent for works at Nos. 14-17 Moore Street, under Section 14 of the National Monuments Acts 1930-2004.

- In November 2012 a Special Meeting of Dublin City Council agreed to establish a Moore Street Advisory Committee with a mandate to "review, report on, and make recommendations to the Council in respect of the overall Moore Street Area Development, with particular focus and emphasis on the preservation, use and development of the 1916 GPO Evacuation Route and the Moore Street Buildings occupied by the rebels in the final days of the Rising."

- An Environmental Impact Statement was prepared on behalf of Chartered Land and submitted to the Minister in January 2013.
THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN
An feachtas polaitíochta

The original planned assault on Moore Street by developers would have seen the complete destruction of the historic terrace Numbers 10 to 25. The designation of Number 14 to 17 as a National Monument in January 2007 was the first major setback for the developers’ plans.

While planning permission for the giant shopping mall engulfing Moore Street was granted by Dublin City Council and upheld on appeal to An Bord Pleanála, National Monument status meant that Ministerial consent was required for any planned works on or adjacent to 14-17 Moore Street.

The campaign by relatives of the 1916 leaders and other campaigners kept pressure on the Minister, Sinn Féin and others repeatedly raised the issue at Dublin City Council and at Oireachtas level, notably Gerry Adams TD with An Taoiseach Enda Kenny. The party established an All-Party Oireachtas Committee on Moore Street and is chaired by Deputy Sandra McLelland, Sinn Féin spokesperson on Arts, Heritage, Tourism and Sport.

On 22 May 2012 Sinn Féin used its Dáil Private Members’ Time to table a motion which was signed by 50 TDs and called on the Minister to "ensure the full preservation of the National Monument and to develop a plan to transform the GPO-Moore Street area into an historic quarter and battlefield site". The Government amended the motion, focusing only on the Minister’s remit with regard to the National Monument, and used its majority to divide the Dáil in favour of this amendment.

The Dublin City Council Moore Street Advisory Committee was established in 2012 (Sinn Féin member Cllr. Micheál Mac Donncha) and its remit had “particular focus and emphasis on the preservation, use and development of the 1916 GPO evacuation route and the Moore Street buildings occupied by the rebels in the final days of the 1916 Easter Rising”.

On 3 April 2013 the Moore Street Advisory Committee’s Report recommended that Minister Jimmy Deenihan withhold consent from the Chartered Land plan which would encroach on the National Monument site and severely compromise it. This key recommendation reflected the widespread opposition to the Chartered Land plan in most of the 133 submissions from groups and individuals received by the Committee in its public consultation. The Report says the Chartered Land plan would have “a severely negative impact on the setting and integrity of the National Monument”.

The Committee’s vision for Moore Street “asserts the national and international historic significance of Moore Street as a key site in the story of the struggle for Irish independence and the birth of the Irish Republic. It is this Committee’s ambition that, by Easter 2016, the Moore Street area will, by its preservation as an historic and living part of the City, reflect this vision”.

The Report recommended that the Minister commission an independent Battlefield Site assessment of the general area, including the GPO evacuation route, and it stressed the “immense importance” of No. 10 Moore Street, the first building on Moore Street which the republican forces entered and occupied.
THE MINISTER'S DECISION
Cinneadh an Aire

On 16 July 2013 the Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, Jimmy Deenihan TD, announced his decision on the consent application for the proposed Chartered Land works at, and in proximity to, the National Monument 14-17 Moore St.

The Minister summarised his decision in his letter to James Connolly Heron, great-grandson of James Connolly and to the committee of relatives of the seven signatories of the Irish Proclamation of Independence on 16 July 2013:

"The Minister's decision provides for the creation of a 1916 commemorative centre on the site, involving the full repair and conservation of the four buildings. However, it does not approve the demolition of any structures or the removal of any material from the site which date from or before 1916. In addition, the decision does not approve works for the provision of an underground car park within the boundary of the national monument site, or the demolition of the Moore Lane façades of Nos. 15 and 16. The Minister's consent is conditional on a revised project design being submitted to him for approval within 9 months that takes full account of the elements of the proposal for which consent has been refused and the conditions attached to the approved works."

The Minister granted consent to works on the National Monument which, he stated, "are considered necessary for the conservation and preservation of the National Monument". This includes repair and restoration of 14 to 17 Moore Street, demolition of post-1916 additions and partitions, installation of services and new floor level at 14, 15 and 17, reinstatement of the form and alignment of rear wall of 16 as extant in 1916, demolition of post-1916 structures to the rear of 14 to 17, and underpinning to stabilise the buildings.

The works consented to above seem consistent with the preservation and restoration of the National Monument and the development of the commemorative centre. However, the Minister also consented to the demolition of Numbers 13, 18 and 19 Moore Street on the grounds that they are post-1916 structures.

The Minister refused consent for works on the National Monument which, he states, "are not considered necessary for the preservation of the National Monument". So he refused consent for the entire underground element of the Chartered Land plan beneath 14 to 17, alterations to the cellars, demolition of the Moore Lane façade of 14 to 17, demolition of boundary walls and other pre-1916 elements. 53 conditions are attached to the Ministerial consent. Again, these are consistent with the preservation and restoration of the National Monument.

Chartered Land had to submit a revised project design to the Minister for approval within 9 months (just before Easter 2014) that "takes full account of the elements of the proposal for which consent has been refused and the conditions attached to the approved works".

The revised Chartered Lane project design has now (April 2014) been submitted to the Minister and his decision on it is awaited.
DEVELOPERS SHOULD NOT SET THE AGENDA
Níor cheart an clár oibre a bheith socraithe ag forróirí

Sinn Féin believes it is totally irrational to allow a developer in NAMA to set the agenda in relation to the development of one of the most historic quarters of Dublin City.

We believe that there are very serious questions yet to be answered regarding the dealings of the management of Dublin City Council with the various developers who have been involved in the site in question in the Moore St./O’Connell St. area.

It would be inconceivable, in our view, for the proposed giant shopping centre to go ahead against the background of this planning scandal and in the face of massive public support for the full preservation of the national monument and the enhancement of this historic quarter of our city.

At the start of the Civil War in 1922 much of O’Connell Street was destroyed for the second time, having been levelled six years earlier by the British Army bombardment in 1916. Yet within a few years the capital’s main thoroughfare was rebuilt.

For many years now much of Upper O’Connell St. has been dominated by a huge vacant site, a gaping hole in the nation’s main historic street. It has been in this condition for far longer than it took to rebuild much of the street after its destruction in war.

The preservation of the National Monument and of Moore Street and the surrounding streetscape would allow for the development of an Historic 1916 Quarter encompassing the entire Moore St/O’Connell St. area. This would have ample scope for commercial and retail development, helping to rejuvenate this neglected part of our capital.
Our vision - a 1916 Revolutionary Quarter
Ár bhfís - Ceathrú Réabhlóideach 1916

The buildings and lanes of history where the last act in the drama of the 1916 Easter Week Rising took place need to be preserved and enhanced. This part of the centre of our capital city needs to be cherished for its unique historical and educational value and for its heritage of revolutionary history.

For this to be possible, the entire terrace, 10 to 25 Moore Street, first needs to be protected, preserved and restored. The terrace must be seen as a unit, a block of buildings occupied by republican forces at the end of the Rising and the site, in No. 16, of the last meeting of the Provisional Government.

The Architectural and Historical Assessment of No. 16 Moore Street, known as the Shaffrey Report commissioned by Dublin City Council in 2005, highlighted three key components of the Moore Street terrace that have prime connections with the Rising:

No. 10 - Cogan’s Grocery which was the point of entry for the retreating GPO garrison, the members of the Provisional Government met there and Séan McLoughlin was appointed by James Connolly to take overall military command.

Nos. 14-17 - The National Monument.

Nos. 20/21 - Hanlon’s Fishmongers where the Moore Street garrison members were addressed by Seán Mac Diarmada in the yard and informed of the surrender decision.

The National Monument Nos. 14 to 17 Moore Street would be robbed of its historic and architectural context and its attraction if the terrace on either side is destroyed. As the Dublin City Council Moore Street Advisory Committee Report states, the Chartered Land plan would have "a severely negative impact on the setting and integrity of the National Monument".

The destruction of most of the terrace is sought by Chartered Land as part of their plan for a giant shopping mall - a development which might well never be built. There is nothing to indicate that Chartered Land will get funding for the project. They could more easily 'flip' the site i.e. sell it on to another developer.

However, in the short term, Chartered Land, armed with ministerial consent, may go ahead with their demolition plans, leaving the National Monument standing in a vacant site, the levelled 'lanes of history', for how many years to come?

Chartered Land is in NAMA, existing on the life support machine provided by that public body. It would be an outrage if public funds were to be used to destroy most of this historic quarter, thus accomplishing something that artillery bombardment in 1916 and again in 1922 failed to do.

Therefore, we need a new vision and a new determination to reclaim these buildings and streets and lanes of history for the Irish people.

- The Government must make a commitment to protect, preserve and develop Moore Street as part of a wider Historic Quarter.

- The Minister for Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs, in partnership with Dublin City Council, should enter into direct dialogue with all stakeholders - the 1916 relatives, all property owners in the area and not just Chartered Land, the National Museum, NAMA and other relevant State agencies and NGOs.

- The aim of this dialogue should be to frame a new plan, not only to fully preserve the National Monument and the terrace in which it stands, but also to develop the battlefield site into a 1916 Revolutionary Quarter, which would include the revitalisation and pedestrianisation of the associated laneways to increase shopping and tourism footfall.

- The Government must fully examine all its options, legal and financial, to make this new plan possible.
• This dialogue and plan should be completed as soon as possible so that as much of the plan as feasible - certainly the Moore Street element - can be implemented for the Centenary of the 1916 Rising in 2016. It is more important to get the plan right and to get it delivered than to reach the 2016 deadline, though that is, of course, most desirable.

• The Block encompassed by Moore Street, Henry Street/GPO/O’Connell St and Parnell St should be designated as a 1916 Revolutionary Quarter.

• An Architectural survey of the block to be carried and original features and shop fronts to be preserved and restored.

• The entire terrace, 10 to 25 Moore Street should be protected, preserved and restored.

• The National Monument at 14-17 Moore St to be taken over by the State to form the centre-point of the Museum and Interpretive centre.

• The 1916 Revolutionary Quarter would have ample scope for commercial and retail development, helping to rejuvenate this neglected part of our capital. A special aim would be to renew and sensitively develop the traditional small shop and street trading role of Moore Street (as recommended by the Dublin City Council Moore Street Advisory Committee Report).

• The 1916 Revolutionary Quarter could link up with the plan for the Parnell Square Cultural Quarter, including the new Central Library, the Garden of Remembrance and the Municipal Gallery, thus rejuvenating a very large part of the centre of Ireland’s capital city.
Conclusion
Conclúid

Opponents of this plan may cite various legal, planning and financial difficulties. However we believe that with vision and political will and civic spirit this project could become a reality. We believe that we should all be at one in ensuring that our people today and future generations have full access to the heritage of the Easter Rising of 1916 - both in the written word and in the physical legacy of the buildings and the streets where our history was made.

In his last letter before his execution in Kilmainham Jail, on 8 May 1916, Eamonn Ceannt wrote:

"In the years to come Ireland will honour those who risked all for her honour at Easter in 1916."

We should live up to those words.