



# THREE CASTLES BURNING

A HISTORY OF DUBLIN  
IN TWELVE STREETS

DONAL FALLON



BASED  
ON THE  
NO. 1  
PODCAST

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‘This city,’ says the tourist, ‘presents the most extraordinary contrast of poverty and magnificence to be met in Europe.’

—William Curry, *Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1820)

*To the memory of Joe Fallon*

*Many of the contemporary images in this book were taken on his vintage Nikon  
camera*

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# Introduction

Why write a book about the streets of Dublin?

The dying months of 2021, and the opening months of the year which followed, were a curious time to be writing about the city Joyce christened the ‘Hibernian Metropolis’. By then, there seemed to be a path emerging out of the global pandemic, which had brought all capital cities to a sudden and disorientating stop. That moment also reignited much discussion over what many of those cities could and should look like going forward. The greatest aspect of Dublin, Dermot Bolger argued in 1991, ‘is not its buildings or history but the fact it is a living city. A city is like a person, it is always changing.’<sup>1</sup>

On the eve of the pandemic, there were some eighty new hotels in various stages of planning for the city. An unexpected consequence of the crisis internationally was the halting of other kinds of development, worsening a housing crisis of inadequate supply. When the cranes returned, Dubliners seemed to be asking, what would they be constructing?

Discussions on planning, the pre-eminence of hotels and student accommodation blocks and the place of cultural institutions in the capital have all taken hold in recent times. These discussions, and the renewed interest of Dubliners in their city and the form it takes, have sparked civic

activism on a level not seen since Frank McDonald penned his important and vital book *The Destruction of Dublin* in 1985.

Three Castles Burning, a social history podcast founded in 2019, has aimed to be a voice which celebrates the heritage of the city, always within the context of the contemporary city. Many episodes, such as those exploring The O’Rahilly’s Herbert Park home (demolished overnight in September 2020, leading the City Council to initiate legal action against the developer), have responded to on-going events in the city.

All cities must develop to grow, something that was believed by the pioneering figures of both Georgian and Victorian Dublin, as examined in this book. The balance of development is key. Cities ultimately require communities within them, and to be shaped by and for those who live there, while welcoming those who visit. The search for authenticity is what motivates much tourism.

I wished to write a book that would explore some of the streets of the capital, with potted histories that I hope will give visitors to the city a sense of its vast history, but which I primarily hope will give inspiration to those who call Dublin home. There are occasional heroic defeats here, like the Civic Offices’ disputed construction at Wood Quay, but there are also moments of great civic achievement.

This is not intended as a guidebook, nor an architectural or academic history. Not one of these street histories could be considered truly definitive, stretching from the very beginning to the modern day and encompassing all that has happened there. Instead, I have presented the reader with a series of insights into each street that helps us understand its place in the contemporary city. Some streets are key in the history of ideas in the city, others to its development economically. Some of these streets are rapidly

changing. Perhaps, like Flora Mitchell and her 1966 study *Vanishing Dublin*, which is referenced throughout this book, it seems an important time to capture them.

The centenary year of the publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, a masterpiece of literature that placed Dublin centre-stage, has been a reminder of Dublin's place internationally. The impact of this city on international thinking, culture and more besides is plentiful. She is no small town, and this is no small story.

In Dublin, like all great cities, the past and the present are in constant interaction with one another. It is also a time for thinking about the future.

Donal Fallon

Dublin 2022

# 1

## Henrietta Street



Henrietta Street c.1970 (National Library of Ireland)

If one street can tell us of Dublin's rise and demise, it is Henrietta Street. It also has an unrivalled story of rebirth, a slice of Georgian Dublin reborn

when so much was irreversibly lost. The most exclusive address in the Georgian city, it was initially home to what one authority on the street has described as, ‘the leading figures from church, military and state, sophisticated socialites, agents of culture and arbiters of taste.’<sup>1</sup>

By the time of the 1911 Census, however, the street was a picture of poverty, with 835 people residing in just fifteen homes. In less than two centuries, subdivided tenements had replaced the fashionable abodes of the rich and powerful.

Henrietta Street, for a street so important in the development of the Irish capital, spends a lot of its time playing the role of somewhere else entirely. In the popular television series *Penny Dreadful*, a horror drama featuring characters like Dr Victor Frankenstein and a reimagined Dorian Gray, the cobbled street was used to evoke a feeling of place – but that place was Victorian London. Similarly, we see Henrietta Street in *Ripper Street*, a series which takes dramatic licence with the tale of London’s most infamous killer, Jack the Ripper. Macabre walking tours take to the streets of Whitechapel and Spitalfields nightly in London, exploring the gruesome history and lore around the Ripper, but television production companies feel this Dublin street offers a better sense of Victorian London than that city itself can muster. To a resident of the street, it seems that, ‘Henrietta Street has been used to represent the Dickensian squalor of London... It’s not representing Dublin, it’s not representing Ireland and it’s a massive inconvenience to the local residents.’<sup>2</sup>

The prop red post boxes and the acting Victorian Bobbies come and go, but that Henrietta Street should be considered a quintessential London street is no doubt something its early residents would delight in. The emulation of the great city, the undisputed capital of the Empire, was a preoccupation of

the Georgian Dubliner. To Jonathan Swift, who privately reckoned ‘no man is thoroughly miserable unless he be condemned to live in Ireland’, London represented a place of stimulating social and political life, and was worthy of not only admiring but copying:

If you have London still at heart,  
We’ll make a small one here by art;  
The difference is not much between  
St. James’s Park, and Stephen’s Green.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever the differences in her green spaces, Henrietta Street represented a direct imitation of the fashionable streets of the neighbouring metropolis by Dublin. With its two opposing rows of red-brick houses, and with a beautiful commonality on street level that conceals the unique decorated interiors behind each door, Henrietta Street looked unlike anything the city had witnessed before. Dublin’s first Georgian terraced street, it was to mark the beginning of a very real influence over the shaping of the eighteenth-century city by one Luke Gardiner.

A treasury official, parliamentarian and property developer – perhaps today someone we would label a property tycoon – the early life of Luke Gardiner remains something of a mystery, but his beginnings were seemingly relatively humble, being the son of a merchant. In a city where so many defined themselves by the pedigree of a family line or title, Gardiner was ‘a self-made man of obscure origins’.<sup>4</sup> It was his marriage to Anne Stewart in 1711, niece to Viscount Mountjoy, a prominent Anglo-Irish peer, which opened doors in Georgian society, lending Gardiner what historian Melanie Hayes has described as ‘a gloss of nobility’.<sup>5</sup>

While Gardiner's plan to develop Henrietta Street was ambitious, its development proved slow. Still, it was helped by the fact that the street's arrival in the 1720s coincided with the opening of a new parliament on College Green, which meant that the street attracted the political class from its infancy. Within three decades – by the time the final house on the street, number 3, was completed in the late 1750s – it was home to what David Dickson has termed 'a remarkable concentration of political power and factional rivalry within a small physical space.'<sup>6</sup> Gardiner did not live to see the street's completion, having died in 1755, but his sons would continue to play a central role in the development of Dublin's northside.

As for the origins of the street's name, it is somewhat disputed. Street names in the Georgian city often commanded a sense of power, with developers frequently bestowing their own names – or allusions to their titled positions – upon the streetscape. The most ludicrous example of this was the case of Earl Henry Moore of Drogheda, responsible for North Earl Street, Henry Street, Moore Street, Drogheda Street (which in time became Sackville Street and later O'Connell Street) and even Of Lane. Gardiner's new fashionable street was likely named in honour of Henrietta Paulet, Duchess of Bolton, wife (third wife, no less) of former Lord Lieutenant Charles Paulet, though some have suggested Henrietta Fitzroy, Duchess of Grafton. Either Henrietta would give the street a sense of exclusivity and a closeness to power, which was undoubtedly the desired effect.

Those who lived in these houses lived significant lives, yes, but what of those who laboured in them? Behind each wealthy household was a working staff. Mary Wollstonecraft, an early advocate of women's rights, whose 1792 text *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* is considered one of the pioneering works of feminist philosophy, worked as governess to the daughters of the

Kingsborough family in number 15 from 1786. Only 27 years of age at the time she assumed the post, Wollstonecraft had a life-long impact on Margaret, one of the children in her care, with historian Jenny McAuley writing that, ‘Margaret energetically lived out Wollstonecraft’s democratic and feminist ideals, becoming a major Irish Patriot hostess, and subsequently pursuing a literary career and the independent study of medicine.’<sup>7</sup>

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Walking up Henrietta Street today from the busy Bolton Street, the houses have a commanding presence. An urban myth in many cities with such fine Georgian architecture has long maintained that the smaller windows of Georgian houses’ upper floors were those of servants quarters, but in truth it tells us more about the architectural style of the Georgian period than any penny-pinching on the part of the wealthy. The smaller windows on the top floor gave the illusion of height, and contributed to the perceived scale of the homes.

But beyond the impressive homes themselves, the feeling of the street is also created by the cul-de-sac effect of having the King’s Inns at its western end, along with the striking archway designed by Francis Johnston, an architect best remembered for the General Post Office and the doomed Nelson’s Pillar. Dating from 1820, it is a powerful closing presence to the street, and above the archway we see the Royal Coat of Arms, complete with a lion representing England and a unicorn for Scotland. This symbol of empire, ever-present in British cityscapes, is a rare thing in Dublin now, largely replaced upon independence. This cul-de-sac meant that unlike other inner-city streets, the people of Henrietta Street did not contend with the

hustle and bustle of constant traffic. The street had its own unique soundscape.

The presence of King's Inns, a training institution for barristers of the law, would come to shape Henrietta Street itself, and provide it with something of a lifeline in a time of steep decline for the city. A street which drew the political class could hardly be expected to survive the shock of the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland in 1800, when the Irish Parliament voted for its own abolition. It was the end product of a parliament which, in the words of the eminent historian Lecky, fell victim to a 'virus of corruption which extended and descended through every fibre and artery of the political system'.<sup>8</sup>



Entrance to King's Inns, 1986 (Courtesy of Dublin City Library and Archive)

The political effects of the Act of Union were obvious, with London assuming greater and more direct control over Irish affairs, but the economic effects of it in Dublin were more multifaceted. After the union, Thomas Pakenham noted, 'some people predicted that grass would grow in the streets of Dublin. The future was to be less theatrical.'<sup>9</sup> Many streets did quickly succumb to tenements, as parliamentarians and the economy that flourished around them and their social calendar left the city. More than 200

parliamentarians called Dublin home in 1800 – just six Irish MPs had Dublin addresses by 1823, less than a quarter of a century later.<sup>10</sup>

Henrietta Street found a new purpose for a time, directly connected to the presence of the King's Inns. Attorneys, barristers and judges were drawn to the street, which a nineteenth-century observer described as having 'the air of a legal university'.<sup>11</sup>

The great disruptor of this harmony – and perhaps the event which would most directly shape the future of the street – was the arrival of the Dublin Militia, a reserve force of the army intended to defend the capital, which took up residence in numbers 12 and 14 from 1863, in homes which essentially assumed the role of barracks. Soldiers, their families, and all the noise it entailed drove a wedge between the new arrivals and the legal profession, residents complaining of how concentration was impossible with the noise of soldiers drilling and the 'eternal drumming and fife by incipient musicians'.<sup>12</sup> The new busy-ness of Henrietta Street was controversial enough to make it to the British House of Commons, where parliamentarians heard of how Henrietta Street, 'was made a perpetual playground not only by the children of the Militia but by numbers attracted from the district to participate with the Militia children in their uncontrolled games and sports, to the great obstruction of the street.'<sup>13</sup>

The sound of children playing on the street survived the eventual departure of the Militia for barracks accommodation elsewhere in the city. For a street so synonymous with tenement Dublin, Henrietta Street did not house a single tenement before the transformation of number 14, from a home of soldiers to a subdivided warren of homes within a home towards the end of the nineteenth century. Businessman Thomas Vance acquired number 14 in 1877, the first tenement of the street and today home to a

museum that tells the story of the street through its various ages. Vance's home was a tenement, but it was far removed from the worst such home until the 1870s. Toilets were to be found on multiple landings, a vast improvement on the yard toilets still common then in inner-city Dublin. There was to be 'an oven for each family, and the provision of clean running water, again provided on each landing'.<sup>14</sup>

Tenements, at their heart, were subdivided homes designed to provide cheap rental accommodation. There was nothing uniquely Dublin about the presence of such homes in the city, tenements being a fact of life in all major cities in these islands. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, tenements were generally purpose-built structures that reflected industrial might and the need for workers in cities. They were, and still are, desirable properties. A journalist in *The Times* wrote in recent times of how 'there is no denying Scotland's love affair with tenements'.<sup>15</sup>

Yet the scale of tenement Dublin was something that could not be ignored, reflecting the broader decay of the nineteenth-century city. There was also a sad uniqueness in their origin story. These were not purpose-built working-class homes, as described above, but something else entirely. To *The Irish Builder*, an authoritative voice on matters of planning and construction:

The history and fate of thousands of fine old well-built private mansions in Dublin is a chequered and sad one – for go where you will, either north and south of this city, streets of houses will be found now occupied as tenements. The evil is yearly enlarging and there are large districts now possible of being mapped out where this tenement property has become long blocks and lines of rookeries and chronic fever-nests. The evil has

grown so gigantic that the Corporation [Dublin Corporation, the local authority] are powerless to grapple with it in its entirety.<sup>16</sup>

Vance's efforts on the street were little by comparison to Alderman Joseph M. Meade, a councillor who would later serve as Lord Mayor of the city twice. Meade acquired the majority of houses on the street, which by this point no longer held strong appeal to legal professionals, subdividing them and renting them out. A self-described Irish nationalist and a supporter of Irish Parliamentary Party leader Charles Stewart Parnell, Meade was by no means unique in local municipal politics as a tenement landlord, but the scale of his holdings on Henrietta Street sets him apart from most of his contemporaries.

We can gather some idea of life on Henrietta Street from the census returns of the early twentieth century, which reveal the layers of working-class life on the street. Taking just one home from the 1911 census, 7 Henrietta Street, we find 104 people within the home, with occupations as varied as tailor, domestic servant, porter, carpenter, a post office worker, and general labourer. The sheer number of children is striking, and recalls the words of James Joyce in the pages of *Dubliners*, where we read of Little Chandler, a character who embarks across the city from an office at the King's Inns and makes for the city centre via this street, which is packed with children:



Mural of James Joyce on Henrietta Street (Luke Fallon)

He emerged from under the feudal arch of the King's Inns, a neat modest figure, and walked swiftly down Henrietta Street. The golden sunset was waning and the air had grown sharp. A horde of grimy children populated the street. They stood or ran in the roadway or crawled up the steps before the gaping doors or squatted like mice upon the thresholds. Little Chandler gave them no thought. He picked his way deftly through all that minute vermin-like life and under the shadow of the gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roystered.<sup>17</sup>



Dedicated to the Dublin Slum-Owners' "Protection" Association.

**SLUM-OWNER:** "These ungrateful rascals, they're living in a mansion that was good enough for Lord Norbury and that I bought for the price of the mantelpieces, and still they're not satisfied."

At the Annual Conference of the Philanthropic Reform Association, on Sept. 28, the Lord Mayor condemned tenements as the curse of Dublin, and said that, instead of making an effort to improve such habitations, he would be in favour of wiping them off the face of the earth entirely.

Depiction of a Dublin tenement stairwell, and landlord, from *The Lepracaun Cartoon Monthly*  
(Courtesy of Dublin City Library and Archive)

In revolutionary times, from 1916–21, Henrietta Street and other streets like it contributed their share of young radicals. Patrick Farrell, an apprentice plasterer and just nineteen years of age, would lose his life in the fierce fighting at nearby Church Street during the 1916 Rising. He was raised in 14 Henrietta Street, although lived in Parnell Street at the time of the Rising. There were others from the street killed during the Easter Week rebellion, the *Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook* recording a 58-year-old ‘D. Dargan’ of 12 Henrietta Street as amongst the civilians buried in Glasnevin that week, along with young James Gibney, just 5 years of age, from neighbouring Henrietta Place. Amongst the deported prisoners after the failure of the uprising was a ‘J. Monahan’ of 5 Henrietta Street, and a ‘J. Summers’ of number 7.

The street witnessed the very real excitement of a significant IRA arms raid in the summer of 1920 during the Irish War of Independence, at a time when the republican movement was seeking desperately to arm itself in the city by any means necessary. The King’s Inns armoury, guarded by a small band of British soldiers and intended to protect an institution of the law, was identified by the leadership of the IRA as being not only likely to reap dividends, but also to be potentially lightly protected. For Denis Holmes, a young IRA Volunteer who participated in the subsequent raid, the abiding memory of the raid was Kevin Barry ‘coming out of the guardroom with a Lewis gun hugged in his arms’.<sup>18</sup> Barry, within a few short months, was an international cause célèbre, executed at eighteen years of age in Mountjoy

Prison for his role in an ambush at an intersection of Church Street and North King Street that led to the deaths of three British soldiers.

Holmes recalled that the IRA had watched the King's Inns for some time, as: 'our GHQ [General Headquarters] had learnt through the intelligence department that although the Inns were well guarded, military discipline was not so strict as it was in other outposts.' The daring raid on King's Inns involved other men mobilising in the vicinity of Henrietta Street, with Holmes recounting that, 'a party in Henrietta Street... was standing ready to protect the men on the raid.' Volunteers 'formed a cordon across Henrietta Street, and did not leave their position until all our men had got safely away'.<sup>19</sup>

Later, there was the execution of Thomas Bryan, a 24-year-old electrician from number 14 who was a member of the IRA's Active Service Unit in the capital. While the War of Independence was raging in the countryside, the ASU fought a very different war on the streets of the capital. Bryan was part of a botched ambush at Drumcondra in January 1921, for which he was hanged at Mountjoy Prison. A young, recently married man, correspondence in his pension application submitted by his grieving family reveals the poverty in which his parents continued to live at 14 Henrietta Street in the aftermath of his death.

This being the heart of working-class Dublin, there were also local men who enlisted in the First World War effort. Indeed, it reflects the economic reality of Henrietta Street that it contributed more men to the British armed forces than to the ranks of the IRA. Conor Dodd, a historian with special interest in the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, has detailed the contribution of the street to the regiment. There was Corporal Thomas Gormley of number 13, who received a Distinguished Conduct Medal for gallantry, leading a group

of twenty men in an attack on an enemy machine gun position. From number 14, the same home as the Bryan family, came Patrick Ennis. A father to two children, Patrick worked as a general labourer, like so many underemployed men in a city of little industrial prospect. He enlisted in the summer of 1914. He was present at Gallipoli, and later at the Western Front, where 1916 came to mean something very different to those at home. Patrick survived the war, making it back to 14 Henrietta Street. However, not all of the residents of this street who went to war made it home.<sup>20</sup>

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The Henrietta Street that emerged after the birth of the Irish Free State was, at first, little changed from before. The street, readers of the *Irish Independent* were told, ‘was once the most fashionable and exclusive street in Dublin. Dukes and Lords paraded and great ladies graced the pavements where the barefooted, ragged urchins today are romping.’<sup>21</sup>

Post-independence, many wondered what real change would be brought about for the inner-city of the capital. A new wave of agitation on housing had taken hold from the time of a 1914 inquiry into Dublin housing, and now there existed a new state to make good on promises of improved conditions, and those words were still ringing in the ears of the city.

John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), photographed Dublin’s tenement landscape, including Henrietta Street and the neighbouring Henrietta Place, in the early years of the twentieth century with an eye not only for urban decay but the social realities of poverty. Cooke’s photography was driven by a desire to put this poverty centre-stage, telling the aforementioned 1914 inquiry that:

I condemn the whole of the tenement system now existing. It breeds misery; and worse. It causes a great waste of human life and human force; men, women and children can never rise to the best that is in them under such conditions.<sup>22</sup>

Some progress, in terms of brick and mortar, did gradually come. In place of that poverty which so shocked Cooke in Henrietta Place, for example, now stands Henrietta House, a public housing scheme dating from 1937 with the distinctive Art Deco flourishes that mark the work of Herbert George Simms, Housing Architect to Dublin Corporation from 1932 until 1948. Henrietta House has the fine rounded corners that mark out so many of Herbert Simms' schemes across the city, and consists of two blocks of flats facing a communal courtyard. Gone were crowded tenements and makeshift homes, replaced by the clean elegance of Henrietta House.

Around the corner, however, tenement living continued on Henrietta Street itself. The old houses of north inner-city Dublin, to one 1940s visitor, made a contradictory spectacle:

Magnificent panelled doors, patched and burst and drunkenly hanging awry; delicately proportioned fanlights now devoid of glass; smashed and never-repaired panes and sashes in the windows; scaling paintwork; empty gaps and heaps of rubble that represent not the fall of a land-mine, but some half-hearted attempt at slum clearance.<sup>23</sup>



Henrietta House in 1980, photographed from Henrietta Street (Courtesy of Dublin City Library and Archive)

Two decades on, a visitor to Henrietta Street itself in the mid-1960s felt moved to write:

A small boy, when asked if he was afraid of anything going up the now rickety staircases in the dark, replied instantly ‘I’m in dread of ghosts!’ One can only suppose that his feelings would be nothing in comparison with the horror of any returning ghosts.<sup>24</sup>

By the 1970s, the door of the last tenement home closed, and the future of the street – in spite of its past – seemed bleak. Newspapers spoke of the street as being amongst the ‘last decaying bastions of Dublin’s north city Georgian heritage’.<sup>25</sup>

By then, there was an increasing realisation that such houses should be saved, and could embark on new lives. An unlikely champion of the street,

15. Michael D. Higgins, Speech at the unveiling of a plaque dedicated to Irish Suffragettes, Dublin Castle, 13 June 2018.
16. The events of Black Friday are well explored in Sophia A. van Wingerden, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866–1928* (New York, 1999).
17. Margaret Gowen (ed.), *Conservation Plan: Dublin City Walls and Defences* (Dublin, 2004), p. 25.
18. Patrick Wallace, 'The Archaeology of Ireland's Viking-Age Towns' in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *A New History of Ireland, Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 814–40.
19. Christine Casey, *Dublin: The City Within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* (Yale, 2005), p. 19.
20. Jonathan Bardon, *Hallelujah – The story of a musical genius and the city that brought his masterpiece to life* (Dublin, 2016).
21. Walter Scott, *The Works of Jonathan Swift: Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral* (Boston, 1884), p.123.
22. Peter Costello, *Dublin Castle in the Life of the Irish Nation* (Dublin, 1999), p. 15.
23. *The Irish Builder*, 17 February 1866.
24. Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Irish immigration then and now' in Francesca Fauri (ed.), *The History of Migration in Europe: Perspectives from Economics, Politics and Sociology* (New York, 2015), 154–172.
25. *Evening Herald*, 8 April 1976.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Vincent Caprani's *Rowdy Rhymes and Rec-im-itations: Doggerel for a Departed Dublin* (Dublin, 1982) is an essential read for all interested in Dublin's oral tradition. Irish Life and Lore carried out an oral history with Vincent that included some observations on Italian Dublin. See <https://www.irishlifeandlore.com/>.
28. *The Irish Times*, 3 November 2009.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Helena Molony, Bureau of Military History Witness Statement 391, Military Archives.
31. Edward Handley, Bureau of Military History Witness Statement 625, Military Archives.
32. *The Irish Bulletin*, 27 September 1919.
33. *The Irishman*, 16 August 1919.
34. P. H. Fox, 'The Causes of Enteric Fever in the Dublin Garrison', *The Dublin Journal of Medical Science* (Vol. XC, July to December, 1890), p. 503.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Irish Independent*, 5 February 2022.
37. Chris Reid has done some very interesting work in the broader area around oral history recollections and social history. See <http://www.chrisreidartist.com/>.

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1. Dickson, p. 13.
2. George Aloysius Little, *Dublin Before the Vikings: An Adventure in Discovery* (Dublin, 1957), p. 144.
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4. Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After the Famine: Explorations in Economic History, 1800–1925* (Manchester, 1993), p. 43.
5. J. D. Herbert, *Irish Varieties, for the Last Fifty Years: Written from Recollections* (Dublin, 1836), p. 83.
6. William Curry, *The Picture of Dublin, or Stranger's Guide to the Irish Metropolis* (London, 1835), p. 184.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
8. *British Medical Journal*, 28 September 1861.

9. *The Irish Times*, 26 August 1919.
10. *Freeman's Journal*, 29 April 1878.
11. *The Irish Times*, 29 April 1878.
12. *Freeman's Journal*, 29 April 1878.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Tom Geraghty, Trevor Whitehead, *Dublin Fire Brigade: A history of the brigade, the fires and the emergencies* (Dublin, 2004), p. 62.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
16. Pakenham and Pakenham, p. 4.
17. W. H. Bartlett, *Picturesque Ireland: Historical and Descriptive* (New York, 1890), p. 15.
18. *Ibid.*
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22. Sheila Carden, *The Alderman: Alderman Tom Kelly (1868–1942) and Dublin Corporation* (Dublin, 207), p. 114.
23. *Ibid.*
24. O'Brien, p. 149.
25. Chris Corlett, 'The Church Street Disaster, September 1913', *History Ireland* (Vol. 17, No. 2), p. 30.
26. Jim Larkin, *Larkin's Scathing Indictment of Dublin Sweaters* (Dublin, 1914), p. 4.
27. James Plunkett, 'Jim Larkin' in J. W. Boyle (ed.), *Leaders and Workers* (Dublin, 1965), p. 85.
28. O'Brien, p. 98.
29. Sean Farrell Moran, *Patrick Pearse and the Politics of Redemption: The Mind of the Easter Rising* (Washington, 1998), p. 67.
30. Carden, p. 113.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *thejournal.ie*, 31 December 2013.
33. Mark Lawrence Schrad, *Smashing the Liquor Machine: A Global History of Prohibition* (Oxford, 2021), p. 309.
34. A new public housing scheme on nearby North King Street will be named in Seán Foster's honour. The deaths of Seán and other child victims of the Rising is examined in Joe Duffy's *Children of the Rising: The Untold Story of the Young Lives Lost during Easter 1916* (Dublin, 2015).
35. Eamonn Morkan, Bureau of Military History Witness Statement 411, Military Archives.
36. Wally Cassidy's photo collection is published by Cafe Royal Books, 2017. Bill Barich's observation comes from Bill Barich, *A Pint of Plain: Tradition, Change, and the Fate of the Irish Pub* (New York, 2009)
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## 10 EUSTACE STREET

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## 11 PEARSE STREET (TO WESTLAND ROW)

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