Walking Through the Rising: from Bolton Street Tech to the Four Courts and Back

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The military action of the 1st Battalion of the Irish Volunteers in north inner city Dublin in 1916.
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IN MEMORY OF FRANK HARTE

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Frank Harte, as anyone who ever met him knows, was fond of saying that *the winners write the histories, the losers write the songs*. Those words, or words to that effect, for he had many slight variations on the formula. Of course he did not mean this either simply or literally; Frank was a wise and canny man, a subtle man and a learned man, a serious scholar of the song tradition, and of much else besides — and he could be an imp of mischief when it suited him. He would make this claim, I often thought, not so much to solicit agreement or to make a case as to set his audience thinking.

There is a kind of Zen wisdom in Frank’s maxim — it’s the kind of thing that takes root in your mind, a phrase that has you agreeing with it and disagreeing with it, back and forth in a kind of long restless muttering to yourself that never quite resolves the question.

He might have meant this: in every historical conflict there is a winner and a loser, that is to say one side gains power, the other loses it; subsequently the ‘winner’ gets to promote their version as the true version, which has the effect of driving the ‘loser’ to the margins, out of the schools and the books of record, on to the streets, or into the bars or any of those private spaces where unofficial story thrives and will not be beaten down or away.

Or he might have meant this: in song and poem and story, memory is kept differently, colours and passions and (above all) the human detail are given their due, their proper place.

History is more than a catalogue of what happened in the contests of power, more than a bare recitation of verifiable and agreed facts (whatever facts might be), more than an account of who lived where, and what that where looked like, and what was done there. History, considered in its totality, is the enduring presence in the living moment of the living past. The point is, there is an awful lot of it, and Frank’s Zen proposition points to the all-important element of selectivity — in both songs and histories the problem is always one of choosing what to leave in, what to leave out. Of necessity, this decision is governed by the need, the compulsion, to fit single and singular events to an overmastering, simplifying, grand narrative.

The songwriter, on the other hand, can be cheerfully cavalier when telling a story, can put words into the mouth of Napoleon that would never have occurred to that gentleman, make a philosopher of a fruit-seller or a fool and a simpleton of a High Court Judge, should the fancy take him, or her. To the songwriter, the historical event is as much context as subject, a departure point for the vagaries of wayward imagination. Songs stand or fall on vivid detail — the buckling of a shoe, a bunch of roses, a fishmonger’s barrow, the echo of a Thompson gun. Historical ‘accuracy’ is subordinated to the feeling the songwriter hopes to evoke in singer and listener.

There was an Irish event in Hanover, during Expo 2000, when I had to introduce both Frank Harte and the poet Eavan Boland. Naively, I had not expected these very different personalities to be compatible — but they got on famously, real affection and mutual respect lighting up the stage. Back in the hotel that night, I was turning over in my mind Frank’s dictum about winners and losers, mulling over fragments of the conversation between poet and singer, when it dawned on me that what they had in common was this: a devotion to their craft, a love of story, and a deep and learned love of the city of Dublin.
And then, drifting towards sleep, a further insight: what each loved in Dublin was that it was a palimpsest of overlaid histories, story after story woven into the river, into the stones and cobbles and rooflines and slate, into church, bank, brothel and terrace, tenement and mill. The very fabric of the city, and the teeming lives lived there over the turbulent centuries, had all their attention and all their love.

Traced back to its Greek origin, the word history comes from 'histor', meaning a learned or wise man. In Latin it meant narrative or story; in Late Middle English, in the 15th century, it came to mean recorded events of the past. We might say that history is a set of stories told by a wise man or woman, a record of events that includes in its matter all previous records, including the imperfect records embodied in songs, themselves of course now also a matter of record.

There never was, nor can there ever be, a single definitive account of what happened in the past. There can only be stories, all manner of stories, each kind answering to a different imperative, sufficient inside the limits of what each proposes as its own horizon. We come to these stories with different needs, at different times, and the stories stand or fall to the extent that they answer to those needs.

Something else that Frank Harte once wrote is pertinent here: “It is still the story in the song that attracts me, if it has a beautiful air and I am able to sing it, that is all the better...songs carry stories that are particularly important, as they give us an insight into the feelings of the people who went before us, an insight that cannot be obtained from history books”.

The histories of the Rising are becoming more nuanced and more complex now, in some part because we are abandoning the idea of the grand narrative, the single definitive account. To the panoptic authority of the professional historian, we must now add dozens, perhaps ultimately hundreds, of other stories, most if not all of them modest, but each in its own way a contribution to the ever-evolving, ever-renewed, whole.

This present small volume is a vivid and welcome example of what has come to be called micro-history, focusing with great precision and exactness on particular component elements of a larger story.

Each location here is meticulously depicted, each identifiable participant in the struggle named and recalled, each shift in tactic and stratagem minutely recorded. The reader is encouraged to walk through the district, to observe the streetscape of the battle zone, to see for herself and himself exactly what it must have been like to shelter in this doorway, to command a street from that sniper's vantage point. At each step, in each location, we feel at our side the ghosts of the men and women who fought and died here, who cowered in terror behind walls, who saw their few meagre possessions thrown on the streets to make a barricade, or go up in smoke as some building burned.

The story is told with the immersive power of a song or poem, detail artfully fitted to detail until we are lifted away from detachment, sent back not through but into time, not time cancelled, time past, but the ever-living time of the imagination.

Here is, in effect, a song of what happened, of what will go on happening, over and over, as long as memory endures, and here is history written by losers who become, somehow, winners. Here, finally, is a small but important set of Dublin stories, a city quarter writing itself into history on its own terms, from its own resources, into the clear light of day.

Theo Dorgan
Dublin 2016
(For Frank Harte)

Roadies in ponytails stringing lights and cables,
A beer can popped in the corner, echo of sound check.
Outside in the filling yard, hum of expectation.

We pour through the narrow gate under the gallows hook
In twos and threes, becoming an audience.
Before the lights go down we examine each other shyly.

The singer surveys his audience, heat rising
To the tricolour and Plough overhead.
As the first words of Galvin's lament climb to invoke
James Connolly's ghost, we are joined by the dead.

I say this as calmly as I can. The gaunt dead
Crowded the catwalks, shirt-sleeved, disbeliefing.
The guards had long since vanished, but these
Looked down on us, their faces pale.

I saw men there who had never made their peace,
men who had failed these many years to accept their fate,
still stunned by gunfire, wounds, fear for their families;
paralysed until now by the long volleys of May so long ago.

I think that we all felt it, their doubt and their fear,
the emblems so familiar, the setting, our upturned faces,
so unreal. Only the dignity of the singers art
had power to release them. I felt it, I say this calmly.

I saw them leave, in twos and threes, as the song ended.
I do not know that there is a heaven but I saw their souls
fan upward like leaves from a dry book, sped into the night
by volleys of applause sped out, I hope, into some light at last.

I do not know that I will ever be the same again,
That soft-footed gathering of the dead into their peace
was like something out of a book. In Kilmainham Gaol
I saw this. I felt this. I say this as calmly and as lovingly as I can.

Theo Dorgan.

―We may not know what a thing is,
but at least we know what it is not‖
C.G. Jung

It is hoped that this is an accurate account of the part played by the 1st Battalion of the Irish Volunteers in the 1916 Easter Rising. It has been researched and we hope it is informative. None of us who put it together are historians. We come from an engineering and scientific background, and probably the nearest we came to culture was an audition for the Christian Brothers Céili Band, which we all failed with honours.

What this document is meant to be is an account of the Rising as it pertains to the inner city area in the vicinity of Grange Gorman and Bolton Street. These sites form the basis of the Dublin Institute of Technology's (DIT) north city campus, and we felt that the centenary of the Rising was enough to warrant us bringing out an account of the fighting. We all work in Bolton Street and its environs.

In the coming years DIT staff and students will traverse the streets mentioned and if we can breathe some life into those streets and remind people of the struggles that occurred on their path, we will have succeeded.

The document is also dedicated to Frank Harte. A former colleague of ours in Bolton Street, he was conscious of the rich heritage of the area and sang and collected songs about Dublin.

Dublin is an old city. Beneath her streets are many veils, which when lifted reveal the past. And yet it is a past we still live.

Jáime Joyce, the man who recorded a whole city in his works, spoke of

―Wipe your glosses with what you Know‖.

This is the same James Joyce whom his father suspended over the Liffey by his ankles, from Essex bridge, when young Jimmy was six years old. The same river which Jimmy mythologised in his work, ―river run, past Eve and Adam's, from smerve of shore to bend of bay‖. James Joyce knew this area, though the events of 1916 occurred while he was in exile.

It is hoped this document will help future staff and students to wipe their glosses, and carry the history of the area with them as they walk to and fro.
The purpose of this booklet is to serve as a guide to the military action of the 1st Battalion of the Irish Volunteers in north inner city Dublin in 1916. The guide should be used in conjunction with the identified points of interest. Therefore, the first identified point of interest is the corner of Henrietta Street and Bolton Street, looking toward Capel Street. Once the point of interest has been located, together with identifiable local landmarks, the text will inform the reader about the action. The points of interest are in sequence, though the chronology may vary.

The corner of Henrietta Street and Bolton Street (Landmark: The Kings Inn public House). From this position we are facing the Bolton Street College on our left and Henrietta Street is to our right.

This college, now part of the Dublin Institute of Technology, is made of red brick and Mount Charles sandstone. It was designed by the City Architect Charles J. McCarthy and was built between 1909-12. McCarthy was the son of leading Victorian gothic architect J.J. McCarthy (1817-82) who was responsible for many churches in Dublin and several Roman-catholic Cathedrals around Ireland. Originally part of the building was a hotel and this was redeveloped by the City Corporation (now the City Council) into a college of technology. Much extended in recent years, there are two major additions. The city of Dublin Technology schools began at the Irish Artisans Exhibition which took place in 1885 in Dublin. This was formed to help stimulate Irish industries, with the offer of £2500 from the Guinness family. The Technical Education Committee (TEC) was formed in 1900 by Dublin Corporation and went about building a number of Technology colleges on both sides of the Liffey.

In 1906 the TEC was given approval by the DATI (Ireland) (Department of Agriculture and technical Instruction Ireland) for the building of a new technical institute at Bolton Street on the site of the old European Hotel. The plans were ready in 1908 for what was to be the first building in the country specifically designed and built for technical and technological education.

Completed in 1911, the building was opened for classes in the autumn of that year with courses in construction and civil and mechanical engineering.
A new course in building construction for architectural students was inaugurated at the request of the Architectural Association of Ireland. Courses in aeroplane construction were introduced in that first academic year, which in 1914 developed the first day-release apprenticeship courses in the country, three afternoons each week, for compositor and letterpress machine operators. A group of Dublin merchants were keen to develop a munitions industry in Dublin, using the facilities of Bolton Street Technical college. At a meeting of the Trades Council, July 1915, a complaint was made of the attempt by Mr Watson, of the Great Southern and Western Railway, to commandeer the machinery of the Bolton Street Technical School for the manufacture of war munitions, while Mr Watson's own machinery was lying idle all night. The council was astonished to hear of such an application, and thought the Education Committee were justified in refusing.

Mr James Connolly said "there was more in the matter than that suggested by the last speaker. The machines were originally acquired for educational purposes, and would be spoiled by the application to such work as it was now suggested to put them, and the citizens should not submit to it." He proposed a resolution protesting against the granting of such machinery for the munitions of war. "They should be only employed in teaching the arts of Peace".

Bolton Street is named after the Duke of Bolton who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1717-1721 and was formerly part of Drumcondra Lane with Dorset Street but was renamed around 1724 after the development of Henrietta Street.

The rising was planned to take place on Sunday, April 23rd, however, the countermanding of the Volunteers orders by Eoin MacNeill resulted in it being postponed to the following day. In November 1913 Eoin McNeill wrote "The North Began". His article was a plea to nationalists to set up a volunteer force in response to the Northern Unionists Ulster Volunteer Force. Subsequently, the Irish Volunteer Force was founded and McNeill was its Chief of Staff. It grew to almost 100,000 men. McNeill was opposed to the Rising. However, the Military Council of the IRB needed McNeill and the volunteers. Before Easter 1916, a document was given to McNeill (the Castle document), which purported that the British had plans in place to disarm the volunteers. McNeill gave instructions to the volunteers to prepare for the planned Easter Rising. However, on the Friday before the Easter Rising McNeill discovered (or was led to believe) that the 'Castle Document' was a forgery. He placed an advertisement in the Sunday Independent cancelling "all orders given to the Irish Volunteers for Easter Sunday". At approximately midday on Monday 24th, the rising can be said to have started. Volunteers left Beresford Place led by James Connolly and Padraig Pearse, to make their way to the GPO. In Colmccille Hall on Blackhall place, Commandant Edward Daly, addressed his men. Daly, at 25 the youngest Commandant of the Volunteers hailed from county Limerick and his sister Kathleen was married to Tom Clarke, the IRB leader.

Daly had led the guard of honour for O'Donovan Rossa's funeral as the Fenians funeral cortège wound through Dublin. Daly had also shown a keen tactical awareness in the manoeuvres of the Volunteers over the previous 18 months. As he explained to his men what the aims and objectives of the Volunteers were for the next week, his second in command Piaras Beaslai, 35, reported that of the 400 volunteers, the normal number in the 1st Battalion of the Irish Volunteers, only 120 were present.

The objectives were to take and hold a number of positions in the general area of the Four Courts and to hold the Four Courts. This involved putting up barricades and occupying outposts north and west of the Four Courts itself. The tactics were to prevent the British military from dispatching reinforcements to the centre of the city from the northwest of the city. This was a tall order, due to the number of Army Barracks in the vicinity, but also as the railway station in Kingsbridge was near. Therefore, the approaches to Dublin's northern suburbs via Broadstone and Phibsboro were to be taken and held. Barricades and military outposts were to be constructed and occupied in the streets surrounding the Four Courts and also in North Brunswick Street, North King Street and Church Street. These tactics would also allow an escape route form the city should the Battalion need to withdraw and retreat to the north county of Dublin and join with the 5th Battalion commanded by Thomas Ashe. Daly asked his men if they wanted to leave, making it plain that they may have to face their death. One or two did leave.
To get to the second point of interest we make our way up Henrietta Street. As we pass up the hill we can observe the Linen Hall on our left, along Henrietta Place.

We shall return to the Linen Hall later in the tour. Henrietta Street is regarded as the earliest Georgian Street in Dublin and is reputed to be the model for Georgian Dublin. Construction on the street started in the mid-1720s, on land acquired by the Gardiner family in 1721. Construction was still taking place in the 1750s. The street was popularly referred to as Primate's Hill, as one of the houses was owned by the Archbishop of Armagh, although this house, along with two others, was demolished to make way for the Law Library of King's Inns.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the street fell into disrepair, with the houses being used as tenements. In 1911, when Dublin was still part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Dublin had the worst urban housing conditions of any city in the United Kingdom. Further, its extensive slums were not limited to the back-streets or to impoverished ghettos.

Previously fashionable Georgian houses in some of the city's grandest streets and squares had, by 1911, been turned into city slums. The move by wealthy residents of Dublin to the suburbs, which was a feature of the late 19th century, led to the large red-brick city buildings being occupied by the poor. These inner-city areas became tenements which were dirty, suffered from overcrowding and ridden with the diseases of poverty such as cholera, typhoid and TB.

If one street can epitomise the decay of Dublin it is Henrietta Street. A street that had once housed generations of the elite,
was by 1911, the definition of poverty. It is recorded that 835 people lived in 15 houses. The religious order, the Sisters of Charity ran a laundry at 10 Henrietta Street which housed 50 women. Census records show nineteen different families living in Number 7, a total of 104 people who worked at everything from a messenger to a tailor, along with numerous school children. This was not just a feature of Henrietta street. The slums spread across the city with 26,000 families living in inner city tenements with 20,000 families each resident in a single room. Life was a hand to mouth existence, with most families relying on casual labour which was very intermittent.

Henrietta Street has been the subject of restoration efforts in recent years. The best example of this is probably the first house on our left, now home to the Piobairi Uilleann, the society of Uilleann pipers. This house was restored by Frank Harte, the man whose memory, singing and work this booklet commemorates. There are currently 13 houses on the street. The street is a cul-de-sac, with the Law Library of King’s Inns facing onto its western end. It has also become a popular period location for film and TV companies. Among the productions filmed here were Albert Nobbs, Inspector George Gently and many Dickens dramatisations.

At the top of the street we pass through the King’s Inns. The Honorable Society of King’s Inns is the institution which controls the entry of barristers-at-law into the justice system of Ireland. The foundation stone for the building was laid on 1 August 1800, with James Gandon being commissioned as the architect. The building was completed by his pupil Henry Aaron Baker. As we pass through King’s Inns we arrive at Constitution Hill and cross the road to the Luas Station at the Broadstone.

The original plan for Easter Monday had included the taking of the Broadstone station but Daly had not the man power due to the low turnout. The railway station was of strategic value to both sides. However, a concern for Daly was that the position and elevation of the station exposed the volunteers’ defences. On the second day of the Rising, the Tuesday, Daly ordered a section of his men to make their way to the station and find out what they could. The group of volunteers lead by Captain Callaghan and which included two of the men involved in the Magazine Fort raid the previous day, Holohan and Martin, made their way to the station gates. A shot was fired from inside the station as the volunteers took up firing positions around the gates.
Martin was seriously wounded. During the firefight that broke out, the volunteers ascertained that the station was fortified with a large detachment of Dublin Fusiliers. In fact, the Fusiliers had taken the railway station the night before.

The retreat of O'Callaghan's men was facilitated by rifle fire from the volunteers on the roof of Moore's Coachworks, which we shall encounter later, allowing the men to make their way back to North Brunswick Street. However, one of them became separated, and he came under heavy fire from soldiers in the Kings Inns buildings. Eventually he made his way back to North Brunswick Street where the rebels were readying for a charge from the Fusiliers. However, the British troops remained at the Broadstone terminus, where they had been ordered to hold a cordon.

The British tactics were starting to slip into place. Reinforcements were arriving from Liverpool, rebel positions and garrisons were set to be isolated and a cordon was in place around the inner city. Further with the taking of Broadstone railway station the line of retreat through the north side was gone.

To reach the fourth point of interest we have to walk through Grangegorman Campus to the clock tower building. From the front of the Clock Tower building we can see Broadstone Station, Saint Peters Church Phibsboro, Kings Inns, and the Spire in O'Connell Street.

At the beginning of the nineteenth-century there was little specialist institutional provision for those deemed insane in Ireland. The lunatic department of the House of Industry, which in 1809 had forty-six cells reserved for these unfortunates, was oversubscribed as individuals were sent there from all over Ireland. The governors of the House of Industry petitioned the British parliament for funds to construct additional buildings to meet this demand. The cost was £2,000 and the lands adjoining and to the east of the site of the House of Industry were purchased and an architect, Francis Johnston, was
appointed. It officially opened as the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in 1815 with 250 beds, although it had received its first patients from the lunatic wards of the House of Industry in the previous year. It was named after Charles Lennox who was the Duke of Richmond and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1807–1813). Initially, it was established as a national asylum to receive “curable lunatics” from the island of Ireland. From 1830, however, it was incorporated into the district asylum system.

Thereafter it was renamed the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum and its catchment area was defined as the city and county of Dublin, the counties of Wicklow, Louth, Meath, and the town of Drogheda. Since the official opening of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in 1815 the Grangegorman site has continuously provided institutional facilities for the reception of the mentally ill until very recently. The majority of the buildings historically associated with the hospital have been either demolished, fallen into disrepair or closed down.

The Grangegorman Urban Quarter is a proposed education, health and community development by the Grangegorman Development Agency for Dublin Institute of Technology and the Health Service Executive on the old Richmond Lunatic Asylum site. The site’s design has been provided by the American architectural firm of Moore Ruble Yudell under the direction of Irish-born Architect James Mary O’Connor. The surrounding community is an equal stakeholder in the project and receives technical support from the Grangegorman Community Forum. On July 17, 2012 The Grangegorman Development Agency was awarded funding from the Irish Government as a part of a €2.5 billion stimulus package for the country. The first construction work to take place as part of the new DIT campus started in 2013 with the extensive refurbishment of several listed buildings. These will accommodate 1,400 staff and students. A further 10,000 staff and students will move by 2019 into two major quads which are being built as public private partnerships. When fully completed Grangegorman will accommodate over 20,000 staff and students and for the first time all DIT activities, currently in 39 buildings, will be located on one integrated campus. September 2014 saw 1000 students from Art, Design, Photography, Social Sciences and Visual Communication move onto campus.

Caught unawares by the rising British Military reacted quickly and brought in reinforcements by rail and later by sea. The British also moved to dislodge some of the Four Courts Battalion outposts and Barricades. James Sullivan and about 30 men from B Company had built a barricade across North Circular Road, close to the junction with Charleville Road. This barricade overlooked the Broadstone railway line. The plan was to blow up the tracks and therefore stop any attempts at moving reinforcements along the Kingsbridge/Amiens Street line. This barricade was also important as it was key to the northern route from the city, through the Phibsboro area. This would serve as the escape route for the Volunteers, should the British Army successfully dislodge them from the city centre. Not alone was the barricade fortified, but Volunteers were spread in various houses overlooking the barricade with vantage points for sniping. In Grangegorman Hospital, the British installed two 18 pounder field guns close to Medical Officers residence. The initial objective of this battery was to attack the barricade set up across the North Circular Road. The barricade and surrounding houses were subjected to a barrage of 84 millimetre shells and the shrapnel cut through trees, shattered windows and tore the barricade. Under cover of this bombardment the Dublin Fusiliers moved forward from their positions in the Prussia Street area, moving through the area, from garden to garden until they were close to the barricade. The sudden halt in shelling was the signal for the Fusiliers to attack the barricade. A ferocious charge of about one hundred Fusiliers charged as the rebels opened fire and after initial gains by the fusiliers the rebels rebuffed the attack and forced the Fusiliers to take whatever cover was available in the nearby gardens. While the Fusiliers sheltered and regrouped the Volunteers moved their wounded from the barricade. The Fusiliers charged a second time after another salvo of artillery fire but the advance was rebuffed again. However, the barricade and the position was exposed, especially to the artillery fire. Sullivan, leader of the volunteers, ordered a retreat leaving a rear-guard in place to cover the retreat. Sullivan and his men retreated toward Connaught Street where they became separated. The men from B Company made their way with difficulty into Glasnevin Cemetery, where the British soon lost interest in pursuing them, allowing them to escape. After a brief firefight the rear-guard around the barricade surrendered and were taken prisoner. Sullivan eventually made his way to the GPO on Wednesday morning.

Later in the week two young Dubliners, Dominick Donaghue and a companion lost their lives in the clock tower. Curious to see what was happening in the city, they had climbed to this vantage point. Their movement attracted the attention of a British sniper in the Broadstone building who shot them.

The gains by the British in establishing a cordon and dislodging the rebels from their outpost on the North Circular Road and also in occupying the Broadstone meant that the positions in North Brunswick Street occupied by Laffan were in danger of being cut in two and being attacked by artillery fire. To offset this Laffan sent men to build a barricade across the southern or near end of a tunnel that connected Upper and Lower Grangegorman. Laffan suspected this tunnel would be a favoured route of attack by Fusiliers. As it turned out a skirmish between the rebels and the Fusiliers broke out at the tunnel. This was interrupted by the arrival of the Master of the nearby North Dublin Union who reasoned with Laffan and convinced him to order his men not to fire at the North Dublin Union unless directly attacked.
To get to point of interest 5, we retrace our footsteps through Grangegorman campus and make our way down Constitution Hill to the corner of North Brunswick Street and Upper Church Street.

Here we can see The Linen Hall, the North King Street junction with Church Street. Moving a few steps towards the Tap Public House, (site of Reilly's Pub) we can see up North King Street to where Monks Bakery and Langan's pub were. We can also see Bolton Street Technical Schools, the artisan cottages in Stirrup lane and down Church Street to the river Liffey and the Four Courts.

Daly sent his men out from the Four Courts to reinforce the work being done on barricading all main roads leading to the Four Courts. In a move that did not endear them to the local population, the volunteers requisitioned houses and house contents. Also in blocking off the streets they restricted movement of people and foodstuffs. The local people were quick to see the implications of the barricades for their future, particularly their short term future over the days of the rising.

On Upper Church Street. Captain Fionnan Lynch of F Company, requisitioned beds mattresses and furniture from local houses. Lynch also commandeered pallets and stacks of grain from Monk's Bakery to fortify the barricade. Nearby, at the junction of Church Street with the Quays, another barricade was built by Peadar Clancy, using carts and other vehicles as well as furniture and other suitable contents from public houses in the vicinity. Barricades were also set up across North Brunswick Street and many of the surrounding buildings were occupied. This was overseen by Nicholas Laffan of G Company and tunnels were constructed to allow safe communication between buildings. Laffan established his headquarters at the junction of North Brunswick Street and Church Street in Moore's Coachworks, while some of his men occupied Clarke's Dairy. Some men from A Company, under Liam O'Carroll occupied the Richmond Hospital Dispensary, opposite the road from Red Cow Lane. They also built barricades at either end of the lane and across the centre.

At the corner of Coleraine Street and North King Street another barricade was set up by Tom Sheeran and his company outside Langan's public house. They also occupied the pub and fortified it. This unit also constructed barricades across Lisburn Street and Coleraine Street. Another public house was occupied at the junction of Church Street and North King Street. Jack Shouldice occupied Reilly's Pub, later christened "Reilly's Fort", and using the contents of the pub
built a barricade that sealed the junction. However, the four floors of the pub offered a very strategic view of lower Church Street and North King Street.

This junction also saw Frank McCabe occupy buildings with the intention of covering Shouldice's position and also to counter any attacks from Smithfield.

With the outposts secured the rebels consolidated their position by occupying strategic buildings. This meant evicting many locals. Many of these hostile locals made their way to the Bolton Street Technical School, the only large sized building in the area, where they sought shelter from the Rising. Occupied buildings were fortified for urban conflict, resulting in walls being bored and tunnels dug. The area occupied by the 1st Battalion utilised locally available strategic buildings and materials to create a warren of sniping positions and roadblocks aimed at defending the area from imminent British attack.

Residents were understandably very upset. It should be remembered that many of the wives and families affected by the actions of the Volunteers had husbands serving in the British Army. So tense were some of these confrontations that people had to be held back by bayonets. The occupation of Monk's Bakery was a case in point.

The Father Matthew Hall was built to commemorate the centenary of the birth of the temperance campaigner. The foundation stone of the building was laid by William Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, on 2 February 1890. The total cost of the building was £4,000 to which was added another £2,000 in furnishings. The Hall was regularly frequented by those interested in promoting the Gaelic cultural revival including Pádraig Pearse who urged 'closer co-operation between the Gaelic League and the Temperance movement in the cause that is common to both ... the regeneration of Ireland'. An annual Feis Ceoil competition (Feis an t-Athair Maitiú) was founded in 1909. The initial syllabus included competitions divided between singing, instrumental performances, Irish dancing and artistic creation. The Feis was an immediate success and attracted nearly two thousand entrants. Encouraged by this immediate success more competitions were added to the Feis programme in subsequent years with the avowed aim of preserving native language and culture. These Feiseanna ran until the late 1960's.

There was a Feis taking place in the Father Matthew Hall on Easter Monday, 1916. It was unceremoniously interrupted by the rebels and those in the Hall told to go home at gun point.
We move to the bottom of Church Street, where it joins the Quays. On the way down from the Father Matthew Hall we pass Mary's Lane and Hammond Lane on the Right Hand side and the Bridewell on the left.

The Four Courts were taken when about 25 Volunteers stormed the Chancery Place entrance while one of their number, Thomas Smart, held the guard at pistol point. Once the building had been secured it was fortified using any suitable materials available, including books, benches, tables and chairs. Windows were broken and inner stairways blocked to facilitate sealing them should the British storm the building. The hoisting of the tricolour over the Four Courts was a signal to Daly and Béaslaí that, not only had the building been taken, but that they could now deploy the other men to their positions. Daly went to set up his headquarters in Saint John's convent on Brunswick Street.

Early afternoon saw the first encounter with the enemy. A troop of cavalry from the 5th and 12th Lancers were escorting four carriages of ammunition from the North Wall Quay to the Magazine Fort. As they passed the Four Courts they were alerted to glass on the pavements and some of their number later reported seeing armed men on the roof of the legal building. The commanding officer, Lieutenant Hunter warned his men to be alert.

However, the men then constructing the barricade at the junction of the quays and Church Street had been alerted. The Volunteers on the roof in the Four Courts also saw the ammunition detail and took up firing positions. Peadar Clancy's men at the barricade were the first to open fire, followed by the men on the roof of the Four Courts. The Lancers and their horses were cut down as they were fired on from above, front and side. No cover was available with the river to their left and the railings of the Four Courts blocking any safe positions from the rebels' fire.

Hunter turned his detail and ordered his men to return fire. As the detail retreated Frank Smart and others from the Four Courts made their way onto Ormond Quay and opened fire. This forced the Lancers into entering Charles Street. Here Hunter saw that The Medical Mission, a red bricked building of three storeys would offer cover and respite from the shooting. He ordered his men inside the gates and let the horses loose from the ammunition wagons. The Lancers used the wagons to barricade the entrance and his men took up defensive positions in the Medical Mission and adjacent buildings.

In the chaos some of the Lancers had been separated from Hunter and the main group. Two of them made for the Bridewell police station where they locked themselves in. Another two Lancers reached Church Street, under intense fire. They found themselves blocked on all sides and decided to make their way in the direction of North King Street. As they galloped one of them pointed his lance while the other fired with his rifle. Tragically the Lancer hit and killed a young child in his pram as his mother wheeled him towards the Father Mathew Hall. Commandant Daly ordered his men to fire and the rifleman was shot dead. Daly himself shot the lance wielding soldier and the lance, with a tricolour attached, was placed outside a nearby pub.

The men in the Bridewell were spotted entering and it was decided to tackle the police station. Michael Flanagan and some men travelled the short distance from the Four Courts, and after shooting the lock of the front gate stormed the building. Inside they found 23 policemen, and together with the two Lancers, they were locked in cells in the basement. However, the Lancers in the Medical Mission held their position.
We cross the road on Kings Inns Quay making our way to a position opposite the front door of the Four Courts. From here we can see to the south, a Topaz Garage, which was approximately the site of the Mendicity Institute.

The Four Courts (on the Quays)

We can also see the Liffey, Adam and Eve’s Franciscan Church on Merchants Quay, opposite us. Three bridges can be observed across the river. Church Street Bridge to the south, and Richmond Bridge, Grattan Bridge and Carlisle Bridge to the north. In the distance can be seen, to the south, Kingsbridge Station.

The Four Courts was built between 1786 and 1796, while the finishing touches to the arcades and wings were completed in 1802. The renowned architect James Gandon played a role in the design and building. The lands were previously used by the King’s Inns. The building originally housed the four courts of Chancery, King’s Bench, Exchequer and Common Pleas, hence the name the Four Courts.

A major revision in the court system in the late nineteenth century saw these courts merged into a new High Court of Ireland, but the building has retained its historic name. The original building suffered extensive damage in the 1916 rising and was all but destroyed in the Civil War in April 1922. It was restored and remodelled and opened in 1932.

The Mendicity Institute was established in 1818 as the Mendicity Association. From 1826, it had its headquarters at Moira House, Usher’s Island, formerly the family house of Lord Moira. The house had many historical associations before being occupied by Sean Heuston in 1916. It was here, on 18 May 1798, that Pamela, wife of the rebel patriot Lord Edward FitzGerald, was spending the evening when her husband was betrayed into the hands of his pursuers nearby. The Institution remained at this location until 1954. Its aim was to provide food, clothing, and lodging for the poor of Dublin.

Across the river from the Four Courts, The Mendicity Institute on Ushers Island had been occupied to obstruct military movement from west to east along the quays. Sean Heuston, and other members of D Company, attached to the GPO garrison, had been sent by James Connolly to hold the Institute for as long as possible. This was envisaged as three to four hours, in light of the expected attack from military forces progressing along the Quays. Heuston and his men no sooner heard the shooting from the Four Courts than they came under fire themselves. The 10th Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers were under orders to capture City Hall and Dublin Castle, and approximately 400 men left the Barracks on Benburb Street. They marched up Ellis Quay, across the Liffey from Heuston in the Mendicity Institute.
Fusiliers charged under their commanding officer, Heuston and his men opened fire. The commanding Officer was shot and fell dying while a number of his men were injured. The fusiliers took up positions along the river behind the river wall, but were unable to advance. Colonel Esmonde called out the remainder of his men, and some 300 soldiers made their way down Arbour Hill in the direction of Blackhall Place and Banbury Street. The machine gun sections of the Fusiliers occupied buildings close to Queen Street Bridge and opened fire on the Mendicity Institute. Led by a Lieutenant Grant and under cover of rifle and machine gunfire the soldiers crossed the bridge and then turned left onto the south quays. The Fusiliers made their way into the city, intent on their original targets, leaving Heuston's men to be dealt with later.

As the day progressed Daly was happy to find the number of Volunteers increasing, as those who had not initially turned out presented themselves. As part of the preparations for the Rising weapons had been stored with sympathetic locals, and now as the end of the first day approached the volunteers were dug into defensive positions and as well equipped as they could be, given the circumstances. They had seen action and engaged the enemy. This had left the Lancers still in possession of the Medical Mission. Throughout the area frightened civilians sought whatever shelter they could.

Under cover of darkness late on Monday night/early Tuesday morning the British army began to move ammunition from the Royal Hospital Kilmainham to Dublin Castle. The British had reacted quickly to the outbreak of the rebellion, even if they were initially caught by surprise. Their immediate objectives included the recapture of the Magazine Fort and the securing of the Vice Regal lodge in the Phoenix Park. Reinforcements were also sought, the first of these were the 3rd Reserve Cavalry Brigade brought in to Kingsbridge Station on Monday afternoon. By Monday night plans had been drawn up to transport troops from Liverpool. The British also were taking the steps necessary to secure all military Barracks in Dublin and were intent on relieving and strengthening the garrison in Dublin Castle. The ammunition wagon moving along the southern quays was part of the plan to consolidate the position of the garrison in Dublin Castle.

The British made their way quietly, so much so they were not spotted by Heuston's men in the Mendicity Institute. However, the Four Courts battalion identified movement and opened fire from the barricade. The British position was very exposed and under heavy fire they were forced to abandon the ammunition wagon and retreat back. The Volunteers were very happy to find that the wagon contained dozens of Lee Enfield rifles and a few thousand rounds of ammunition, when they took possession of the wagon early on Tuesday morning.

The men in the Mendicity Institute continued to hold out through Tuesday. It was now Wednesday and Heuston's detachment, which was under orders to hold out for a few hours on Monday, was still in place, and though it had been reinforced with men from the GPO, food and ammunition were scarce. The strategy of obstructing British military movement along the Quays had been initially successful. However, the British isolated the Institute taking control of the area south of the Liffey and opening a corridor from Richmond Barracks to Dublin Castle and then East to Trinity College, where they set up their headquarters.

The attack on the Mendicity Institute began at dawn on Wednesday. The Dublin Fusiliers, 300 strong, had occupied the area surrounding the Institute taking positions in Watling Street, Thomas Street, and tunnelling through nearby buildings. At midday the machine guns situated at Queen Street were used again. The barrage forced the rebels to seek cover. When it stopped the Fusiliers attacked the Institute. A fierce battle ensued with grenades being thrown into the Institute and the rebels throwing some back at the attackers. A lull in the fighting allowed both sides to regroup. However, a barrage of machine gun fire signalled the start of another assault on the Institute. This was just as fierce as the first and brought home to Heuston the precarious position he and his men were in. Their planned route of escape was through the Island Street exit, then on to the back of Guinness Brewery and from there to the South Dublin Union. However, they came under such heavy fire at the exit that Heuston ordered his men to lay down their arms and a ceasefire was arranged. The volunteers then destroyed their weapons and marched out of the Institute under a white flag. As the last man, Peter Wilson, left the building, a British rifle shot and killed the volunteer.
We cross the road on Kings Inns Quay to the junction of Chancery Place. Here we can look North.

Again we see the Richmond and Grattan Bridges to the north. On the far side of the river we can identify Christchurch, Parliament Street to the north and Adam and Eve's Church opposite us.

The taking of the Mendicity Institute allowed the British Forces to move up the quays, eastward, and to take up positions opposite the Four Courts. One of the volunteers in the Four Courts spotted an ambulance and some activity on the opposite side of the river. O'Carroll also became aware of a digging noise, and reacting out of a sense of precaution he opened fire on the ambulance. The vehicle soon sped away, to reveal a field gun in position, aimed at the Four Courts. The firing from the rebel held building was the signal for the bombardment. The building shook and a ceiling collapsed but the rebels were quick to open fire on the field gun and a constant series of volleys forced the artillerymen to seek cover in Exchange Street, and abandon the gun. Marksmen were then ordered to cover the gun and not allow its use.

The British placed snipers in the bell tower of Christchurch and in the Church on Merchants Quay, which was across the river from the Four Courts. The upper floors of houses on Ushers Quay were also occupied by British marksmen. Intense sniper fire was now aimed at the rebel position. At same time barricades in Church Street were also coming under fire. The strategic positioning of these snipers meant any movement at the barricade was monitored and reacted to with gunfire. Two of the volunteers, Clancy and Smart, resolved to relieve the situation at the barricade and with full petrol cans they sprinted from the barricade across Church Street Bridge to the buildings on Ushers Island. Braving a hail of bullets, they poured the petrol through the ground floor windows and then set the petrol and the building alight. They then ran back to the barricade, arriving back safely after surviving a fusillade of fire. The fire in the building they set alight quickly spread to nearby houses forcing the British snipers to abandon their positions. The smoke from the burning buildings also removed the strategic value of the positions. The first three houses of the block were completely destroyed and eventually collapsed into the road.

In Chancery Place the Medical Mission was still occupied by the Lancers, who had been in situ since Monday afternoon. They had adopted some defensive positions in the building and had fired frequently on the volunteers. On Wednesday afternoon a plan was set in place to bomb the Mission. A large homemade explosive device was taken from the Four Courts Chancery Place gates and under a heavy fusillade of covering fire, from the full east wing of the building, volunteers placed the bomb at the door of the Mission. This covering fire killed the commanding Officer Hunter, but the bomb failed to detonate and the Lancers opened fire on the rebels retreating from the Mission door. A volunteer, Paddy Daly, was wounded in his right arm as he ran back to the Four Courts. Daly had actually led the assault in the Phoenix Park on Monday.

The British Army had by now established their headquarters in Trinity College, and cut the rebels positions in two, north and south of the Liffey. They had effectively isolated and separated the rebel garrisons at the same time. Wednesday morning saw two 18 pounder guns opening fire from Trinity College across Butt Bridge at Liberty Hall. The gun boat Helga sailed up the Liffey and fired up to forty rounds. Machine gun positions had also been set up in the Custom House, the tower of Tara Street fire station and the Tivoli Music Hall on Burgh Quay. Wednesday also saw the battle of Mount Street. The 17 rebels from the 3rd volunteer brigade stationed at 25 Northumberland Road, Clanwilliam House, the Parochial Hall and schoolhouse held up the advancing Sherwood foresters resulting in all Sherwood officers being killed and 242 casualties among other ranks. Also on Wednesday evening the British moved from the Royal Hospital, to take possession of Capel Street. The tall three and four storey buildings of this street were seen as strategically important, not alone for the panorama provided by the buildings, but also because if successfully occupied it isolated the rebel's headquarters, the GPO, from the Four Courts.

The 2/6th Sherwood Forester Battalion were ordered to leave the Royal Hospital and march to Dublin Castle. They were to attack across Grattan Bridge, thus
taking Capel Street and securing positions as far as Great Britain Street. To facilitate this manoeuvre British machine gunners, previously occupying positions adjacent to Queen Street Bridge, were moved to Smithfield. A Vickers heavy duty machine gun was also installed on the roof of Jervis Street hospital, giving the gunners full sight of the Four Courts.

The British cordon and the bombardment of the inner city was starting to take its toll on both the city and its people. In the vicinity of the 1st Battalion positions, the air was smoke filled and the acrid smoke was noxious. Buildings all the way down the Liffey were on fire. As these also contained quantities of flammable material the whole north inner city area was ablaze. The local population were also suffering. In the poor inner city area of one of the poorest cities in the world, food was always in short supply. This was accentuated by the Rising which had seen the gas supply turned off, bakeries closed and dairies unable to operate. So hunger accompanied the devastation unfolding. As did fear. Huddled in large tenements the poor must have wondered how it was all going to end and how they would survive the bombardments.

The Sherwood Foresters, led by Lieutenant Colonel Hodgkin, crossed Grattan Bridge at 4.30 pm on Thursday evening. The move was supported by machine guns up river of the Four Courts and by the Vickers gun on the Hospital at Jervis Street. Two armoured Daimler lorries also participated in this attack. These had come from Guinness’s brewery and had been given to the British Army. They

had been modified in the Inchicore railway works, where a total of five lorries were specially fitted out. The trucks had been fitted with an armoured shell, constructed from wheel metal boiler housings riveted together. The modified lorries were capable of holding 18 soldiers and one officer. The driver was surrounded by sheets of armoured plating with slits cut into each, for visibility.

When the Daimler lorry appeared on Grattan Bridge it was subject to a heavy fusillade from the Four Courts. However, this failed to stop it, and it crossed over and delivered the men who took the buildings on the corners of Upper and Lower Ormond Quay. As the two lorries set up a rota and ferried the soldiers north of the river, the soldiers on the north side set about barricading the streets that feed into Capel street, on both sides. They constructed the barricades from furniture and other movable materials emptied from the surrounding houses, to the consternation of the residents, who saw all they owned taken.

The barrage of fire from the rebel positions did effect some casualties in the trucks, but the Sherwood Foresters were eventually transferred across the river in such numbers as to secure all eight side streets incident on Capel Street. The Army also searched all houses, looking for rebels, rebel positions and snipers. These searches were accompanied by heavy and light gunfire, traumatising the residents.

The operation continued after darkness fell, with the British Army men crossing Grattan Street Bridge in small groups. This was risky as the balustraded walls of the bridge offered little cover. This allowed the volunteers in the Four Courts, particularly gunmen in the top floors on the eastern side to pepper the bridge with fire and slow down the attack.
Making our way up Chancery Place we arrive at the junction of Chancery Place and Chancery Lane. From here we can see the Medical Mission, the Bridewell, Jervis Street Clocktower, and The Malthouse on Beresford Street.

In 1891, Dublin Medical Mission was established, and moved to the present buildings in 1893, at No. 6 Chancery Place. The building is an interesting combination of red brick, sandstone and terracotta detailing.

Company B of the 2/6th Sherwood Foresters, under a Captain Johnson was charged with relieving the Medical Mission and rescuing the Lancers who had been there since Monday afternoon. One of the Daimler lorries was driven up from Capel Street. It made its way cautiously, and with great difficulty, through the narrow streets and made its way up Charles Street. The reinforced Daimler backed up to the gates of the Medical mission covered by fire from inside the mission, and also troops who had followed the lorry backing up its advance. The lorry filled up with the Lancers and their wounded, though it could not take all and the Daimler was required to make a second trip to evacuate all Lancers.

At the same time as the Lancers were being rescued sniper fire from other British positions were causing problems for rebel positions. Although the smoke and fumes made it difficult for the rebels to find clear sight of fire, this was not the case for British Army snipers who now had strategic positions on Constitution Hill to supplement the very effective sniper fire from Christchurch bell tower. This meant the area was under constant sniper fire throughout Thursday night.

This building was known as the Malthouse. This street was known as Phrapper Street and was once in the heart of the linen district of Dublin. Linen was produced in many parts of Ireland. However, it was taxed and shipped to Dublin up until the Act of Union. Hence the location of the Linen Hall nearby. A small scale brewery existed on the site from the early 18th century. By the mid-19th century the main part of the site became a large distillery through the amalgamation of the Jameson and Pim families. The major expansion of the brewery occurred in the mid 1860's to the mid 1880's with the construction of the granite Malthouse. The site was acquired by Jameson's distillery who used the buildings as bonded stores until the early 1980's.
The Vickers gun on the roof of Jervis Street Hospital was effective in reducing the frequency of fire from the Four Courts. However, the rebels had installed a marksman in the Tower of the Jameson Malthouse, not far from the corner of Beresford Street and North King Street. The flashes from the Vickers gun were spotted by Frank Shouldice and he quickly silenced the heavy machine gun, wounding some of the gunners. This allowed the rebel riflemen in the Four Courts to resume intense fire at the bridge. British sniper fire from Christchurch and Merchants Quay was met with intense fire from the front rooms of the Four Courts which directly faced these snipers. Despite the firefight and casualties on the bridge all four companies of 2/6th Sherwood Foresters crossed the Liffey and soon busied themselves securing the area around Capel Street. They fanned out into the side streets with A company commanded by Major Heathcote heading north to take charge of the area between Capel Street and Cole’s Lane, D Company pushed farther north, taking the area between Coles Lane and Sackville Street. C Company under Captain Jackson took an eastward route toward Liffey Street via Upper Abbey Street. This completed the separation and isolation of the GPO and the Four Courts Garrisons.

The South Staffordshire Battalion had been shipped in from Liverpool on Wednesday and Thursday. This regiment, which was drawn from the English midlands, the so-called Black country, were tough and experienced. They marched from the Docks, over Butt Bridge, up Gardiner Street and then past Sackville Street to Bolton Street, where they set up their command post in the Bolton Street Technical College. Although Capel Street, which was below Bolton Street had been secured by the Sherwood Foresters, Bolton Street itself had not been. Troops from A Company South Staffordshire were given this task and they went about it with vigour. Locals were thrown out of local tenements as the British soldiers sought to clear the area.

The South Staffordshire’s then set up positions to cover North King Street to their west. North King Street turned out to be the last piece of the cordon that formed the main plank of British strategy in surrounding and isolating the rebels’ positions. Therefore, it had to be taken and held, and responsibility for this fell to the 2/5th South Staffordshire Battalion, who were concentrating in the Queen Street vicinity, with a view to joining up with the 2/6th South Staffordshire Battalion on North King Street. The rebels observed these movements and readied themselves for an onslaught. The rebels occupying Reilly’s Fort, under the command of Michael Flanagan, opened heavy fire on the South Staffordshire’s as they moved from Bolton Street up the eastern part.
of North King Street. In the same building Maurice Collins ordered the rebels under his command to hold fire as they watched, from the south facing windows of Reilly's Fort. C Company of the South Staffordshire's, under the command of Colonel Henry Taylor advanced westward toward rebel outposts surrounding the Four Courts.

The British soldiers advanced up North King Street with Reilly's Fort in front of them and Langan's pub to their right. Volleys fired from both rebel positions decimated the British regiment. The soldiers still able to advance did so, and found themselves in Beresford Street. Here, rather than finding cover from the rebels' salvo's, they exposed themselves to the marksmen under Frank Shouldice, who were in a commanding position in the tower of Jameson's Distillery. Some of the regiment ran for refuge into Stirrup Lane. This small Street with some small cottages under construction, seemed to present cover and safety. It was not to be. Sean Byrne and some volunteers had occupied these cottages and by waiting until the soldiers were close to the cottages, inflicted heavy casualties. A few of the soldiers managed to escape and made their way back to Bolton Street Technical school Battalion headquarters.

As this assault on North King Street was taking place the British intensified their assault on the Four Courts. Sniper fire was pinning most of the men down within the building, as the positions of the British snipers made movement and return of fire difficult and dangerous. A sniper in a building on the corner of Cook Street and Lower Bridge Street was particularly effective until a revealing shot gave the position away and the men on the barricade, under Peadar Clancy, removed the danger.

Clancy then ordered one of the volunteers, Thomas Smart, to accompany George Flanagan and to reinforce Mark Wilson's section of volunteers, who were entrenched in positions on the roof of the Bridewell police station. This strategic position gave the rebels a line of fire along Beresford Street and Church Street.

After some respite, two platoons from C Company South Staffordshire Battalion resumed the assault on Reilly's Fort. Lewis machine guns had been brought up to cover this advance and heavy fire was directed at the Fort and at Langan's pub. Despite this, the advance stalled, due to the ferocity of the firefight from both Reilly's Fort and Langan's pub. Despite ample reinforcements pushing the South Staffordshire's forward, advance proved impossible. C Company were forced to retreat to Bolton Street, leaving the dead, dying and wounded where they lay.

Recognising the threat of Reilly's Fort, the British now brought the full weight of their machine gun firepower to bear on the rebel position. Fire was kept up on the building reducing the ceilings and walls to dust and covering the rebels in a fine white powder. This also reduced the rebels' ability to see the enemy and made it hard to breathe properly. The only relief provided was from the bell tower in The Jameson Distillery, where fire from the rebels forced the gunners to take cover sporadically.

Colonel Taylor of the South Staffordshires then called for armoured truck support. Another of the modified Daimlers was sent for and filled with troops from A Company. The truck then advanced towards Langan's pub. This advance was painfully slow, due both to intense rebel fire and the need to circumvent wounded and dead soldiers in the street. They made their way and drew up opposite Langan's Pub. In an effort to offer a little bit of cover the Daimler was parked at an angle, but the rebel fire became more intense. As the South Staffordshires left the lorry the first soldier was shot dead. His colleagues ran for cover in nearby houses, frantically kicking down the doors and terrifying local residents. The British Army took up positions firing at Langan's pub, while also securing the rear of the houses. The truck reversed away and a short while later returned with another cargo of Staffordshires. These men left the lorry and charged Langan's pub. Heavy rifle fire and some canister bombs (some were of such poor quality that they exploded prematurely) drove the troops back across the road into the houses, while the truck went back for more troops to transport. However, when it arrived back in Bolton Street, both the driver and his co-driver were found to be hit, and as they lost consciousness the use of the truck was abandoned. The troops would now have to march up North King Street.
The plan was for a number of British infantry to separate from the main body of men, make their way up by the back of Lurgan Street and to advance on the pub from the rear. However, this was another British miscalculation as it exposed them to the rebels in Moore's Coachworks who opened heavy fire.

Though Langan's Pub was still holding out, most other rebel positions in the area were showing the wear of intense urban fighting. The first aid post in the Father Mathew Hall was filled to overflowing with the dead and wounded of both sides. Cumann na mBan were helped by British soldiers in treating the dying and wounded. The floor was wet with blood and Daly had no option but to move his headquarters to the Four Courts. Prisoners were sent to the Bridewell where they were locked in basement cells or released to make their own way. Béasláí and Eamonn Morkan were given the task of moving the ammunition to the Four Courts, through streets under intense sniper fire. They managed to make it safely, only losing some bombs.

Friday evening was the signal for the 2/7th Sherwood Foresters to launch an attack against the west side of the Four Courts. Machine guns covered the troops as they left Smithfield. The rebels barricade at Hammond Lane had to duck for cover as a fusillade was aimed at the west wing of the Four Courts. Three men bore the brunt of this fire. Rebels O’Carroll and Kennedy together with Lieutenant Allen returned fire as they could but sniper fire wounded O’Carroll in the elbow and eventually fatally wounded Allen.

The rebels responded to the attack from Smithfield by using the series of tunnels they had installed between their positions. As rebel snipers kept up a lethal fusillade the men in the outposts moved from secure position to secure position firing as they went and confusing the British soldiers. They would fire and move, leaving the British unaware of their movement. As a result, the British found themselves very frustrated, pinned down by sniper fire and raiding buildings in search of rebel positions only to find the positions empty. The attack then became bogged down and stalled.

This attack from Smithfield was aimed at linking up the two regiments, The Sherwood Foresters and the South Staffordshires. This was also the strategy behind the British building a barricade across Queen Street, at the junction with North King Street. Machine guns were also moved to facilitate this. This new barricade came under heavy rebel fire from their position on the Red Cow Lane, resulting in another of the Daimlers being called up with a cargo of men. This made its way as far as the barricade in Red Cow Lane when it had to reverse allowing the men inside to take up positions at the bottom end of the lane.

With the onset of darkness firing gradually stopped as visibility was difficult. Targets were few and far between, even though the artillery fire continued and parts of the sky were lit up by fire. The rebels were suffering from supreme fatigue and those not on sentry duty tried to rest, though all suspected that a powerful enemy attack was imminent.

At 2 am it was decided to evacuate Langan's Pub. Suffering from extreme exhaustion and almost out of ammunition, they decided to join their comrades in Reilly's Fort. Led by their commander, section leader Sheeran, the rebels fell back, leaving the body of a dead comrade.

This evacuation allowed the South Staffordshires under Colonel Taylor to take the pub, secure it and send in reinforcements. After three direct assaults the regiment at last had possession of a section of North King Street. They set about taking buildings and also tunnelling through them to progress toward rebel positions within the buildings, without exposing themselves to fire from rebel snipers and from Reilly's Fort. The men of A Company of the South Staffordshires were particularly aggressive in making progress though the buildings destroying all that came in their path and ill-treating the residents. All night they made their way through the houses intent on reaching the end of the terrace and Beresford Street. As progress was made more troops were brought in occupying the houses nearest Reilly's Fort taking up positions for an attack at daybreak.

The rebels themselves, though tunnelling all week were still at it in Clarke's Dairy, where Paddy Holohan ordered his men to tunnel toward Reilly's Fort. There were 15 or so volunteers in the Fort, battered by machine gun and rifle fire and too tired to sleep. All expected an attack at dawn.

Both C and D Companies of the South Staffordshires had made their way through the houses along North King Street to assemble in those houses that faced Beresford Street. As the daylight dawned the British charged from the doorways, upon the signal of a whistle. The rebels opened up on the advancing soldiers from three different positions. Concentrated fire from Reilly's Fort, the tower of Jameson's distillery and the Bridewell resulted in heavy British casualties. The intensity of rebel fire meant the South Staffordshires were once more stalled in their advance. Dead, dying and wounded men lay in the streets, while those who could move made their way back to the houses from where they had attempted to advance.

The rebels were glad of the break in fighting, though they expected a renewed assault, possibly with Daimlers bringing in extra troops. In the tower of the Jameson Malthouse Jack Shouldice was running low on ammunition. Such
was the intensity of the fire and the number of British targets shot at, stocks of ammunition were low. Two volunteers offered to make their way across the junction of Church Street and North King Street. Under a fusillade of covering fire volunteers Delamere and Flanagan ran across North King Street and made their way over the barricade outside the Father Mathew Hall.

An hour later both men attempted to make their way back to Reilly's Fort. Covering fire from Reilly's Fort was meant to allow the passage of the men. However, the South Staffordshires had called on a machine gun to counteract the progress of the rebels. The heavy and persistent fire forced Delamere and Flanagan to retreat and take cover, but as they did Flanagan was shot and fell dead. A standoff ensued, interrupted by sporadic fire. The failed ammunition sortie meant Jack Shouldice's position in the Malthouse tower was compromised. Ammunition was almost exhausted and he decided to evacuate Reilly's Fort.

Shouldice signalled to his comrades on the Church Street barricade that he intended to evacuate Reilly's Fort and would require covering fire to achieve this. He led his men from the building, opening the front door and shouting charge, as a ruse to attract British fire, while he and his men exited through the windows at the side of the building. They sprinted across North King Street with only one man lost, and this volunteer lay, as if dead, until fire was stopped and he was taken in to the Father Mathew Hall.

The South Staffordshires were quick to take possession of the evacuated Reilly's Fort. Although they were still under heavy fire, from three rebel positions, the Regiment now had a wedge between North King Street and the rebels in the Four Courts. Reinforcements were now brought in, in the form of C Company in Church Street and the 2/5th South Staffordshires to the west. In order to fully support those who had taken Reilly's Fort, the 2/5th were organised along North King Street. Others were sent to North Brunswick Street, which ran parallel.

They advanced into Red Cow Lane, moving from doorway to doorway and firing at the barricade to cover their movements. The rebels held their position as the British advanced. However, the rebels were soon called back to the positions in North Brunswick Street. The position in Moore's Coachworks had come under heavy fire, and while guiding a patrol back, Captain Laffan and Volunteer Walsh were shot. They area was being saturated with British soldiers.

As a result, the barricade across Church Street, not far from Reilly's Fort was under constant attack. The South Staffordshires in the streets surrounding the barricade came under heavy fire from rebel positions in Moore's Coachworks, Clarke's Dairy, Monk's bakery and the Bridewell. As the Bridewell began to flood, due to a burst main, prisoners in the basement were removed under armed guard. The Four Courts was now under persistent and heavy fire from both snipers and machine guns.

The South Staffordshires now had sufficient numbers to the East of the North Brunswick Street positions to launch and all-out attack. Troops charged the barricades at the north and south of the junction of Church Street and North King Street. The barricade across Lower Church Street came under so ferocious an attack that the rebels had to retreat back down the street to the junction of Mary's Lane and Lower Church Street. However, heavy fire from the Bridewell halted this attack up Church Street. This allowed the men who had retreated to Mary's Lane to charge the infantrymen which resulted in them retreating. Casualties were heavy, with the rebels losing two men. The charge continued as far as the barricade outside the Father Mathew Hall, which was retaken. The rebels entered nearby houses and made their way, under cover of fire from the Bridewell, back towards the North King Street junction. The battle for the barricade was supported by a British machine gun but even unrelenting fire from this failed to take the position. However, the position at Monk's bakery was seriously threatened when soldiers took possession of the bakery shop.

During this fighting the houses along Church Street at the end of North King Street were the scene of what is now known as the Church Street Massacre. Four civilians, with nothing to do with the rebels were shot dead in number 27 Church Street. These were Peter Lawless, James McCartney, James Finnegan and Patrick Hoey. In 170 Church Street three more civilians were shot, Thomas and Christopher Hickey, father and son, and Peter Connolly. In number 172 Michael Hughes and John Walsh were shot, in number 174 Michael Noonan and George Ennis were shot, and Edward Dunne was shot in number 91. In 177 Church Street Patrick Bealen and James Healy were shot and then quickly buried in the basement. James Healy had been dragged in from the Street and both he and Bealen were badly beaten before being shot. Another innocent civilian by the name of James Beirnes had been seeking to reach the horses in Monk's Bakery but was shot down in Coleraine Street. A bystander saw Beirnes body and thinking it was his Father, was shot as he sought to escape from the scene after ascertaining it was not. The South Staffordshire regiment shot 16 innocent civilians in the vicinity of North King Street from Friday evening at 6 pm to Saturday morning April 29th.

If we cross North King Street the plaque to these innocent civilians can be seen. A lull in the fighting occurred due to a British soldier who was wounded in the centre of Church Street, screaming and pleading for assistance. The rebels
in Moore's Coachworks under Volunteer Holohan blew a whistle and shouted cease fire, and "Take that man in, we won't fire". Under orders from a British NCO the soldiers opened fire, as the NCO rushed forward. He fell under the return fire of the rebels. Then Holohan blew his whistle and repeated the ceasefire command. Soldiers then ran out and removed both wounded men.

As night time fell fighting stopped. Both sides had fought long and hard and the ferocity of the urban fighting had taken its toll. The rebels still held positions in the Four Courts, the Bridewell and North Brunswick Street, but communication with other volunteer garrisons was no longer possible. The wounded and dying were tended to in the Father Mathew Hall and as the night crept on sentries kept watch. The British relieved their men and brought them back to the safety of Bolton Street Technical School. Unlike the rebels they had access to fresh food and water, as they waited the next move.

Memorial Plaque.

Making our way east along North King Street, we come to Lurgan Street and enter the general area of the Linen Hall.

In 1722 a centralised Linen Hall was proposed by the Linen Board and they eventually decided in favour of a three-acre site at the top of Capel Street. Over the next six years, the Linen Hall gradually took shape and it opened for trade on November 14th, 1728. The Linen Hall contained a large trading floor and 550 compartments or bays for the storage of linen. There was also a large boardroom for the use of the trustees and what was described as "a large and elegant coffee-room for the accommodation of factors and traders who daily crowd its courts". Originally designed by Thomas Burgh in 1722, it was enlarged by Thomas Cooley in 1784. However, with the opening of the Belfast Linen Hall in 1783, the Dublin industry went into terminal decline and the Linen Board was abolished in 1828. The Linen Hall now forms part of the DIT.
On the Wednesday morning of the Rising, O’Callaghan and his men, the men who had scouted out Broadstone station the previous day, were in action once more. This time they were making their way toward the Linen Hall Barracks gate on Coleraine Street. Armed with rifles and sledgehammers they set about breaking the door of the Barracks. The barracks was home to 29 Army Pay Corps Clerks and a policeman. The volunteers took up firing positions at the front gate and called on the British Army men to surrender. These clerks were not experienced in combat and were isolated from the main body of British troops. Never the less they refused to surrender until the rebels threw canister bombs and they were then taken to the Father Mathew Hall as prisoners. As O’Callaghan searched the building he realised that he did not have enough men to hold the Barracks and he decided to set it alight. Using cans of paint and oil, which were poured through the building, the Linen Hall Barracks was set on fire. The fireball that took hold of the building soon spread to other surrounding buildings. The fire could be seen throughout the city and the foul smoke and toxic gases that quickly spread through the area only added to the woes of the local residents. It was the first of many fires to engulf the city.

Leaving the Linen Hall through the main gate we cross Bolton Street and at the car park look down North King Street.

The north inner city was in flames at this stage, on Friday evening. The GPO had been completely cut off on Thursday, allowing only single couriers to reconnoitre the immediate area. All outlying posts had been withdrawn to the GPO by Friday morning. On Friday, when General Maxwell arrived to take over command of the British forces, he found the GPO in flames, and the rebel positions throughout the city isolated and outflanked. The Rising had been defeated.

On Friday night, as the rebels from 1st Battalion were taking whatever rest they could, their comrades in the GPO made a break out. The roof of the GPO was in flames and the position was no longer safe or tenable. However, the break out could not get any further than Moore Street, where they were forced to pass the night. On Saturday April 29th Pearse gave the order to surrender and all rebel positions around the GPO were handed over to Maxwell’s forces. The surrender document read, 

“HQ Moore Street. Believing that the glorious stand which has been made by the soldiers of Irish freedom during the past five days in Dublin has been sufficient to gain recognition of Ireland’s national claim at an international peace conference, and desirous of preventing further slaughter of the civilian population, and to save the lives of as many as possible of our followers, the members of the Provisional Government here present have agreed by a majority to open negotiations with the British Commander.

P.H. Pearse, Commandant General, Commanding in Chief, Army of the Irish Republic, 29 April 1916”.
However, the garrison at the Four Courts were not aware of any of this. On Saturday afternoon around 1 pm, the Church Street barricade was approached by two men, one in the uniform of a British Officer and one a local priest, Father O’Callaghan. At the barricade they spoke to Volunteer MacDonagh asking him could they speak with Commandant Daly. Word was sent to Daly who quickly arrived from the Four Courts, accompanied by two other volunteer officers.

Daly enquired of the priest, who had been very hostile to the rebels all week, “on what authority did you bring that officer here?” The British Officer explained the events of Saturday morning in Moore Street and of the surrender. Daly ordered Father O’Callaghan and the Officer to leave immediately. Daly was aware of the possibility that this was a ruse, and ordered his men back to the Four Courts, in the expectation of an immediate and all-out attack.

Later that afternoon two people were observed on the north quays, making their way down toward the Four Courts, under a white flag. These figures turned out to be Nurse Elizabeth O’Farrell and Father Columbus a Capuchin from Church Street Friary. Nurse O’Farrell had been the go between at the surrender of Pearse in Moore Street, and had also been given the responsibility of informing other rebel garrisons of the surrender. She was to carry this out under a British escort.

Commandant Daly met the figures at the barricade and after explaining the situation Nurse O’Farrell handed the surrender document to Daly. He read it, and after a discussion between Nurse O’Farrell and Commandant Daly, the messengers of surrender left to make their way to inform other garrisons.

Daly gathered all his troops together explaining the note, the surrender and why the large artillery guns had gone silent overnight. Reaction among the men and women of the garrison was very hostile to the surrender. Some volunteers felt, realistically or unrealistically, that they could hold out for another month, that they should and would not surrender and that they would refuse to hand over their weapons.

However, it was pointed out that they had been directed to fight by order of the commander in chief of Poblacht na hÉireann and that they should now follow his orders to surrender. It was agreed to surrender but it was decided that all weapons were to be destroyed, as best as possible under the circumstances. This was done in the courtyard of the building.

The agreement had been that Daly and his men were to make their way to the Chancery Lane side of the Four Courts and to hand their weapons to the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, who were now on the other side of the railings. Once the weapons had been handed over a British Officer and a section of men arrived in the courtyard. The officer asked Daly if this was his full complement of men, and when he replied in the affirmative, the officer famously said “If I had known that this was the extent of the garrison here, you would have been out of this by half past twelve on Monday morning last”.

Negotiations continued as Daly pointed out that there were many Cumann na mBan members inside the building, tending to a good number of wounded volunteers. Lieutenant O’Carroll of the Volunteers was given the responsibility of remaining with the wounded and Red Cross personnel. The volunteers then marched out through the Chancery Gate and were escorted up Capel Street and into Sackville Street by a battalion of Dublin Fusiliers. Here they were lined up opposite the Gresham Hotel where the names and addresses of all men were taken. Two incidents occurred which are often quoted. Daly, when asked contemptuously by General Lowe who was in charge, replied “I am. At all events I was”. The second occurred when the volunteers were being searched and Piaras Béasláí refused to hand over his sword, breaking it on his knee instead.

Though the news of the surrender had been passed to the majority of the 1st Battalion of the volunteers it had not reached the men in Moore’s Coachworks or Clarke’s Dairy. It had filtered through to them from shouts and taunts thrown at them by surrounding British troops, but understandably these were not believed and the men were on alert for imminent attack. In the Father Mathew Hall, it was decided that a doctor was required, and after venturing as far as the Richmond Hospital to no avail, a volunteer and two Capuchin priests made their way to the British barricade at the end of Church Street. This proved unsuccessful with Colonel Taylor at first ignoring them, but then after they spoke to Lieutenant Lowe two doctors were allowed to go to the Father Mathew Hall and evacuate 27 badly wounded to the nearby Richmond Hospital.

On Sunday morning the official surrender was seen by the rebels in North Brunswick Street. Fifty-eight volunteers lined up along Upper Church Street. At the junction of North King Street and Capel Street the volunteers smashed their
rifles when the British gave the order to halt and ground arms. They were then marched to Dublin Castle.

The only evidence found on the effect of the British take-over of Bolton street is the following minutes:

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR,
ALDERMEN, AND BURGesses OF DUBLIN

REPORT
OF THE
TECHNICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Brevite for the Quarter ending 30th June, 1916

For the period since our last Brevite, and in addition to the several Reports sent up to Council, we beg to report the following transactions:

We directed that a supply of paper for the school of book production, as requisitioned by the principal at a sum of approximately £18, should be obtained.

We accepted an Estimate, at the sum of £10, from the Municipal Workshops for the repairing of the roof of the Bolton Street Technical Institute, which had been injured during the military occupation of the premises.

In accordance with the practice of previous years, we again decided to hold Summer Classes in Manual Instruction at the Kevin Street Schools, for the benefit of the members of the Working Boys Club, who are preparing for the Entrance Examination to the Technical schools and we appointed Mr P. Masterson to the post of teacher of the class, his numeration to be at the usual rate, namely, 2s. 6d. per hour.

Messrs, Sauderson's Garage having been found unsuitable, we sanctioned the removal of the motor car to Messrs, Browne & Ramsay's premises, where it will be garaged and cleaned at a charge of 6s, per week.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Michael Mulvey and Irene Gallagher, who were supportive of this project and encouraging at all times. The DIT 1916 committee, who successfully commemorated DIT and the Rising. John Turner, who was helpful and supportive at all stages of this project, Professor Brian Norton and Melda Slattery also deserve special mention. Noreen Layden and Damon Berry deserve mention in dispatches. Our long suffering families are also worthy of special mention. Hopefully we have not left anyone out. If we did, we can only invoke William Blake, "The cut worm forgives the plough"!
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Many sources have been used to put this walking tour together. However, particular mention should be made of the book “When the Clock Struck in 1916—Close Quarter Fighting in the Easter Rising” by Derek Molyneux and Darren Kelly. This work proved invaluable in following the actions of the 1st Battalion and should be on every bookshelf.

This present small volume is a vivid and welcome example of what has come to be called micro-history, focusing with great precision and exactness on particular component elements of a larger story...

Introduction by Theo Dorgan

A group of Dublin merchants were keen to develop a munitions industry in Dublin, using the facilities of Bolton Street Technical College. At a meeting of the Trades Council, July 1915, a complaint was made of the attempt ...... to commandeer the machinery of the Bolton Street Technical School for the manufacture of war munitions. Mr James Connolly said “there was more in the matter than that suggested” and ...... proposed a resolution protesting against the granting of such machinery for the manufacture of war. “They should be only employed in teaching the arts of Peace”.

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