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Publication Date

2019

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Revolutionary Memories: Historical Subjectivity and Heritage
Activism in Dublin Ireland

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

by

Emily Anne Lucitt

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Revolutionary Memories: Historical Subjectivity and Heritage Activism in Dublin Ireland

by

Emily Anne Lucitt

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Douglas W. Hollan, Chair

This dissertation explores the theoretical concept of “historical subjectivity” in anthropology, which focuses on how individuals consider themselves as part of an ongoing historical narrative that extends from the past, into the present, and will be remembered in the future. This research was conducted through a case study of the ways in which activists involved with the Save Moore Street campaign in Dublin, Ireland (which revolves around saving historically significant building from being re-developed into a contemporary shopping center) invoke historical events, empathize with historical figures, and imagine how their city, and their actions, will be viewed by people in the future. Methods used are ethnographic: participant observation and in-depth interviews, and archival research (using both primary and secondary sources). The dissertation is composed of three primary standalone chapters and two sub-chapters. The Prelude sets the ethnographic present: primarily 2016 in Dublin, as the country celebrates the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising, a seminal event in Ireland’s struggle for

independence from Great Britain. Chapter 1 explores how activists use satire and invoke historical “ghosts” to appeal to the public to support their campaign, which is firmly rooted in the present state of economic uncertainty post-financial collapse. Chapter 2 introduces the idea of “historical empathy,” an idea long used by educators but less common among anthropologists. Here, I show how we in the present can empathize with historical figures through points of connection: family lineage, using similar space, and even watching their actions on film, which can meaningfully affect us and motivate our actions in the present and for the future. The Ethnographic Interlude continues this discussion with a short section on ideas of respect for historical figures in a commemorative setting. Finally, Chapter 3 focuses on how activists and developers imagine the future according to ethical and economic goals, which I argue are not entirely antithetical in their goals of urban revitalization.

The dissertation of Emily Anne Lucitt is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2019

This dissertation is dedicated to the participants of the Save Moore Street campaign, for their
tireless work and for welcoming me into their community.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to first and foremost thank my doctoral committee members, Jason Throop, Mariko Tamanoi, Amy Woodson-Boulton, and especially my committee chair, Doug Hollan. I would also like to thank my colleagues from the UCLA Department of Anthropology MMAC seminar group, who have listened to multiple versions of parts of this research over the years and offered their thoughtful feedback, and also Anne Gilliland, who has been a source of inspiration and allowed me to use sections from the Prelude here (first developed as a final paper for her Information Studies course on Archives, Records, and Memory). Thank you to the members of the American Conference for Irish Studies, who have welcomed me into their community and provided a wonderful community of thought exchange. Sections of Chapter 2 also appear, with some modification, in a chapter from an edited volume in collaboration with ACIS-West members, currently in press with Cambridge University Press.

I would like to express my gratitude to the SPA/Lemelson Foundation, UCLA Graduate Division, UCLA Department of Anthropology, and UCLA Center for European and Russian Studies for their generous financial support of this project throughout the years.

Finally, I offer my sincere thanks to my patient and supportive family and friends: my parents, Anne and Paul Lucitt, my sister Kathleen Lucitt, and every member of my large and wonderful Irish- and German-American family. I also thank my partner Brendan O'Connor for his love and encouragement, and his parents, Mary O'Connor and Seamus O'Connor, who hosted me during my fieldwork and shared their stories with me. I also thank all of the dogs and cats who have provided emotional support throughout my graduate career. Go raibh míle maith agaibh.

Commonly Used Acronyms

- **IRB** – Irish Republican Brotherhood; the secret organization that planned uprisings in favor of an Irish republic, especially the 1916 Rising. (Also called Fenians.)
- **ICA** – Irish Citizen Army; the militia founded during the 1913 Lockout in Dublin, led by James Connolly, to protect striking workers and later participants in the 1916 Rising
- **GPO** – General Post Office; the headquarters for the Irish postal system and the Irish rebels during the 1916 Rising
- **IRA** – Irish Republican Army; the “irregular” militia that fought a guerilla campaign against the British during the War of Independence, and then against the Irish Free State during the Civil War, in favor of a full republic and nothing less. After the Civil War, some continued their campaign for Irish unity mostly along the border and in the North. Today, they are widely considered a terrorist organization, and any links to the “old IRA” of the 1920s are tenuous.
- **NAMA** – National Asset Management Agency; the Irish state’s “bad bank,” established in 2009 to buy distressed property loans from developers and sell them for a state profit, widely considered to be corrupt and subject to multiple scandals (see Connolly 2017).
- **SMS** – Save Moore Street; the general network of campaign groups opposed to the demolition and retail-focused redevelopment of Moore Street.
- **SMSotS** – Save Moore Street on the Street; the small, independent activist campaign that formed in 2014 to raise awareness and collect signatures on Moore Street.

Modern Irish Political Parties

- **Fine Gael** – Center Right; formed from a coalition of Cumann na nGaedheal (which was founded by Michael Collins in 1923 as the Pro-Treaty party) and smaller right-wing parties, such as the fascist National Guard, in 1933. Currently in power (since the financial crisis), pro-capitalist. Derided as “blueshirts” by leftists, referring to the uniform of the 1930s National Guard party.
- **Fianna Fáil** – Center Right (now), historically Center Left; longest governing party, formed by Éamonn De Valera in 1926 from politically-minded former Anti-Treaty sympathizers. Party in power during financial crisis, now in opposition.
- **Labour** – Center Left, historically Left; co-founded by James Connolly in 1912 for progressive (and later social democratic) reforms.
- **Sinn Féin** – Left; Republican party formed in 1905 by Arthur Griffith to unify various nationalist groups. Not officially involved in the Easter Rising, but benefitted from it in the 1918 election, whose elected representatives set up the first Dáil instead of taking their seats at Westminster (beginning the War of Independence). Now SF is active on both sides of the border and is associated with republicanism (both peaceful and violent, depending who you ask).
- **Independents and smaller groups (e.g. Anti-Austerity Alliance, People Before Profit, Green Party, éirígí/socialists)** – Mostly Left; growing in popularity since the financial crisis, as many mainstream politicians and parties are now viewed as friendlier to big businesses than citizens.

Biographical Sketch

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Publications and Presentations (Selected)

- (in press) “*Something that Connolly would have liked*”: *Social activism and historical experience in Dublin, 2016*

Submitted revisions for publication in an upcoming edited volume by Cambridge University Press.

- 2018 *Performing Ghosts: Social Activism and Historical Subjectivity in Dublin, Ireland*
Change in the Anthropological Imagination: Resistance, Resilience, and
Adaptation: Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association,
November 16. (Oral Presentation)
- 2018 *Ghosts on the Street: Historical Subjectivity and Social Activism in Dublin, Ireland*
Environments of Irish Studies: American Conference for Irish Studies National
Meeting, June 20. (Oral Presentation)
- Performing Ghosts: Social Activism and Historical Subjectivity in Dublin, Ireland*
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Conference, May 19. (Oral Presentation)
- 2017 *Re-examining the Activist Legacy of James Connolly: Exemplars and Nationalism in Dublin, 2016*
Anthropology Matters: Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological
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- “Something that Connolly would have liked”: Social activism and historical experience in Dublin, 2016*
Ireland, Irish America, and Work: American Conference for Irish Studies Western
Regional Meeting, October 19. (Oral Presentation)
- 2017 *#SaveMooreStreet: Heritage Activism and Historical Consciousness in Dublin 2016*
Invited Guest Lecture, History 4910: Public History, Loyola Marymount
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- 2017 *The Missing Sign: Development, Activism, and Haunting*
Crisis and the Ordinary, UCLA-Amsterdam Medical Anthropology, April 9. (Oral
Presentation)
- 2017 *Who are the ghosts? Haunting and social activism in Ireland: Notes from the field*
Biennial Meeting, Society for Psychological Anthropology, March 9. (Oral
Presentation)
- 2015 *Bringing Henry VIII to the dining room: The Journey of a King’s Portrait and Re-imagining of Ireland’s Colonial Legacy.*
Biennial Meeting, Society for Psychological Anthropology, April 11. (Oral
Presentation)

Introduction

This dissertation is predicated on the simple, yet unmistakably true, statement that we are living through a dramatic time. Listening to political news in the last few years, I often find myself thinking, “what will future generations say about the world-upending events of 2016?” And most relevant here, what can *I* do, as only one person, to make the future of my country and community better for those who will come after me?

Social activism is certainly becoming more mainstream, and many people are becoming activists for the first time (Jordan and Clement 2018). People of all ages are engaging in direct action strategies, such as marching in public spaces, to make their voices heard. Even if they do not have a nuanced understanding of the language and theory of activism, people are simply arguing that they have something important to say and have the right to say it. Part of this is undoubtedly to make a real, tangible change in the world around them, and I would never argue that this is not a realistic, worthwhile goal. However, this dissertation is about something different. It is about how activism is also about something else—the deep desire to position oneself on the “right” side of history. In this way, making one’s voice heard is an end in itself.

Anthropologists have long known that words have power to “do things” in the world (Austin 1975). Saying words, or publicly communicating one’s activist subjectivity, lets others know what one thinks about political, social, and/or economic issues. However, engaging in activism also functions to develop specific forms of what I call *historical subjectivity*, or an awareness of oneself as a subject of history and with one’s own potential historical legacy, which is morally defined and motivated, among a group of like-minded thinkers.

To explore the varieties of historical subjectivity of activists, I focus on a case study of the campaign to save Moore Street, a small section of the center of Dublin, Ireland, which is

currently under threat by a private development plan to turn the area into a shopping center.

Activists in the Save Moore Street campaign (hereafter, “SMS activists”), have been engaged in various strategies to further their cause, especially direct action, such as rallying and marching, developing a signature campaign, lobbying public officials, lodging official complaints and objections to the development’s planning permission, and forming an archive of their activities on social media. The reason that SMS activists want to save the area is that they consider it historically sacred, because it served as the last stand for the Irish rebels during the 1916 Easter Rising, a pivotal event in Ireland’s struggle for Independence from Great Britain. Demolishing Moore Street, or turning it into a shopping center, would be an affront to the nation’s heroes.

In addition to the direct goal of saving Moore Street itself, activists see themselves as part of a larger historical narrative of revolutionary struggle in Ireland. This narrative arguably stretches through the entirety of English/British colonialism in Ireland but is most clearly traced, in the traditional popular-nationalist historiography, from the 1798 United Irishmen uprising and the 1916 Easter Rising, both of which were failed rebellions against British rule in Ireland, and in favor of building a more just, and culturally Irish, republic.¹ The SMS activists empathize and connect with historical figures associated with these risings and seek to continue to pursue their vision(s) for Ireland, most notably described in the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic.

Historical subjectivity, as I will describe it here, involves empathizing with figures from the past, acting meaningfully in the present, and imagining the future. This mainly builds upon the anthropological theory of historical consciousness and experience (Herzfeld 1991; Stewart 2012; Bryant 2014; Schwartz-Wentzer 2014), but also brings in works on the anthropology of

¹ It is important to note here that this historiographical tradition, while common in Ireland, is not without controversy among historians. As I explore in the historical Appendix, each of these movements are products of their times as well as part of an ongoing struggle for Irish autonomy and sovereignty.

the imagination, and activist subjectivities and strategies. It is also solidly situated within contemporary interdisciplinary Irish Studies, adding a 21st century, ethnographic perspective on the long-standing topics of the memory of 1916 in Ireland and its relation to the postcolonial economy and state, which is understandably a topic of renewed focus during the years surrounding the centenary of the Rising.

Overall, I hope to present the stories of fascinating men and women engaged in a struggle that they see as historically significant, and part of a longer trajectory of revolutionary and anti-imperial activity; and they plan their actions accordingly. Deeper than that, it is a story of individuals trying to make their way in the world and do what they believe is right and just, for the ghosts of the dead generations and for the generations of the future to come. There is not one ‘historical imaginary’ or ‘historical subjectivity’ at play here, but a multitude of imaginaries and subjectivities. I conceive of ‘historical subjectivity’ not only as the way a person understands and makes meaning of historical phenomena, but also how they see themselves as historical subjects, acted upon by historical forces and with a distinct historical legacy of their own for the future. This will contribute to psychological anthropological theory of how people relate to their past and narratives of ‘the past’ at large. It combines Derridian ‘hauntology’ (1994) with the long-standing and rich anthropological studies of memory and historical consciousness, and connects these with the primarily future-oriented anthropology of activism, in order to show that ideas about the past, present, and future are not separate but interconnected, through the narratives and motivations of those pursuing causes that they believe have been bequeathed through a historical, ghostly, imperative.

Brief History of Moore Street²

² I provide a far more detailed history in the Appendix, including a more detailed historical context of the Rising.

Moore Street has been a busy market district since the 18th century (Kennerk 2013:21). It was named for Henry Moore, 1st Earl of Drogheda (who is also the namesake for nearby Henry Street) (223). The terrace of buildings that includes 14-17 Moore Street was first built in 1763, when Dublin's north side was still the fashionable part of town. However, these buildings fell into disrepair in the 19th century, and were in fact considered so filthy that they constituted a public health hazard (39).

Moore Street's primary claim to fame in Ireland stems from the fact that its central terrace of buildings served as the last headquarters for the Irish rebels during the Easter Rising of 1916. Widely considered to be one of the most significant events in modern Irish history, the Rising was a failed attempt to overthrow British control of Ireland and establish a republic based on religious tolerance, universal adult franchise, and civil equality, in the optimistic ideas of its participants. The Rising lasted 6 days, and during this time, was unpopular with the Irish public, until the leaders were executed, and martial law was enacted. In the following years, support for an Irish republic grew, and in 1921, Ireland was granted a limited form of self-government as a "Free State" after the War of Independence. However, this came with partition, and Northern Ireland remained within the United Kingdom. The fact that Ireland was not yet an all-island republic led to division among the Irish, and a bloody civil war ensued, which still haunts both the contemporary Republic of Ireland and United Kingdom to this day³.

Central Dublin, including Moore Street, was badly affected during the Rising, but many of the market traders were keen to quickly rebuild and return to business as usual (Kennerk

³ This is largely as a result of the lingering, and more recent, "Troubles" in Northern Ireland. Because Northern Irish peace is still fragile, any threat to stability—such as Brexit—is potentially catastrophic. In the Republic, the Troubles have been referenced as a rationale for the state's silence surrounding commemorations of the Rising throughout the 20th century, because like the Irish Army, the Northern IRA claims legitimacy as the successor to the rebels of 1916. This will be discussed in more detail throughout the dissertation and Appendix.

2013:75). Though the area was no longer a Victorian slum, it was still part of a working-class neighborhood, and a “fascinating, albeit dangerous, place for a child” to grow up (ibid: 131). The market area of Moore Street was crowded, loud, and colorful in the mid-20th century, as many Dubliners recalled.

City administrators had hoped to redevelop the area for centuries, and major steps toward this goal were taken by the city council and planning department (An Bord Pleanála) in the 1970s. In 1981, the ILAC Centre shopping mall opened, replacing many of the shops along the west side of Moore Street, and the trading areas of the adjoining laneways. The traders could not afford to rent space in the new mall, and the traders who were still able to remain on Moore Street lost business from customers who would no longer walk down the street to do their shopping. Today, the Moore Street produce stalls are frequented by “stalwart patrons” of Irish and foreign descent (Kennerk 2013:149), including college students, elderly neighbors, and young families.

A Walk Down Moore Street Today

I first visited Moore Street in late 2015, as I was still familiarizing myself with Dublin’s geography and the central neighborhood districts. My first impression was that it was a street that I would not feel comfortable walking down alone at night. The slick paving of Henry Street gives way to cobblestones emerging from under hastily laid cement, and a smell of fish, flowers, and trash fills the air. The most immediately noticeable features of Moore Street, in my view, are the 10-15 steel carts for street traders to operate from. They are adorned with blue and white striped canopies, adding a touch of whimsy and contrasting with the oranges, greens, and yellows of the produce for sale. The women who operate the stalls (they are mostly women) are almost all in their 60s or older, having inherited the stalls from their mothers, and their mothers

before them. They do not want their children to take over the stalls from them, because it is a hard life with little reward. However, most of the traders are pleasant and friendly to those who passersby, as they repeatedly shout out their daily specials: “Bananas four for a euro!” “Get your Christmas wreaths!”

The buildings on each side of Moore Street are so dissimilar that the street seems to be suffering from an identity crisis. On the left, there is the ILAC Shopping Centre, a character-less indoor shopping mall built in the 1970s, but slowly decaying. In early 2016, on the outer side of the ILAC are independent shops selling Asian produce, cell phones and accessories, and household wares. Precautions had been taken to account for the common rain in Ireland in the form of rainbow colored, pyramid shaped structures that may have originally been conceived of as art, but are now breaking apart and really only serving the purpose as homes for pigeons.⁴

In early 2017, a construction barricade placed at the curb of the street covered this entire entrance, and the shops had been forced out. I don’t know what happened to the owners and employees. On the other side of the entrance, a bit farther down, is a busy budget chain store called Dealz, which reminded me of a small 99 Cent store, and is still in operation. I have repeatedly heard it being called an eyesore for the garishly bright sign and as a symptom of encroaching low-price-low-quality capitalist commerce in this traditionally mom-and-pop market area.

However, it is on the right side of the street that the National Monument stands. Today, the National Monument is comprised of 14-17 Moore Street, four buildings now forever associated with the last stand of the Irish rebels of the 1916 Easter Rising. Perhaps surprisingly, I wasn’t able to see much of these buildings throughout my fieldwork. They were covered by

⁴ These shops were closed in December 2016 and replaced with a coffee shop and catering/kitchen industry wholesaler.

construction barrier (a tall temporary wall meant to separate the construction work from the regular public business of the street, and protect workers from curious onlookers, which is locally referred to as a “hoarding”) and a barricade. As I began, there was also a large banner nailed into the buildings above the hoarding, so all that remained visible was the very tops of each building⁵. For so long, I wondered what the buildings looked like under the banner and hoarding. There were photographs, of course, but that is not the same. The idea that a photo is not the same as first-hand experience will return later this dissertation, and to make the narrative neat, I like to trace this intellectual problem to my initial curiosity about the buildings. I still have not been inside them, because even with the hoarding gone, the shopfronts are covered with steel and locked. Instead of hidden, they now appear empty. However, their earlier purpose as shopfronts is now clear.

It is in front of 14-17 Moore Street that the SMSotS campaign group (Bernie, Carmel, Cathal, Donal, Erik, and Finn) set up a table to raise awareness about the development plan and collect signatures in solidarity against this plan. The group is on Moore Street every Saturday from 11:30am to 1:30pm, and they are hard to overlook. The blue flag of Cumann na mBan is draped over the table, under 3-4 clipboards with signature sheets, informational flyers, pens, and a donation jar. Carmel sits behind the table, guiding people to sign their names and shares stories of memories on Moore Street. Behind Carmel, two flags and a banner are strategically hung across the building façades. The flags are the Starry Plough, for the Irish Citizen Army, and the “Irish Republic” flag, both popular symbols used during the Easter Rising. The banner is for the campaign: at least 10 feet long, it’s dark green with light green and white writing that calls to

⁵ This banner and hoarding were part of Colm Moore’s complaint to the court that the Minister and developer were not properly caring for Moore Street (the nails damaged the pre-1916 era bricks). The banner was installed as part of the state-sponsored Centenary events.

“Save Moore Street from Demolition!” and invites viewers to show their support online with #SaveMooreStreet and a Facebook logo on the bottom. As Carmel sits at the table, Cathal hands out flyers and Finn calls out to “Sign the Petition!” in his booming tenor. Erik takes photographs of the group and members of the public who want to pose by the flags. After each Saturday, the group posts a Facebook update of how the day went, who came to sign the petition (and any interesting stories they shared), and to provide news about the campaign in general.

During their Saturday activities, Cathal often walks up to Ann’s Bakery, just next to the ILAC Centre to the north, to pick up coffees. Ann’s Bakery had become an important place for my fieldwork. For most of the time I had been coming to Moore Street, it was the only coffee shop on the street. The staff were always friendly, and the traders used the restrooms there because the Council did not provide any for them (this was often interpreted as Dublin City Council’s lack of care for the working conditions of the traders, and thus the sustainability of their profession overall). Ann’s Bakery was also the place where I conducted a majority of my interviews, over tea or coffee. My favorite table was closest to the window, so my interviewee and I could watch the activities on the street during our conversation. We would also have a clear view of The O’Rahilly Parade, a small laneway that leads to a car park. As a reminder of the area’s historical significance, there is a large plaque dedicated to The O’Rahilly, the highest ranked casualty of the Rising⁶, who died in that laneway after charging down Moore Street. He was shot several times by British troops stationed at the top of Moore Street (as it meets the large boulevard now known as Parnell Street). Overall, Moore Street is only about 730 feet long, but within this small space lay a palimpsest of historical lives and experiences, both ordinary and extraordinary.

⁶ For more about The O’Rahilly, see the Historical Appendix.

Photos of Moore Street



Figure 1: photo by author, June 2016



Figure 2: photo taken by author, September 2016



Figure 3: photo taken by author, December 2017



Figure 4: photo taken by author, June 2018

Brief History of the Development Plan and Save Moore Street Campaign

In 2002, Shane Crilly was walking down Moore Street, and noticed that a small plaque that used to be on 16 Moore Street was missing. He discovered that this was a preliminary step in an ongoing development plan, by Irish firm Chartered Land, to demolish all of the buildings of Moore Street in order to make way for a new shopping center. A campaign was quickly set up to raise awareness and opposition to this plan. This early campaign contacted local politicians and councilors and began to raise public awareness of the development plan, in order to build popular support for the preservation of, at the very least, 16 Moore Street (the center of the 1916 headquarters). In 2005, Dublin City Council commissioned a Conservation Report on the state of the buildings on Moore Street, in what was seen as an act of good faith by campaigners (Doyle 2015). However, the development plan remained in motion even despite the commissioning of the report.

In 2007, Minister for Heritage Dick Roche declared 14-17 Moore Street a National Monument, and thus protected from demolition. However, a revised development plan for the entire area was approved in 2010 but put on hold due to the weakened Irish economy following the global financial crash. The state's "bad bank," NAMA, which sought to buy debts from developers and sell them at the best price in order to stabilize the Irish financial sector, bought Chartered Land's loan portfolio in 2010. Loans for various developments around Dublin, including the profitable Dundrum Town Centre and the Dublin Central plan that would cover Moore Street, were compiled into a portfolio called, "Project Jewel." Though the loans were sold, Chartered Land remained in charge of developing the site (and as far as I can determine, still holds a 50% stake in its development) (O'Donoghue 2017).

In 2014, Chartered Land and Dublin City Council were set to swap 14-17 Moore Street for council-owned 24-25 Moore Street, but this deal was rejected by Dublin City Council after fierce lobbying by activists, including the newly formed Save Moore Street on the Street (SMSotS) group, an offshoot of the larger Save Moore Street campaign that was formed for the narrow goal of opposing the land swap, but then stayed on the street collecting signatures in support of the area's preservation. SMSotS, which includes activists Bernie, Carmel, Cathal, Donal, Erik, and Finn, became my main research participants for the participant-observation portion of this project. They have set up a table on Moore Street every Saturday since 2014, when they simply planned to oppose the land swap; however, they are still going strong, and have collected over 100,000 signatures as of October 2018.

Since the failed land swap, the Irish state bought 14-17 Moore Street outright in 2015 (McNamee 2015a), and NAMA sold Project Jewel to Hammerson and Allianz. Project Jewel was estimated to be valued at €2.6 billion, but was sold for €1.85 billion instead (McNamee 2015b). Despite witness statements documenting rebels' use of the entire terrace during the Rising, the state did not determine 13, 18, and 19 Moore Street to be "historically significant" (Brophy 2016a).

Ostensibly in preparation for the upcoming centenary celebrations of the Rising in March, the state began restoration work on 14-17 Moore Street in January 2016, in order to turn these buildings into a museum dedicated to the Rising. However, activists worried that this construction work would irrevocably damage the buildings, so about 15 people began to occupy the terrace on January 7th (O'Carroll 2016). This occupation made national news, and according to TheJournal.ie, a mainstream online newspaper, 63% of readers support the occupation, according to an internal survey (Healy 2016). The occupation ended on January 12th, upon the

announcement of the High Court judgement in the case of Colm Moore v. The Minister for Arts, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht, and Chartered Land Limited (Brophy 2016b). This decision, by Mr. Justice Max Barrett, declared that the entire area was of historical interest, after a personal visit to the site and consideration of the substantial archival evidence of rebel activity in Moore Street during the Rising (Barrett 2016). Activists were ecstatic upon hearing about the judgement, and the occupation protest turned into a celebration on the street.

The next step for activists was to decide what to do next, and how to be sure that any forthcoming development plans respected the historicity and “sacredness” of the site. Later in 2016, the Minister for Heritage established a Consultative Forum to engage the public and recommend a path forward for Moore Street. After soliciting submissions from concerned members of the public (mostly activists involved with the various SMS campaigns), this committee (made up of local councilors, Moore Street traders, and a few long-interested 1916 Relatives) released a report in 2017 outlining their findings and recommendations. In this report, they argue that Moore Street “offers a unique opportunity for development as part of a cultural historic quarter” and that “fresh development plans for the Moore Street area are required” to recreate a “moment in time,” depicting Moore Street as it was in 1916 (The Moore Street Consultative Group 2017).

Despite this report, the Minister (and Dublin Central Limited, the successor to Chartered Land Limited after the inclusion of Hammerson) successfully appealed the 2016 High Court case in January 2018. In the decision, released in February 2018 after weeks of tense waiting, the judges declared that Mr. Justice Barrett overstepped his role by declaring the area a National Monument (a power that they argued should solely rest with elected officials in the legislature) (Hogan 2018). Activists were angered and disappointed, but they decided to continue the fight.

Most recently, though, there is reason for them to be hopeful—Hammerson has hired German architectural firm Acme, to develop a plan for Moore Street’s future; they will also wait until 2019 to unveil the new plan and seek permission from the state for a revised development (Pope 2018; O’Halloran 2018). At this time (October 2018), activists are still campaigning for their voices to be heard, and many still distrust Hammerson, Chartered Land, and the Irish state.

Cast of Characters

Many people have joined and left the Save Moore Street campaign since its formation in the early 2000s, and various targeted campaigns have splintered from the initial committee, in response to the vicissitudes of public opinion, political pressure, and state-developer deals described above. For the sake of narrative clarity and readability, I have decided to focus on eight primary subjects within this dissertation. I have decided to focus on those who I knew best, and who could help tell the story of a larger group. Their differing perspectives provide multiple windows into the varieties and complexities of the activists. I do not mean to argue that these eight represent eight “types” or even composites of SMS activist, but that their perspectives reveal various motivations and levels of involvement that allow the reader to grasp a relatively full understanding of those attached to the campaign.

Some of those involved in the campaign are seasoned social activists who devote large amounts of time to the campaign, and others give what they can, but juggle multiple commitments to families and careers. They may have ancestors who fought for the 1916 Rising or against it (and in some cases, have traced grandparents on both sides!), or do not have Irish ancestry at all. In addition to the following eight “characters,” other voices emerge within the text.

Aisling is an experienced activist and political organizer in her late 30s and a new mother, who currently works with an organization dedicated to alleviating the Irish housing crisis. She is a student and admirer of socialist and communist thinkers, such as James Connolly, Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. She helped found and lead a small Save Moore Street group in 2016, after participating in the occupation earlier that year, while also finishing a college degree.

I write at length about Carmel in Chapter 2, in which I focus on her deep revolutionary heritage and late-in-life foray into activism. She is a mother of 4 adult children and 2 young grandchildren, is in her mid-60s, and currently lives in a suburb of the Greater Dublin Area. An amateur genealogist, Carmel has traced her ancestors to the Fenians of the 19th century, multiple 1916 rebels, old-IRA leaders, and Free State politicians. Though her family is steeped in Irish political history, Carmel is politically non-partisan and shies away from potentially divisive political discussions. Instead, she is more interested in the tradition of Irish cultural nationalism, including the Irish language. She follows a strong moral compass, and shows compassion for those who need help, such as Dublin's homeless population. Moore Street is her first activist campaign, and she "does her part" by joining SMSotS on Saturdays, where she collects signatures and stories from passersby before shopping for produce from the Moore Street traders.

Like Aisling, Cathal is an experienced activist. An anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, he is also active in campaign against the internment of Northern republicans, and closely follows the Basque solidarity movement. Cathal is in his early 50s, and from South Dublin. He speaks fluent Irish and Spanish (owing to both Irish and Spanish ancestry). He is a leader among SMSotS and also keeps a regular blog about Irish history, in which he outlines what Moore Street means to him and what he would like to eventually see there in the future.

Erik is SMSotS's resident photographer and graphic designer, which is fitting given a family's tradition of creative endeavors and shared hometown with Vincent Van Gogh in The Netherlands. Erik moved from his home country to Ireland for business in the 1990s (during the Celtic Tiger) and fell in love not only with the Irish landscape and history, but also a local Dublin woman. As a "New Irish" person, Erik's commitment to the SMS campaign (beginning around 2009) may seem surprising, but he takes pride in his residence in Dublin's north inner city, and he understands visitors' desire to experience sites of Irish heritage. In addition to his work with SMSotS, Erik is a vegan animal rights activist, who protests whaling and hare coursing.

Along with Cathal, Finn is considered a leader of SMSotS. He decided to help out the Save Moore Street campaign in 2014, around the land swap controversy, thinking that this would be a casual, short activity. Four years later, Finn is committed to maintaining a campaign presence on Moore Street *every* Saturday, and in addition to collecting signatures, he feels morally compelled to document the names of each of the 300+ rebels who occupied Moore Street during 1916. Now in his early 50s, Finn lives in the north inner city and regularly cycles for transportation. He was born in Cork to a family steeped in a revolutionary history (including participation in the Rising, War of Independence, and on both sides of the Civil War) that is still painful for older generations to share with him. In his day job, Finn works to combat drug abuse in his community, and he is active in local politics, having once run for office himself. He also loves the arts, including theater and poetry, and is fluent in Irish (though spending a few childhood years in the United States gives him a distinct accent in both English and Irish).

George is a retired schoolteacher in his early 60s who has always lived in Dublin. He is passionate about Irish history, especially 1916 and socialist history, and considers James

Connolly to be his hero. He is active in organizing events in support of Moore Street, including Arms Around Moore Street (2009), the Moore Street Bonds Committee (2015), and the 1916 Performing Arts Club (2016-Present). George proudly told me that he grew up in a relatively poor household, and attributes this to shaping the working-class identity which he still claims today. He is also fiercely pro-union and thinks the 1916 Proclamation is an ideal foundation for a government. He is suspicious of the current Irish government and describes members of Dublin City Council as “Philistines.” George sees Moore Street as “kind of a microcosm of the ills and the ailments of modern Ireland, you know, where corrupt development and speculation aided and abetted by our state.” He is angered by the idea that the rebels of 1916 fought from might become a shopping mall, and calls this plan “sacrilegious,” openly acknowledging his use of religious language to describe it.

Saoirse is a stay-at-home mother of four boys, currently living with her family in a small townland in County Offaly. She originally grew up in a working-class suburb of North Dublin, near the airport. While growing up, Saoirse often visited Moore Street, and she still has vivid memories of the colors and sounds of the more bustling market area from the 1970s and 1980s (she is in her early 40s now). She is passionate about Irish history, and reads extensively on this subject, both in books and online. She is often on Facebook, showing support for various local historical causes. Her involvement with the Save Moore Street campaign is less regular than the Dublin-based activists, but she tries to show up every once in a while, especially for bigger rallies and events. When she does come, she usually brings at least one son, usually Jay, her youngest, who is also fascinated with Irish history and loves to be part of the campaign. Saoirse is proud of him, and strongly believes that it is important that she inspire at least one of her sons to continue to engage with Irish history and also carry on that passion to his own children. She

asks, “They [her sons] have Batman and they have Superman, so why can't they have Irish heroes?”

Steven is a professional college teacher and amateur documentarian from County Louth (near the Northern Irish border) in his late 30s, who has created a successful social media presence (especially a YouTube channel) based on stories about the Easter Rising and subsequent Irish historical events and figures. He has produced multiple films, of various lengths, focusing on the campaign to save Moore Street. As a 1916 Relative, Steven is active and popular within the Relatives’ Association and has earned the trust of other members, who have shared their stories with him. I am especially indebted to Steven for inspiring the focus of this dissertation, the concept of historical subjectivity, because as he said, the campaign to save Moore Street is not only *about* history, but also *is* history.

My Arrival and the Genesis of this Research

I began (a version of) this project in 2014, in order to understand the relationship between the built environment and colonial legacy in Ireland. At this time, talk had already begun about how the Irish state was going to commemorate the Rising in 2016. Though I was first focused on a location in Ireland’s Midlands, I decided to attend a few Dublin-based events during 2014 and 2015, to learn about local plans related to the memory of the Rising, which I had found interesting ever since learning about it during a study-abroad course in Irish history and literature (through University College Cork in 2010).

One early event that I attended was a movie premiere in late 2015, where I watched a documentary film produced by Steven that focused on the historical significance of Moore Street, and featured two prominent SMS activists and Relatives of 1916 rebel leaders. There, I learned that Moore Street was a very important space during the Rising, and within the social

history of Dublin (recounted earlier in this section), and that it was currently under threat. I could not understand why any state would want to demolish such a place of heritage (and potential heritage tourism!). Here, I met George, who was sponsoring another related event the following week in order to raise funds to buy Moore Street from the state (which was a more symbolic gesture than practical, in hindsight). George asked me to speak about the importance of the street “as a member of the Irish diaspora” and I casually agreed.

The next week, I delivered a short speech about how Moore Street, through its connection to the Rising, is a site of international importance, and that tourists (which I still largely considered myself) liked to visit sites of “heritage” that cannot be found elsewhere. I spoke as an anthropologist of heritage and for myself, and I tried to carefully differentiate when I was using each voice. I had not yet begun this project in earnest, so I did not feel that there were any ethical implications to what I had to say, but I still attempted to keep my tone positive toward all parties (and apparently I made a good impression because George and Steven brought up how much they liked the speech more than a year later, during ethnographic interviews). Giving this speech immediately gave me credibility as a friend to the campaign. I met Finn, who became a key informant, and was told stories about just how much Moore Street still means to many people, some relatives of the Rising veterans, some lifelong Dubliners, some trade unionists and social activists, and some newcomers to Ireland! Who were these members of a passionate group, with an impressive collective knowledge of Irish history, spouting the rhetoric of challenging a powerful state? Even writing this sentence, I realize how much history repeats itself— I could have also just described the leaders of the Rising itself. How self-conscious were these activists in tying their current project to the larger historical legacy of the Rising? Were their motivations

personal or community-motivated, or was there something else going on? What would *they* hope for Moore Street instead of this development?

I knew that I had found my dissertation project.

Methodology

For this project, I focused on a small group of campaigners, and really tried to understand their passion for Moore Street, and their complicated (and sometimes contradictory) feelings about the Irish state and their place within its control. The longitudinal nature of the field work also illuminates the complex forms of subjectivity (including historical subjectivity, the focus of this dissertation) that exist in people align themselves with a cause larger than themselves. These in-depth insights would require careful, on-going ethnographic methods based on mutual trust.

I completed approximately 20 in-depth person-centered interviews that were largely unstructured and covered a wide range of topics. Person-centered interviews, as developed by Levy and Hollan, are intended to “represent human behavior and subjective and intersubjective experiences from the acting, intending, and attentive subject, and to actively explore the emotional saliency and motivational force of cultural beliefs, symbols, and structures, rather than to assume such saliency and force...[which] enables one to investigate, in a fine-grained way, the complex interrelationships between individuals and their social, material, and symbolic contexts” (Levy and Hollan 2014:313). Using this method, interviewees are both informant and respondent; they can discuss cultural practices as a local expert (thereby providing information about the topic of study) as well as describe their personal experiences and ideas about such practices, as the object of study (316). I used this method to ask activists about the campaign’s genesis, current focus, and larger goals, and also asked them to reflect on their motivations and experiences within the campaign and evaluate its overall impact. These interviews had a

narrative component as well, as I would ask them to recount their Moore Street stories, whatever that may reveal. Revealing its psychoanalytic roots, person-centered interviewing allows the interviewer to follow the interviewee's logical narrative progression and creation of connections between topics within the flow of conversation. I did far more listening than speaking in these interview sessions, which I believe contributed to a rich data set in which to work with.

I also used participant-observation, mainly with SMSotS, and attended approximately 30 rallies and events put on by different groups, as well as other historical groups for a bit of balance and a control perspective. I took over 1,500 photos, and I have access to thousands more as part of the SMS Facebook archive (curated by Erik, who has granted me permission to use them in my research), and also gathered over 10 hours of video footage of the street and some key events. There is also a textual element to this research, as my informants often produce art and media of their own, including highly trafficked Facebook pages, personal blogs, newspaper editorials, and independent films⁷. These will be included within the dissertation as appropriate.

As I engaged in the field research and data analysis for this project, I have examined my own subjective stance. It's worth noting here that although I find myself fairly far to the left, politically (through an American lens), I did my best to be open to the messages of all Irish political parties, and to present myself as a political outsider to the Irish milieu⁸. I had also hardly ever participated in protest activities before I began, so I could not take their political strategies for granted. I followed the time-honored advice of Malinowski (1932) to allow people to correct any mistakes or assumptions I held by explaining their own political perspectives. Being a "leftist" in general was helpful, as subjects could infer that I shared a concern for the well-being

⁷ See Appendix C for a quantification of the data for this project.

⁸ Irish political party affiliation is often more about family history than personal moral or political ideology, as I explain in Chapter 2 (regarding Carmel's family story) and in Appendix A.

of others similar to their own; however, I would make no claim to support any specific Irish candidate or political party myself. Because I have no relatives (that I know of) who have historically belonged to any party, I was able to enter into such conversations with a fairly blank slate.

All names have been changed, as have certain personal details, to maintain subjects' anonymity. I have also edited some people's quotes for the sake of clarity and readability, but never for content.

Introduction to the dissertation chapters

The temporality of this kind of subjectivity is very interesting, and the various temporal dimensions of this form the structure of this dissertation—past, present, and future. Each chapter was written to function as a standalone article, and thus some introductory material is repeated, and they need not be read in a specific order⁹.

The Prelude and Chapter 1 focus on the present-day forms of activism that SMS campaigners employ, and how they use events and issues from the present day to raise awareness for the campaign. In these sections, I trace the complexities of historical experience in the contemporary moment. Of course, as Hannah Arendt reminds us, the “present” is really a space between past and future (2006), and this makes such an idea difficult to define ethnographically (since once I sit down to type up fieldnotes, it is already “past”). However, for the purposes of this Chapter, I think of the “present” as a theoretical device to allow me to write about the less obviously historical elements of the campaign, such as satire of ongoing events in Ireland (corruption between developers and state officials). Though these are part of a more recent history of state corruption, Celtic Tiger economics, and austerity, I classify them in this “present”

⁹ The only exception is the sub-chapters: “Prelude” is meant to be read before Chapter 1, and “Ethnographic Interlude” is meant to be read after Chapter 2.

focused chapter only to distinguish them from the more remote past of 100 years ago, of events that subjects of this research did not experience first-hand.

Chapter 2 then turns to the way activists think about the past, especially the way that historical empathy (a term used often by educators, but not yet fully embraced by anthropologists) motivates their actions in the present. In this section, I examine the kinds of historical imaginaries and experiences that SMS activists entertain and focus especially on the case of Carmel's revolutionary heritage. Because many SMS activists are also relatives of those who fought in 1916, it is important to understand how that familial link informs present historical ideas. However, even if one is not a relative of a famous historical figure, historical empathy with such figures is still possible, by literally walking in the footsteps of someone from the past, viewing historical photographs and films, and speaking to a historical figure's living relative in the present.

Chapter 3 focuses on the various imaginaries of the future that can be found among activists, developers, and state administrators. Though these sides are at odds, there are many points of agreement in the way they conceptualize an ideal future for Dublin's city center. For example, though they each use different terminology, each group (activists, the local council, and developers) hope to create in Moore Street a memorable and unique "experience" for visitors. This chapter, which draws from theory in anthropology, urban planning, and history, as well as sources from retail development industry professionals, situates the campaign to save Moore Street as a site of promised potential for an uncertain future, where the most obvious solution is for each "side" (I do not like to characterize the campaign as one of activists vs. developers and the state, though some informants may disagree with me) should simply listen to one another,

because they may be able to collaboratively build a sustainable heritage quarter that all parties, and perhaps even the ghosts of the past, could be proud of.

Prelude: The Centenary Scene

POBLACHT NA hÉIREANN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one

who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government:

THOMAS J. CLARKE

SEAN Mac DIARMADA

P. H. PEARSE

JAMES CONNOLLY

THOMAS MacDONAGH

EAMONN CEANNT

JOSEPH PLUNKETT

Ireland 2016

The Proclamation of the Irish Republic (toward which the Rising was fought) has become the foundational text for Ireland, similar to our Declaration of Independence from 1776, despite never being codified into law. It represents the ideas of the nation that Ireland's "Revolutionary Generation"¹⁰ fought for, and to activists, politicians, and pundits today, is still worth striving toward. I wanted to understand how the legacy of the Easter Rising, and its leaders' vision for a progressive, equitable, sovereign Ireland, fit within today's neoliberal country and part of the European Union (EU), still reeling from the 2009 global recession, bank bailouts, and austerity.

The Easter Rising dominates popular Irish historical memory, as a national foundational myth, both political and moral¹¹. Though militarily unsuccessful, the Rising represents a turning point in Irish support for total independence from Great Britain, and its leaders are held up as heroic martyrs who imagined an Ireland far more progressive and equitable than that which

¹⁰ This term is used prominently by Historian R. F. Foster (2015), similarly to the "Greatest Generation" in the US (those who fought in WWII), and refers to those who lived during the period between 1913-1923, during intense political upheaval in and involving Ireland. It can narrowly be used to refer to those who took part in events such as the Lockout (1913), Easter Rising (1916), Anti-Conscription Crisis (1918), granting of women's Suffrage in the UK (1918), War of Independence (1919-1921), and Civil War (1922-1923).

¹¹ Though it is part of public historical consciousness in Ireland, the Easter Rising's interpretation among professional historians is equally as complex and subject to changing political priorities (see Boyce 1996), but that is a subject for an entirely different dissertation.

currently exists. Thus, the 100th anniversary of the Rising in 2016 became an opportunity for reflection on how the country has changed (for better or worse) since 1916. What was the goal for the Rising, and have we met it? Is it still relevant today? How far have we come?

I specifically follow a case study of the campaign to save Moore Street, an area of Dublin currently under threat of being demolished and turned into a shopping center, managed by a British firm and sanctioned by high-level state actors. This site is important as the last headquarters for the Irish during the Easter Rising, after the post office caught fire. The leaders of the rebellion, including Pearse, spent their last day of freedom in Moore Street before surrendering to the British, when they would be subsequently taken into custody, court martialed, and executed. These leaders then became national martyrs for the republican movement, and Ireland gained a measure of sovereignty in 1921, and eventually became an independent Republic 20 years later. However, the memory of 1916 was not always celebrated—especially in the second half of the 20th century, it was tangled with experiences and memories of the following bloody Civil War, which pitted those who wanted a treaty with the British offering limited self-rule and Partition with the North, and those who did not, which eventually contributed to the Troubles in the North (as various IRA groups claimed a direct link from 1916 to their own activities). Celebrating 1916 thus became associated with that later violence, so it was suppressed in popular memory, and between 1966 and 2016, there were no prominent commemorations of the Rising. Thus, I decided for my research that the 100th anniversary in 2016 was a chance to understand if and how Ireland would acknowledge the Rising in Irish cultural and political historiography.

Approaching 2016

In early 2016, Ireland experienced “commemoration fever.” In every newspaper and television channel, school history curriculum, and even souvenir shop, it was impossible to escape references to 1916, especially as the centenary season approached. According to Gabriel Doherty (UCC Historian, member of Ireland 2016 Executive Council), the Decade of Centenaries is intended to serve as an expansive model for other nations’ commemoration activities in the future¹². According to the commemoration’s advisory group, which includes professional historians, “The commemoration will be measured and reflective, and will be informed by a full acknowledgement of the complexity of historical events and their legacy, of the multiple readings of history, and of the multiple identities and traditions which are part of the Irish historical experience” (Expert Advisory Group, quoted in the official Eire 2016 Centenary program). It operates on a scale and a scope unlike any similar program seen in Ireland before: it is intended to include the entire country (and in some cases, the entire island), and meant to combine solemn ceremonies, historical lectures, and fun, family-friendly activities. Local County Councils organized some of the most engaging events and museum exhibits, meant primarily for their residents, as I witnessed in Counties Dublin, Kerry, and Offaly. According to many people I have spoken with, there is a feeling that the centenary of the Rising is a welcome opportunity for both reflection and celebration, especially at a local, grassroots level. This was made possible due to the passions of academic and local historians as well as government grants for historical projects across the country, given to schools and community groups to support their proposed projects. According to many people I have spoken with, there is a feeling that the centenary of the Rising is a welcome opportunity for both reflection and celebration.

¹² Personal Conversation, November 13th, 2015

There are sections within four of the country's major news and entertainment sources (*The Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, RTÉ, and TG4) that are dedicated to remembering and reimagining the Easter Rising. Not to be outdone by *The Irish Times*, the *Irish Independent* not only prints reproductions of news stories as they occurred exactly 100 years ago, but hosts an online section dedicated to 1916, with subsections such as "After the Rising," "Words of the Rising," and most directly relevant here, "Rising Memories." In this section, readers can submit their own stories and memories of relatives from different sides of the conflict, passed down through generations. For example, a Wexford man proudly tells the story of his British grandfather's involvement in the Rising in Enniscorthy, and a Dublin man explains what it means to him that his grandmother was a looter during the insurrection (Naughton 2016; Lawlor 2016). The range of these stories shows that in public media outlets, people are becoming more and more comfortable sharing memories of family members had different motivations and experiences during Easter Week.

This kind of democratic reflection of the Rising is new in Ireland. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, veterans of the Rising often did not discuss their involvement with their children, so the second generation knew very little about their parents' activities in 1916. Within families, silence about the Rising was encouraged in public and private discourse because it was associated with strength and propriety for both men and women (O'Keeffe 2015:15). Additionally, in some cases, children did not want to know about their parents' former lives. For the second generation (sons and daughters of combatants/witnesses), narratives of parents' historical actions were tied to gendered memories of domestic life, and "in many cases, the sons of that generation struggled to reconcile the roles of mother and revolutionary" and daughters did not want to see "warm" and loving fathers as killers (2015:16). Similar to Cho's case of the

Korean GI Brides (Cho 2008), families were haunted less by the Rising itself and more by the subsequent culture of silence that surrounded it.

However, many children were proud of their same-gender parent's combat experience, upon gaining knowledge of it (2015:16). For example, Felicity Hayes-McCoy did not learn that her great-aunt Marion Stokes raised the rebel tricolor at Enniscorthy in 1916, because this was never discussed within the family. Hayes-McCoy learned about this only after searching for any mention of Marion on Google and happening upon an article that described Marion as "the least likely ex-terrorist you could imagine" (Hayes-McCoy 2015:4). Upon finding this article, Hayes-McCoy states that "I clicked on it, and a central aspect of my sense of identity changed" (2015:4). She wished that she could get to know Marion better, before she died in 1983 (2015:89). However, Hayes-McCoy is optimistic that the present generation will be more willing to both embrace and critically examine the violent, difficult legacy of the Rising than her family had been.

From an outsider's perspective, the issues facing 1916 relatives seem rather straightforward—neither relatives nor state actors openly dispute the importance of the Easter Rising in national (and international) history. At this point, these groups agree that it should be commemorated, but this wasn't always the case. In 2014, during my first fieldwork trip to Ireland, discussions about how to commemorate the Rising began to appear in public discourse (newspapers, TV shows, etc.). However, it was not clear to me exactly how the Rising would be commemorated by the state. Apparently, I was not the only person with questions about the upcoming commemorations—relatives of the rebel combatants also wanted answers and solid plans. They believed that they should be included in the planning, or at least consulted, regarding the centenary, so they formed the 1916 Relatives Association to ensure that their relatives'

legacies would be represented in a manner they deemed appropriate and respectful. This fear is not unfounded. In 1966, Kathleen Clarke, widow of rebel leader Tom Clarke, criticized exclusion of her husband in the state's representation of the GPO command, but she was largely ignored by the state at the time (McCoole 2014).

Making the Centenary Happen

On 22 June 2014, approximately 100 relatives met at Wynn's Hotel in Dublin to strategize lobbying the government for inclusion. In July, they successfully arranged a meeting with Jimmy Deenihan, Minister for Arts, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht (2011-2014). Deenihan assured the relatives that they would be kept abreast of the state's plans and given an outline of state ceremonies in September of that year. However, not one month later, the Dáil cabinet was reshuffled following Joan Burton's election as the Labor Party's leader, and Deenihan lost his position to Heather Humphreys. The Relatives Association committee hoped that Humphreys would be as forthcoming as Deenihan, but this was not the case. For example, Humphreys faced criticism after declining to attend a meeting with relatives in October 2014 (Hilliard 2014).

The 1916 Relatives primary goal was to ensure that they (or at least the leaders of their organization) are given a place of honor at state ceremonials, before invited foreign dignitaries. They feared that they would be sidelined in favor of other dignitaries, especially the British Queen, after the release of a controversial video that began with the proclamation on screen for 1 second, and then quickly turned to Ireland's advances in the present day, based on the five themes of "Ireland 2016:" Remembering, Reconciling, Presenting, Imagining and Celebrating. For "Reconciling," a short video of the Queen walking with former Irish President Mary McAleese is shown on screen. To relatives and many others in Ireland, this was insulting; and it is still a point of contention two years later. They criticized the video for its absolute lack of

representation of the leaders or indeed what the Rising actually was. The video was quickly removed from many of the state's commemoration website (www.Ireland.ie) and to his credit, Minister of State Aodhán O'Riordáin accepted that the Department of Art, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht had made a mistake with the release of this video (Brophy 2014a). In response to the video, the Relatives drafted their own centenary program (Brophy 2014b). From interviews with leading relatives in late 2016 and early 2017, though some critiques of the commemoration remain, it is now clear that the relatives' demands were at least considered and their special positionality within the state's history was acknowledged through exclusive events and prime seating at parades and ceremonies.

The most prominent event of the centenary was the Easter Sunday parade through Dublin on March 27th, 2016 (note that this is based on the Lunar date for Easter, not the actual date of the beginning of the Rising, April 24th). There were over 500,000 people in Dublin for the parade, including myself (McCauley and McDowell 2016). It was certainly crowded, and those in attendance were in high spirits, despite the cold weather that later turned wet and windy. I had an enviable viewing location near the end of the parade just north of the GPO on Dorset Street, and there was also a large viewing screen nearby, so I could catch the ceremony at the GPO at noon, in which a member of the Defense Forces read the Proclamation, and President¹³ Michael D. Higgins laid a wreath in front of the GPO. In addition to the ceremony, the Defense Forces made up a noticeable proportion of parade participants. There were flag bearers, military bands, and current and former service members. However, there were also members of the emergency services, such as the police force (An Garda Síochána) and the Fire Brigade. I thought that it was

¹³ Like the British Westminster system, Ireland has both a Prime Minister (An Taoiseach) and Head of State (the President/An tUachtarán). The President's role is primarily ceremonial. At this point in time, Enda Kenny (Fine Gael) was Prime Minister and Michael D. Higgins (Labour, though this position is largely nonpartisan) was President.

a well-executed, reverent day of events, and I was not alone in this assessment. According to reporter Mark Simpson, “It is a rare moment in a large crowd when everyone puts down their smart phone and just listens...[the ceremony at the GPO] had a profound effect on many people in the crowd” (2016).

In general, people I spoke with (from within and outside of the Save Moore Street campaign) generally praised the state for its comprehensive (if sometimes overwhelming) program of centenary-related events, television programs, published books and periodicals, and artistic endeavors, as well as funding for local community commemorative projects. As I will discuss later, the fact that the state took seriously its duty to recognize the importance of 1916 for citizens felt new and different—people told me that it was about time that the country reflected on the past 100 years openly, and those in power as well as ordinary citizens could take pride in their own national foundational¹⁴ story.

The main critique that I encountered from a relative was that the security measures were exclusionary. Unless you had a specific ticket and forms of ID on hand, you were not allowed anywhere near the GPO on Easter Sunday. Furthermore, I found it somewhat odd that once the parade officially ended, the massive crowd was instructed to leave the scene of the city center. Understandably, those in charge of the logistics of such a massive undertaking must take security very seriously (especially because they feared violent action by fringe republican groups) (Clonan 2016). Such criticism is admittedly mild, given the overall success of the day’s events. Additionally, there were hundreds of smaller-scale, localized events around the country, and a few unofficial large-scale (1,000+ people) events in Dublin put on by commemorative groups

¹⁴ An important point here is that with these events, 1916 was framed *as* a national foundational story. This was not always the case and Rising took on many different meanings since its first day in April 1916. Detailed histories of its changing legacy can be found in more detail can be found in many excellent texts, such as Higgins (2013), Wills (2009), (Grayson and McGarry (2016), and Graff-McRae (2010).

and political parties, especially on “Republic Day,” April 24th, 2016¹⁵, which both fell on a Sunday that year.

Personal Reflections on the Centenary

To activists involved in the Save Moore Street campaign, the idea that the Irish government has not just failed to meet the goals of the Rising is taken as a fact. They are not alone; during this year, Irish people flooded Dublin City Centre *en masse* for 2 reasons: to celebrate the centenary in various parades and events, and to protest or strike for better working conditions. Sometimes, these happened at the same time, and commemorative parades became opportunities for social activism in the name of the leaders of the Rising (such as a May 2016 “March for Connolly” organized by local socialist and trade unionist groups).

Related to this commemorative reflection, subjects argue that the state has not only failed its citizens in the present, but failed the memory of the nation’s founders who fought in 1916 and proclaimed Ireland to be a nation that “cherishes all the children of the nation equally.” I have found this to be the most commonly quoted line from the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic, read at the beginning of the Easter Rising, which is a manifesto of the rebel leaders and an outline of their vision for an ideal future nation.

John, a friend of the SMS campaign and professional historical re-enactor, believes that reflection on the Rising’s primary manifesto during this time is natural, and may inspire greater historical consciousness in the general public:

The 1916 leaders and the proclamation state a certain type of republic that should follow, and I think a lot of people who previously weren’t interested in politics

¹⁵ The idea of celebrating the Rising each year at Easter according to the Lunar (religious) calendar versus recognizing the date of April 24th according to the Gregorian calendar is still a source of contention between politicians of rival parties (Sinn Féin sponsored a bill to recognize April 24th as a formal national holiday, and was defeated in the Dáil (O’Halloran 2016), and I interviewed one relative who has made it his personal mission to see this day recognized as “Republic Day.” As I have understood it, the label “Republic Day” is largely informal, and used by republican groups, activists, and public historians more than official state administrative bodies.

might have looked at the Proclamation and then looked at the modern state, and they would've said, had we actually delivered the proclamation? I think that's one thing that people would've talked about, whether its geographical, 26 counties or 32 counties, or have we 'cherished all the children of the nation equally,' or have say women's rights been completely upheld, equally...I think that's good that people are thinking about politics in that way, and you probably know that we're in what we call a 'winter of discontent,' and you hear a lot more strikes and stuff, maybe some of that relates to aspirations 100 years ago as well? People want their stake and their equality, the relationship with the state, I think there's a lot to think about there.

John brings up the point that for many, the greatest failure of the Rising and subsequent War of Independence was the partition of the island, and the fact that an all-Ireland republic has not been achieved. However, he shares that it is equally important to look at the way the government of the Republic of Ireland does or does not "cherish the children of the nation" in the way that citizens expect, demand, or need.

George, a Save Moore Street activist and an admirer of the socialist leader of the Easter Rising, James Connolly, explained what he thought the Easter Rising was about, and continued with a reflection on its relevance today. As he states,

1916 to me is all about the Proclamation. It's all about the vision that [the leaders] had for an independent republic and unfortunately, having lived through quite a section of that 100 years, [I can say that] we have abysmally failed to deliver on the aims of the Proclamation right up to today, with...the lack of facilities for homeless people, the corruption involved with developers and banks, the fact that the state has bailed out banks which are now evicting people, that would run counter to everything in the Proclamation, which inspired to cherish all the children of the nation equally, I would believe very strongly in a republic they aspire to...you cannot have a republic where a bank official is earning three quarters of a million euro per year and the state are haggling over a ten cent rise of the minimum wage. That's not a republic! These things anger me, but you know, the struggle goes on really, you know, the struggle goes on, and...I was heartened because I felt that people were fighting back, and in the water campaign, people we're saying, you know, we have suffered the austerity, the rich are getting richer, and we're not having it anymore, you've pushed us over the

edge. I think that movement is going to gain credence and I think solidarity¹⁶ is on its way back, I hope.

Together, John's and George's statements show a kind of empathy with those who fought in the Easter Rising by imagining how these historical figures would think of modern Ireland, which will be further explained in Chapter 2. This version of empathy is aspirational, as John and George empathize with the rebels' idea that a greater future is possible for Ireland.

Thus, the Proclamation is still a living document—even though it never became law. It instead became a symbol of what Ireland *should* be, and perhaps *could* be, if the people rose up against the government, which is more interested in bickering with each other in “Civil War Politics” than actually helping make the country better for its citizens. The leaders of 16 are thus above anyone who kept living into the Civil War (and especially those who lived beyond that and entered into politics!). As John says, one can only imagine what they would have thought of today's Ireland.

Historical Subjectivity

Behind reflections about the state of Ireland in 2016 (versus 1916) is the idea that we are currently living in a historically important moment in time (and place). Like the 50th anniversary of the Rising in 1966, 2016 will become an object of historical inquiry in due time (for historical analyses of the 50th anniversary, see Daly and O'Callaghan 2007; Higgins 2013). This means that anyone taking part is participating in historically significant activities, and many people know this. For example, Carmel, a regular Moore Street activist in her 60s, told me about the importance of keeping memorabilia for posterity: “My grandchildren will be there for the 150th

¹⁶ Exactly what kind of solidarity George refers to is unclear here—it could be working-class solidarity, Irish cultural-nationalist solidarity, or (most likely, in my estimation) something encompassing both of these groups in a populist way, akin to “the 99%” used by the Occupy groups.

anniversary, and I didn't want them to say like there's nothing left from 2016 so they have loads of things, and I am stockpiling stuff upstairs that I pass out among the kids so that everybody has something from this centenary." Her grandfather and his siblings prominently contributed to the rebel cause in 1916 and later struggles, and she was unhappy that a cousin of hers took all of the 1916-related memorabilia and has no plans to share it with the family. In her eyes, history should be shared and collectively enjoyed, and because of her experiences, she wants to proactively ensure that both of her 2 grandchildren have tangible objects to keep, to learn about her engagement in the centenary of 2016, when they have grown up. Therefore, Carmel, John, George, and others are conscious that their actions in the present have consequences for the future, and they want to be the ones to write their own stories. In our current social media landscape, this is much easier than it was in 1916, when the Irish rebels had similar ideas about the historical importance of their own actions.

The following section will provide an ethnographic 'snapshot' of the activities of the campaign to Save Moore Street, and background of the campaign and its grievances. Activists use multiple strategies to engage the public in their struggle, but all activities that I witnessed and took part in had the commonality that the historical importance of the site and the moral importance of saving it were both beyond question. What follows will explore how the activists create a historically conscious narrative to their current and potential future supporters.

Chapter 1: Images of the Present

*Our masters all a godly crew,
Whose hearts throb for the poor,
Their sympathies assure us, too,
If our demands were fewer.
Most generous souls! But please observe,
What they enjoy from birth
Is all we ever had the nerve
To ask, that is, the earth.
-- James Connolly, 1907*

Introduction

This chapter will analyze elements of two street theater performances, “Brown Envelopes” and “Nightmare on Moore Street,” by the Save Moore Street campaign (SMS), meant to elicit support from the public (both passersby in real time and social media supporters later on) for their campaign to save an area of Dublin that they see as sacred to the nation’s historical memory and the present well-being of the city’s local working class community. Because both performances incorporate a central opposition between satirized “bad” developers versus “good” ghosts of the past, I will first analyze these elements separately, using the anthropological literatures of historically conscious satirical protest and hauntology, respectively, and then discuss the importance of their co-presence in the image constructed. This creates a new sort of moral-historical consciousness staking a claim and thus performing their own kind of group values during what they perceive as an important political-historical moment.

Within these short displays, multiple forms of historical consciousness and historicity emerge. Subjects are both conscious of events and figures from the past as they make claims in the present, and construct their own subjectivities as historical actors, thus gesturing toward an imagined future. By doing so, activists make a specific moral argument: respected historical

figures from Irish history would not approve of the state of Ireland today, and it is up to concerned citizens (themselves) to heed the call of these “ghosts.” This is done for the sake of justice, as well as cementing an archive of their activities as actors on the right side of history, so they can assure their more progressive children and grandchildren that they fought for the same goals as Pearse and Connolly did.

Approaching Protests

Following recent large-scale protest movements (especially populist protests) around the world, anthropologists have taken various strategies to understand the motivations and subjectivities of activists, as well as strategies and tactics for direct action (Merry 2006; Hale 2008; Brown and Pickerill 2009; Graeber 2009; Isin 2009; Juris and Razsa 2012; Haugerud 2013; Juris and Khasnabish 2013; King 2013; Pleyers 2013; Razsa 2015; Segal 2016).

There are many ways to write a literature review on the anthropology of activism, but for the purposes of this chapter, I have decided to segment bodies of literature by the following 2 criteria: (1) historical or ahistorical, and (2) straightforward or satirical. For the first group, one can argue that all activist campaigns always have an element of historicity (in their archival strategies, relationships to past campaigns, etc.), but overall, my concern is whether or not historical narratives obviously or prominently feature in the primary aims or strategies of activists or not. In other words, are the activists themselves consciously thinking about history, or are their concerns with the present and future? For the second group, of course not all activism is satirical, and most of SMS’s public activism is *not* satirical. However, it is the exception to that generality that I have found most revealing, ethnographically; therefore, I refer to SMS’s general strategies within the following analysis of this satirical event.

Satire and Protest

As a tool of literature and cultural critique, satire and irony have a very long history and varied cultural constructions that are outside the scope of this dissertation. It would thus be difficult to provide even a truncated history of the concept. Instead, Jonathan Lear notes that irony, in which a situation is funny because the result is the opposite of what was expected, and thus a related concept to satirical expression, is “fundamental to the human condition” and related to our species’ capacity for self-consciousness (Lear 2011:ix. 10). Paul Radin, a student of Franz Boas, argued that all societies have complex intellectual and literary cultures, and documents satirical poetry about the relations between men and women from Native North American, and South-Eastern African cultural groups (2002). Matthew Hodgart also documents satirical tradition in the Middle East, West Africa, Ancient Greece, and most relevant here, the ancient Irish bardic tradition (Hodgart 2017). Vivian Mercier probes more deeply into the very long Irish satirical literary tradition, and argues that the literary techniques of more modern Irish satirists (most notably, Swift, Joyce, and Beckett) have historical roots in the Gaelic Middle Ages (such as “eloquent cursing” (Hodgart 2017:19)) (Mercier 1962).

On Moore Street, activist-satirists’ commentary on current corruption and critique the state by claiming to speak for the nation’s founding generation, who outlined a much more (socially and religiously) tolerant Ireland than came to be. It is a unique and fascinating way to allow authors and activists to “speak for” the 1916 rebels in a disarmingly fun way for audiences, in order to pursue social agendas that align with the vision of Ireland put forth in the 1916 Proclamation. Satire also allows us to think of alternatives to the present, but I would add that it also opens up alternative pasts and futures, and because of its absurdity, allows for the condensation of different temporalities and relationships with historical figures and events.

Therefore, its use of a form of historical consciousness necessitates the present anthropological attention given here.

Though I did not set out to look at historical satire in my fieldwork, and the SMS group that I worked with did not use satire as a primary campaign tactic, they did utilize satirical and over-the-top performative elements in a number of their public campaign events. Specifically, two members of the group created the character of “Hammy” the vulture capitalist (an explicit personification of the idea of the predatory “venture capitalist”), named after Hammerson, the British retail development firm that currently holds 50% share of the area surrounding Moore Street. “Hammy” has attended various events hosted by Save Moore Street on the Street (such as “Brown Envelopes,” among others) and also shown up at social protests hosted by other organizations. Keeping in mind Susana Narotzky’s conceptualization of anti-austerity protests as a “tangle” of moral-political affective arguments (2016), this research specifically builds upon the recent work of Angelique Haugerud (2013) and Daniel Knight (2015), I will trace how historical satire is serious in Dublin, Ireland, when the stakes include the future of Dublin’s “heart and soul.”

In her excellent ethnography of American satirical activism, *No Billionaire Left Behind* (2013), Angelique Haugerud describes the strategies, subjectivities, and public engagements of a group of activists who fashion themselves as the “Billionaires” who campaign for tax cuts for the wealthy, privatization, and corporate deregulation. These activists dress up in costumes that draws upon a public imaginary of “the rich” during America’s “Gilded Age” and Gatsby-esque “Roaring 20s” which were characterized by staggering wealth and equally staggering wealth inequality. As Haugerud argues, “It is up to us spectators then to historicize the present, to perceive the implied link between the early twenty-first century and earlier wealth bubbles”

(2013:23). The Billionaires also dressed up as America's Founding Fathers (wearing late 18th century costumes) to protest the 2010 Citizens United Supreme Court ruling (2013:26). Though the historical nature of the Billionaires' campaign is not Haugerud's primary analytical focus, I argue that activists' use of well-known historical images allows for their audience to critically reflect on common narratives of social and economic progress through linear historical time. In other words, how far have we *really* come since the days of the Gilded Age robber barons and corrupt political machines, such as Tammany Hall? Have we perhaps gone backwards instead?

Questioning the past and present opens up the possibility of questioning the future, or various potential futures. The Billionaires not only present a cheeky critique of contemporary power relations, but also offer "matters more ineffable: a spirit of hope, a moral sensibility" (Haugerud 2013:15). The future *can* be different, if we all recognize the absurd unfairness of the current system. Thus, in the United States and Ireland, while the Billionaires and SMS activists dress in historical costumes, they are future oriented. They claim that they offer "a moral vision of a more just future, not a romanticized vision of the past, inspires progressive ironic activism" (13). Neringa Klumbytė (2014) and Daniel Knight (2015a; 2015b) both build upon Haugerud's theorization of satirical activism in Lithuania and Greece, respectively. They show that wit and humor at the expense of politicians allows subjects to construct future oriented counternarratives to the status quo that explore alternative forms of moral citizenship (Klumbytė) and historical consciousness (Knight).

My research builds upon this body of literature by bringing together the moral and historical subjectivities explored by Klumbytė (2014) and Knight (2015a; 2015b) to explore activists' understandings of their own responsibility and sense of duty to progress a historical vision for the country that was established in 1916. This vision, declared in the Proclamation of

the Irish Republic, has not yet come into fruition, but *still can*, if citizens do not resign themselves to the corruption of the current neoliberal system.

Irish Political Satire

As mentioned previously, Irish literary satire has a long and complex tradition in Ireland. The most famous early example of this is Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729), in which he suggests that the way to control the Catholic population includes eating babies. Later, Maria Edgeworth satirized Anglo-Irish landlordism in her novel *Castle Rackrent* (1800), in which a Catholic tenant tells the story of an increasingly careless landholding family, which was published as the Act of Union dissolved the Irish Parliament and thus landlords had less incentive to stay in Ireland and instead moved to London and ran their estates through growing absenteeism. Later examples of Irish satire include the dark comedy of Flann O'Brien (1930s-1950s) that satirize lingering post-colonial attitudes toward the Irish (Kiberd 1995) and even the contextualized stylistics found in the cult classic TV series *Father Ted* (late 1990s), which satirizes the Irish Catholic Church by exploring the absurd adventures of three fictional priests (each who exhibit satirical characteristics of the clergy: drunk, cunning, and unintelligent) (Simpson 2000).

Most relevant to the current work, it can be argued that Save Moore Street activists' favorite 1916 leader, James Connolly, wrote a biting piece of satire entitled "Be Moderate/We Only Want the Earth" (1907), (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) in which he juxtaposes a universal strategy for socialism with more mainstream "moderation." Cathal, SMS activist and singer, has transformed the piece (which was likely not originally intended to be sung) into a song, which he performed during the group's weekly tabling event. Interestingly, he performed it

to the tune of an earlier nationalist ballad, “A Nation Once Again” (Thomas Davis, c.1840s)¹⁷ and modified it with a call-and-response chorus.

Waterford Whispers News

In addition to the historically-minded activists at the center of this research, popular pundits, opinion columnists, and of course, politicians used the 2016 commemorations to reflect on the country’s history. Against the state’s commemorative program calling for Reflection and Reconciliation, few captured the feelings of anger and disappointment as well as the satirical website *Waterford Whispers News* (WWN) managed to do in their 1916-related content, released primarily during early 2016. WWN can be considered Ireland’s version of *The Onion*, functioning as a website with text and video stories poking fun at national and international politics (“‘Build Homes:’ Genius Minister Solves Housing Crisis”) as well as more mundane “local” news (“Film Student Shares Picture from Latest Shoot Like It’s Lord of the F*cking Rings”). As the centenary of the Easter Rising approached, like the politicians, WWN featured content reflecting on how the country has changed since 1916, and like the activists, they also represented the 1916 leaders’ disappointment with the current Irish state.

On March 22, 2016, WWN released a 1:20 minute Facebook video titled “Geophysical Survey Images Show Pádraig Pearse Turning in His Grave” which shows that archaeologists have found that Pearse, a leader of the Easter Rising and key author of the Proclamation, is literally rolling in his grave in response to the “hypocrisy” surrounding the state’s centenary celebrations. The video does not explain exactly what elements of the centenary are hypocritical,

¹⁷ Cathal justified this on his blog in this way: “There was no indication of to what air the song should be sung (quite common, the expectation being that being would use a popular air at the time) and it has been put to at least three airs...Cathal sings it to the air of A Nation Once Again (by Thomas Davis, ‘Young Irelander’) which is the air he heard it sung by Cornelius Cardew, an English communist composer. This air suits it, and the arrangement provides a chorus in which people can join” (January 26, 2018).

so that is meant to be understood already by the audience (corruption of political officials, social inequalities, etc.). The “reporter” shares the expert testimony of an archaeologist who has conducted geophysical research on the site to determine that Pearse is rolling counterclockwise “to roll back time” because he disapproves of the state’s centenary program. The reporter then shares that this is not unprecedented activity—James Connolly had previously rolled in a similar fashion when Labour (the party he founded) went into coalition with Fine Gael (the conservative, most neoliberal party) and helped usher in very unpopular programs such as Job Bridge (a welfare-to-work program that ended in 2017) and Irish Water (privatizing water utilities through monitoring, the reason behind Ireland’s largest modern protests). Comments are overwhelmingly positive, and a few explicitly say that this says what they have been thinking. It was “liked” by activists and followers of the public page.

What is important about this clip, its satirical content and the sentiment behind it, is that it serves as an expression of the disconnect between popular public understanding of what the Easter Rising was actually fought *for*, which is the morals enshrined within the Proclamation (equality and tolerance, especially) and the way the state is currently doing to commemorate this event, which to many Irish people seems self-serving more than a genuine honoring of revered Irish historical figures. Ireland has yet to realize these ideals, even after 100 years. As Haugerud explores with the “Billionaires,” Pearse’s rolling remains haunt the establishment (here, the state as it plans the commemorations) and allow us to imagine radical alternative forms of government, economy, and culture to that in the present.

Why Are People Protesting?

It is important to understand the situation that protests disapprove of and hope to change for the future. I will describe earlier periods in another section and begin here with the direct

conditions that produced the “ethnographic present” of this research. The period spanning from the mid-1990s until 2008 is known as the “Celtic Tiger” period or the “boom times” in Ireland, characterized by unprecedented economic expansion, through foreign direct investment in multinational businesses, and construction and development of the built environment. This was achieved through a low tax rate for businesses, but the working class was left behind, and like other neoliberal systems, Ireland suffered a high level of income inequality (McCann 2011:203).

While inequality continues to this day, the Celtic Tiger collapsed following the global financial crisis in 2008. At this time, Ireland entered a financial recession that turned into a full depression in 2009. The banks had offered subprime mortgages to businesses and individuals and supported speculative property development ventures, under the mistaken assumption that the property market would continue to provide little risk to investors (McCann 2011:209). This unsustainable strategy, and Ireland’s economic ties to the United States and other economies, led to the end of the “boom times” in Ireland (209-210). Instead, Irish unemployment dramatically increased, austerity measures were introduced, and the banks were bailed out (their debt became national debt, a political move that the Irish people are extremely critical of). The Fianna Fáil government that enacted these responses to the crash was brutally defeated in the next general election, leading to the current¹⁸ Fine Gael government, which has continued to support neoliberal austerity measures in spite of a continuing housing crisis (Bodkin 2018) and rising wealth and income inequality (Samans et al. 2018).

One response to the recession that is worth mentioning is the creation of the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA) in 2009. This agency was created to take “toxic loans off

¹⁸ Fine Gael formed a government in 2011-2016 with a majority (with support from Labour), then retained control in the current administration through a somewhat tense coalition with Fianna Fáil, from 2016 to the present (May 2018, at the time of this writing).

the banks” (Allen and O’Boyle 2013:9). NAMA worked by buying these loans with government bonds (therefore nationalizing bank debts, mostly to property developers), and then sell them. As of 2013, it has recouped €32 billion, despite assets valued at €74 billion (Allen and O’Boyle 2013; Walsh 2013). NAMA currently holds 12,000 loans and holds 60,000 properties as security for these loans, from 800 debtors (National Asset Management Agency n.d.). NAMA was promised to produce a €5 billion profit for the state and save the banks, in order to re-establish confidence in Ireland’s financial system (Walsh 2013; Allen and O’Boyle 2013). During and since its formation, NAMA has been criticized as a risky investment, an unfair burden on taxpayers in favor of unscrupulous financial institutions, and a secretive organization despite calls for greater public transparency (O’Halloran 2009; Walsh 2013).

As of 2013, one of NAMA’s top debtors was Joe O’Reilly, of Chartered Land (Allen and O’Boyle 2013:9). This company had a portfolio called Project Jewel, which included the profitable and fashionable Dundrum Town Centre in south Dublin, Pavilions Shopping Centre in Swords (near Dublin Airport), and the Dublin Central Development Site, which includes Moore Street and the adjacent laneways used by the rebels during 1916. NAMA took over this loan portfolio, and sold it to Hammerson PLC, a British retail property development firm, and Allianz, a German bank, in 2015. This means that as of the time of writing (August 2017), most of the Moore Street site is in the hands of these overseas capitalist investors¹⁹.

It is quite difficult to understand the current economic situation in Ireland, because there is a disconnect between the wellbeing of the financial sector versus the struggles of ordinary people. As of 2016, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) states that Ireland has had a strong, yet incomplete, recovery from the lowest point of the financial crash (International Monetary

¹⁹ With an exception of 14-17 Moore Street, which is currently a National Monument under state control. This will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Fund 2016). As they report, multinational companies are again making profits in Ireland, private sector job growth has occurred, and there is pre-crisis economic output. However, this does not always translate to better living conditions for average people in Ireland. Household income growth and consumption levels are nowhere near those during the “boom times,” and public sector workers still face pay cuts and austerity-era employment contracts (Klein 2016). As Klein argues (2016), the massive growth of the Irish economy after the recession (between 19-26% in 2015) can be contributed to Ireland’s status as an attractive tax haven for foreign companies (with a corporate tax rate at 12.5%). Thus, their profits do not benefit the Irish taxpayers, and in February 2016, voters took to the polls to punish Fine Gael (and its recent coalition partner, Labour) and Fianna Fáil for austerity policies, despite politicians’ insistence that the recovery is working for Ireland.

During the February 2016 election campaign, the governing party Fine Gael’s re-election slogan was “Keep the Recovery Going,” to the criticism of many Irish people, who fairly asked: what recovery, and for whom? How did the rising GDP help them feed their families and rebuild their savings after austerity? This further supported the feeling that major party politicians were out of touch with ordinary people, a condition that is hardly unique to Ireland. This resulted in a fragile Fine Gael minority government with many Independent TDs²⁰ gaining seats, reflecting voters’ dissatisfaction with the performance of the major parties.

During my fieldwork period, public employees have threatened or held strikes in order to recoup pre-austerity pay and benefits (e.g. nurses, teachers, transport workers, police officers). There were also various public rallies and marches for social and economic change, such as an end to the proposed privatization and monitoring of household water usage, women’s and

²⁰ Teachta Dála, or elected representative in Ireland’s legislature, Dáil Éireann

immigrants' rights, fairer corporate tax policies, and of course, the protection of Moore Street. Like the Easter Rising, most of these events were confined to the Dublin city center and directed by a small group of radical thinkers. However, the fact that many rallies attracted at least 1,000 participants (as far as I could gather at the time), and smaller left-leaning political parties have seen a recent surge in support, it seems that in general, people in Ireland are hungry for social, political, and economic change.

The Irish are not alone in their economic situation: within the European Union (EU) and Eurozone (EU countries which use the euro as currency), Ireland is one of four countries that have been given “economic adjustment” packages by the Troika²¹, along with Portugal, Greece, and Spain. In 2016, Daniel M. Knight and Charles Stewart co-edited a special issue of *History and Anthropology* dedicated to exploring the relationship between historical consciousness and anti-austerity protests in Mediterranean Europe. Based on their regional expertise, they were able to portray the nuances and varieties of historical consciousness within 3 of the 4 “PIGS” nations (Portugal, Ireland, Greece, and Spain), which each received billions of euros from the EU/Troika as a result of bank failures during the global financial crisis. Portugal, Greece, and Spain share greater geographic and cultural proximity to each other than they do to Ireland, which makes Ireland the odd country out of this grouping. This forces us to ask what Ireland has in common with its Mediterranean neighbors, and why it was also forced to take on (predatory?) loans from the EU and agree to harsh austerity measures for citizens. Additionally, what comparisons can be made between the Mediterranean and Irish responses to such economic conditions?

Austerity “applies to situations where societies or individuals that formerly enjoyed a higher standard of consumption must now make do with less” (Knight and Stewart 2016:2). Both

²¹ In this context, the Troika refers to the European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund, which make decisions together about European financial policies (including national bailouts).

Ireland's past economic growth and its subsequent downfall are important here. Knight and Stewart follow Gadamer's conceptualization of 'historical consciousness' (1975b), which refers to how people understand the past and continuously reinterpret it through the lens of their present situation (Knight and Stewart 2016:3). Thus, narratives of "the past" are not fixed, but constantly changing, along with their relative importance to people in the present. This helps us understand European anti-austerity movements because austerity functions as a crisis by rupturing people's everyday understandings of their everyday realities (4), such as the ability to pay bills, hold a previously steady job, or buy fruit from their favorite vendor (who may have been priced out by a low-cost grocery chain). One method to cope with such uncertainty is to draw inspiration from the past.

In the same special issue, Susana Narotzky follows a series of anti-austerity protests in Spain, and argues that citizens feel that their government has become subservient to capitalist forces, at their expense (2016). In Spain, this is historicized by appealing to a longer legacy of 20th century union and working-class activism that resulted in labor rights and privileges that were threatened during austerity (such as public health programs) (80). She makes the astute intervention that "there is no clear-cut distinction between moral and political-economic arguments. Rather there is a tangle that gets increasingly expressed in moral terms and explicitly embedded in a discourse that underlines the failure of the state to protect and care for its citizens" (2016:75-6).

This theoretical framework maps well onto the situation in Ireland, where activists make similar claims, but expressed in more explicit historical terms. My informants argue that the state has not only failed its citizens in the present, but also failed the memory of the nation's founders who fought in 1916 and proclaimed Ireland to be a nation that "cherishes all the children of the

nation equally.” This is the most commonly quoted line from the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic, read at the beginning of the Easter Rising, which is a manifesto of the rebel leaders and an outline of their vision for an ideal future nation. While this section of the Proclamation has long been used to promote religious and ethnic tolerance (especially given the history of sectarianism in Northern Ireland), SMS activists use it to argue for social protections for the poor, drawing on James Connolly’s socialist vision of a utopian Ireland. While the activists detest sectarianism and consider themselves firmly non-partisan, their argument for class-based “cherishing of the children of the nation” is meant as a critique against the neoliberal policies of austerity, tax breaks for multi-national corporations, and bank bailouts at ordinary citizens’ expense.

By critiquing their state’s political situation and comparing it to the ideals of the nation’s founders, Irish activists were making a clearly moral argument. Specifically, they argued that the state failed its fundamental duty to support its citizens, and instead privileges corporations. At a march for Moore Street in July 2016, socialist activist Aisling lays out this framework to an audience of at least 500. She says,

We in this country are acutely aware of how this government and previous governments bow down to big business and property developers. The economic mess we’re in right now are because of the deals and corruption that they entered into in the past...[applause]...So we in Moore Street need to put pressure not only the government but start targeting big business. They’ve gotten away with the destruction of this country for too long!

Additionally, local historian Donal Fallon echoes this sentiment when he calls the audience to critically reflect on the power structures around them:

We should ask ourselves who controls the city. Developers treated the city like Lego blocks for the rich. Profiteers creating the conditions of a housing crisis in the city that we are suffering with today!

Similar to sentiments echoed by populist protesters globally, such activists feel left behind by capitalism. Like the Occupy movement of late 2011, these voices can be considered “... a response to a fundamental crisis of representative politics embodied in an embrace of more radical, directly democratic practices and forms.” (Juris and Razsa 2012). The way that Ireland is currently being legislated, administered, and budgeted is not working for ordinary people who have paid taxes and worked for decades, and thus does not align with the ideals from the Proclamation of 1916. At fault here are both the developers and the state. The developers are expected to seek profit wherever they can, but the state is supposed to protect citizens against corruption. Therefore, the state is betraying its citizens, and the citizens are forced to engage in direct action to make their opinions heard.

Citizens in Ireland, including activists, know that they are not going to topple capitalism overnight (and some of them do not wish to do so). They are simply looking for representation and recognition by the government. This relates to Susana Narotzky’s examination of “dignity” as an anti-austerity protest motivation, connected to a longer 20th century working class struggle for basic rights and comforts (2016). She shows that in Spain, this idea of basic rights entitled to citizens is “ambiguously” connected to a historical struggle by unions and labor organizers. In her ethnography, subjects mention a heritage of social gains made during the mid-20th century, but do not point to specific labor disputes or legislative achievements.

Conversely, in Ireland, such critiques against the state are explicitly tied to the 1916 Proclamation and within the SMS campaign, built upon the work of James Connolly and his allies, including the 1913 Dublin Lockout²² (which was supposedly the first event in the Decade

²² This was a mass labor walkout instigated by Jim Larkin, and co-organized by James Connolly. In August 1913, sixty employees of the *Irish Independent* (still the most popular newspaper in Ireland today) were fired for union membership. Laborers in adjacent industries engaged in a sympathy strike, organized by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU), under Larkin’s leadership. When the strikers rallied on Dublin’s streets and their

of Centenaries but, according to my informants, was met with little public or official fanfare). For example, SMS activists took part in a “March for Connolly” on May 14, 2016 sponsored by the Irish republican socialist party, *éirígí*. This march ended with a rally attended by approximately 100 people, and a speaker called on participants to find inspiration in Connolly’s political legacy to “make real change happen” because the mainstream parties have failed Irish citizens. During this rally, veteran activist Maura Harrington argued that, “Today, the enemies of Connolly and Pearse and all those men and women who suffered, fought, and died for this country are myriad. They’re the corporations, they’re the *slibhín* (cunning tricksters), they’re the shits in suits who call themselves Irish who will facilitate and deliver to the highest bidder.” She was met with cheers and applause. Harrington’s words provide a historical critique of Irish state corruption that would not be out of place amongst groups of friends privately complaining about “the system” and “that shower of *gombeens*” running the country. The fact that these statements were made within the context of a march honoring James Connolly that took place only three weeks after the centenary of the Rising (April 24th) opened the opportunity for a historical slant to this common critique.

Another important facet to Harrington’s critique is what it illuminates about the politics of Irish identity. The Irish state and developers may *call themselves Irish*, but according to this group, they cannot lay claim to this identity. This critique can be historicized in that it echoes colonial-era critiques of the Anglo-Irish as “foreigners,” which supports the Irish nationalist separatist agenda. However, as we know from theorists of post-colonialism, especially Ann Stoler (2006; 2009; 2013) and Jennifer Cole (2001), any lines separating “foreign colonial

confrontations with opponents and law enforcement became violent and the conflict prolonged into October, Connolly organized the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) to serve as security force to protect striking laborers. The ICA would later participate in the Easter Rising under Connolly’s leadership.

rulers” from “native colonial subject” are always blurred by relationships of intimacy, friendships, and community-level politics. Furthermore, there is another important facet to the claim that Harrington’s “gombeens” should not be considered Irish, and that is that these powerful actors gave up their claim to Irish identity by betraying some imaginary ideals of Irish national identity. They have retreated from the “imagined community” of “the Irish” (Anderson 2006) by making deals that profit themselves and British financial actors over the Irish people. They are thus modern colonial collaborators, like the agents and overseers of the hated plantation system of the 16th-19th century (which parallels exploitative colonial projects around the world and has been the topic of a wealth of anthropological and historical research²³).

Historicizing Protests

I consider two ways to consider how contemporary protests²⁴ in Ireland are “historical:” first, if they contain historical content or historicize the present, and second, as they are thought to make history by entering into either national or local historical narratives in the future. In the first way, both Aisling and Fallon also historicize the current sociopolitical crisis, by tracing how it was created through corrupt deals between the state and big businesses. As Aisling says, the state “bowing down” to businesses is nothing new and is the cause of the financial crisis. In this case, activities that occurred 10-15 years ago are conceived as part of history. The banks, developers, and TDs were able to get away with their speculations previously because no one opposed them. However, now that activists are making a stand, they argue that the people can—collectively—change the course of Irish history and break this cycle of corruption. Specifically,

²³ For example, Wing Sang Law’s (2009) analysis of collaborators in colonial Hong Kong is an excellent historiographical investigation of this issue. Furthermore, David Turkon (2008) explains contemporary social inequalities in Lesotho as a remnant of colonial collaborations and artificial social divisions.

²⁴ For this research, I consider protests since the financial crisis of 2008 as “contemporary.”

for Irish activists campaigning against austerity (and the unbridled capitalist development that proceeded it²⁵, and arguably created the conditions for such austerity in the first place), this means asking what the Revolutionary Generation would do, and measuring oneself against their actions.

The second way that these campaign activities can be seen as historical is that they *make* history. Both the 1916 Easter Rising and the contemporary Save Moore Street campaign can be considered historical because organizers (and many participants, according to witness statements and memoirs for the former²⁶ and my interviews for the latter) were conscious of how they constructed an image of themselves and their cause for others to interpret not only contemporaneously but also in the future.

For the Rising, the task of historical interpretation has beguiled scholars for a century²⁷. One (simplified) debate that has emerged from various readings of it concerns to what extent the Rising was a genuine military engagement, and to what extent it was symbolic street theater. Like most historical and current movements, the truth is most likely that it is a bit of both, and the individual participants' motivations for action vary. This is one of the great narratives of the Rising—it was driven by a coalition between cultural nationalists (like Patrick Pearse) and socialists (like James Connolly), and these people had very different ideologies and visions for an Ireland outside of the British Empire in 1916. I think that the fact that it is not easily

²⁵ To explore this, I will treat Ireland's Celtic Tiger economic politics and austerity politics as a single phenomenon—Ireland's capitalist era, which depends on foreign direct investment to sustain the GDP.

²⁶ (e.g. Rosa 1992; O'Malley 2001; Skinnider 2016)

²⁷ There are so many books and articles on this, especially as the Centenary approached (e.g. Thompson 1982; Caulfield 1995; Foy and Barton 2000; Ward 2003; Coogan 2005; Githens-Mazer 2006; Wills 2009; Graff-McRae 2010; McGarry 2011; Townshend 2011; Collins 2012; Collins and Caulfield 2014; Dorney 2014; Bunbury 2015; Ferriter 2015; Godson and Bruck 2015; Heartfield and Rooney 2015; Molyneux and Kelly 2015; O'Keeffe 2015; Allen 2016; de Paor 2016; Gibney 2016; Grayson and McGarry 2016).

categorized, and incorporates elements of both performativity and real, violent combat has easily solidified its position as the most important event in modern Irish history.²⁸

History Makers

Regarding this century's SMS campaign, those involved have shared their consciousness about how they are part of history in the making. Steven, a filmmaker who documents the campaign's highlights and shares his material online, most clearly articulates this perspective. He says,

It's nice to be part of a fight where you are part of with the weight stacked against you, you know, and you're not expected to win, but you know you're right, like, like, look, let's say they destroy there, at least I can say, I did what I could. You know, let's say if they win there, you can say I was there when it mattered, do you know? So, win-win, for myself, like in terms of looking back. It would be lovely if it could be kept, I really hope it does...I think the fight is historic, I think which everybody misses, **I think everyone's there 'oh save the history,' but everybody's missing the fact that the fight to save it is the history as well**, and if its documented, it'd be nice to see how that fight will play out.

I will return to an analysis of activists' imaginaries of the future, and their affective connections to Moore Street and the Easter Rising in later sections, but for now, it is important to appreciate Steven's point that being part of the campaign is an end in itself. It is a moral decision to position oneself on the "right" side of history. Similarly, in the aftermath of the Easter Rising in 1916, the common joke is that everyone's grandfather was in the GPO during Easter Week (Wills 2009). More seriously, the GPO Garrison of the 1916 Relatives Association is the largest section of the organization, according to Mary, a previous officer in the executive committee for this group.

²⁸ There's SO much here, that I'm not sure one footnote will suffice. I will most likely incorporate it into another section that directly engages with activists' understandings of history, which I can weave in with what we know of the thoughts and writings from those in the Revolutionary Generation (from a wealth of archival sources). In the era surrounding WWI, the idea of blood sacrifice was more prominent in people's minds, as well as military honor. Patrick Pearse was the "face" and "voice" of the Rising, which was a calculated decision by the more strategic leaders such as Thomas Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada. Connolly seems to have been a bit more ambivalent.

Of course, there are ways to make one's mark on Irish history aside from familial association with the most active members of the Revolutionary Generation, including the heritage activism of the Save Moore Street campaign, and their documented participation in public activities. Similarly, in the United States, Angelique Haugerud asks who is allowed to make history: "Public imagination in the early 21st century is haunted by specters of financial calamity, environmental catastrophe, predatory corporations, and Wall Street robber barons...in hard times, political satire and irony flourish. Should we then count comedic satirists—though often consigned to the peripheries—among the makers of history?" (Haugerud 2013:19) Based on this research, I must give a strongly affirmative response. Activists, whether satirical or not, are making histories large and small every day.

Additionally, since Haugerud published *No Billionaire Left Behind* in 2013, social media has allowed exponentially greater exposure to those hoping to sway the public in support of their cause²⁹. With this in mind, each of the following performances were met with small in-person audiences but have since been viewed over 1,200 times on Facebook and YouTube³⁰, thanks to Cathal, Finn, Erik, and Steven. I also recorded each event for my own data, and I participated in "Nightmare on Moore Street" by dressing up as a "ghost" as well, though I passively took directions while I recorded, so as not to disrupt the general flow of the ethnographic scene unfolding in front of me.

Brown Envelopes: Street Theater (June 25th, 2016)

²⁹ Of course, the most infamous example of this during 2016 concerned the US Presidential election, Facebook, and Cambridge Analytica, the results and effects of which are still coming into public consciousness.

³⁰ As of October 2018, a short clip of Finn as Hammy that was posted to the group's Facebook page has been viewed in full or partially 643 times. A YouTube video by Steven about the "Brown Envelopes" performance was viewed 618 times.

Satire was a key feature of pieces of street theater used by the Save Moore Street campaign to highlight the recent development plans to demolish the street and market and replace it with a massive shopping center and a “shoebox museum” to the 1916 Rising, which ended on this street. For this research, I found that the Save Moore Street activists understood themselves as historical subjects and thus performed such a position as part of their work with the campaign. They draw inspiration from, and use rhetoric connected to, the 1916 Rising and other previous social-political movements to construct a useful condensed image to project to the public, which can be found both on the street in real-time, and online via social media platforms. Activists most often specifically tie their grievances against the current neoliberal state to the revolutionary tradition of early 20th century Irish republicanism and working-class socialism, but also look to earlier heritage restoration projects (both successful and failed) in the city. A key argument of their campaign is that those who fought in the Rising would not want the proposed retail development to proceed and demand more community-oriented and respectful redevelopment of the area.

Essentially, “Brown Envelopes” is a work of street theater. Finn is dressed in a suit and bird mask, portraying a vulture-like greedy developer, who hands an oversized brown envelope to the current Minister for Heritage, played by Aisling in a mask of this minister’s face, with holes poked out for eyes, so she could see. However, it had the result of making the mask, and thus its wearer, look rather creepy to me and to others. Finn starts the performance by shouting, “Sell Moore Street for Demolition!” which is a play on his usual slogan “Save Moore Street from Demolition!” This would be known by members of the campaign and those who frequent the street and have interacted with the group before, but likely not the occasional passersby or

tourists. It is then an inside joke for campaigners, but also a jarring statement to hear for those not familiar with the campaign—why would anyone shout such a thing?

I was not able to sit in on planning meetings for this event because the SMS group that I worked closest with often never held any. For most of their events, logistics are planned through text messages between Finn and Cathal, who are often the lead organizers. Erik provides support as necessary, and Carmel comes on Saturdays and sometimes brings in props as needed. There is an “Internal” Facebook page that is used to coordinate events as well, only for those who regularly attend the stall on Saturdays. I was in the group for a year, but I tried to limit my contributions in order to see how the others worked without me. However, I would contribute when asked for any input.

The brown envelope itself is decorated with €50 notes “stuffed” inside, and photos are taken as the two characters shake hands. Finn is holding a “Dublin City Council” shopping bag, to symbolize DCC’s implication in granting the planning permission to the developer in the first place and renewing their permission up to 2022 (true at the time of writing). The symbol of the brown envelope itself is well known in Ireland as the method for corrupt government-private sector business deals made outside of the public’s knowledge.

As the two are shaking hands, two ‘ghosts of the past’ repel them both with their bodies and voices, thus fighting back against the vulture and distrusted minister and these characters’ vision of a profitable development devoid of historical context and reverence. Then, once Steven and others have taken enough photos and videos of this, Cathal (one of the “ghosts”) invites onlookers to join him, to show that “modern people” are on the side of the “ghosts.” One of the people joining in holds a bag of oranges, which campaigners asked him to hold up high because it symbolizes the Moore Street market, famous for inexpensive fruit from personable local

women. Together, those from the past and present are able to “defeat” their enemies, who cower away until “cut!” is called. Everyone joins together for a laugh, and Aisling can’t wait to take off her sweaty mask.

The “Nightmare on Moore Street” performance similarly pitted Hammy against the ghosts of the past, but included additional characters, such as a vampire and faceless “developers” and builders on the side of “evil,” and a fortune teller on the side of “good.” This event took place on October 29th, 2016, just in time for Halloween. Acting as the director, Cathal instructs the “ghosts” not to smile and laugh, because “you’re fighting for our freedom” within this performance. Hammy and the vampire (played by Mary, a 1916 relative and supporter of the campaign) affect spookiness within their taunts to the “ghosts,” asking: “Who’s afraid of a little demolition?”

“Hamming” It Up

In an interview in early 2017, Finn explicitly describes his alter-ego “Hammy” as a *commedia dell’arte* character, and explains that:

I pretty much improvised on the street...just as a means of livening it up, and I suppose, you know, it's a technique that you become less conscious about it and just immerse yourself into the character behind the mask any way you go, so that was basically it...I was trying to provoke reactions from the people, they have to rise up, but there wasn't much rising up, I was trying to get a rise out of them, if you like, but I think they were all a bit, must be too in your face, but there was nothing I could do, once I was in character, standing there, like I know I'm tall and stuff, so it's a big character in your face, so, and it seemed to kind of bridge and work, and **I'm a great believer in using humor to ridicule your opposition**, rather than you know, because I think sometimes you bring people on side more, like they kind of have a laugh about somebody else, people love slagging off [playfully mocking] other people, why not do it to the big, bad developers? **It's great material.**

Here, Finn describes his role as the vulture capitalist as “great material” because the character demands our attention. This is similar to one of Hauregard’s “Billionaire” informants, who said, “I imagine if we had just been carrying signs in a normal protest march we might not have gotten the smiles we got. For me personally, I get a lot of energy from making people laugh” (2013:17). Another SMS activist, Bridget, provides many of the costumes used in street performances, and agrees with this sentiment, because she has seen that it works. Bridget told me that passersby stop to engage with her more when she is dressed up than when she participates in a non-satirical protest because they are curious and think that perhaps they have stumbled upon a film set.

Finn is conscious of the fact that he has created quite the eye-catching character. At over 6 feet tall, and with a booming stage-ready voice, he can dominate the physical and auditory space on the street. This is significant because Finn places a great deal of importance on his group’s continuous presence on the street, as they collect signatures and raise awareness of the street’s current troubles. In addition to satirizing the developers, by dressing in an ironic costume, he is also subverting the usual script that the group uses and personifying the shadowy forces (of corrupt politicians, greedy developers, and brown envelope deals) that the group usually can only allude to or describe in their absence. Thus, the vulture is both scary and funny—scary because he symbolizes real threats to social values of fairness and respect for history, and funny because it takes a 6’ tall man in a bird beak to get our attention on these matters.

Aside from these two performances, SMS’s public activities are mainly non-satirical. However, members of the campaign enjoy participating in these satirical performances and believe that they are strategically useful. As Haugerud explains, any tangible results or effects of satire “...are usually difficult to trace, and scholars of humor debate its radical or reformist

potential. Yet there can be little doubt that satire can reshape political imaginations in ways dictators and other leaders have long found threatening, and ordinary citizens have found inspiring” (2013:19, see also Haugerud 2017:183–207). Could it be said that political satire is created and performed to haunt the establishment, or at least put their voices on the (historical) record?

The Ghosts of the Past

“Here be ghosts that I have raised...ghosts of dead men that have bequeathed a trust to us living men. Ghosts are troublesome things in a house or in a family, as we have known even before Ibsen taught us. There is only one way to appease a ghost. You must do the thing it asks you. The ghosts of a nation sometimes ask very big things; and they must be appeased, whatever the cost...”

Patrick Pearse, December 1915

Five months after composing these words, Pearse would be executed for his leadership of the Easter Rising, a 6-day rebellion in Dublin against British rule of Ireland. At noon on Monday April 24, 1916, he read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic to a small group of curious onlookers outside of the General Post Office in the center of Dublin, before a contingent of armed volunteers stormed the building and used it as their first headquarters. The Proclamation, included in the dissertation’s Prelude, opens with: “In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood...”. Thus, it starts with the very explicit and clear demands of ghosts!

Having analyzed the satirical elements of “Brown Envelopes” and “Nightmare on Moore Street” in the previous chapter, I shift my attention in this chapter to the “good” characters: the “ghosts of the past.” With regard to these “ghosts,” I decided to begin my analysis by taking the activists’ performance at face value and build an ethnographically informed theory from the

ground up, primarily following the work of fellow “ghost hunting” anthropologists Heonik Kwon (2008) and Mai Lan Gustaffson (2009) in their research on Vietnam.

In the case of Moore Street, the activists label their performance as a confrontation between developers and the “ghosts of the past,” so how can that be interpreted? What does it mean or imply about relations between Irish citizens, and their state, and their history?

A Unique Local Hauntology?

Hauntology (Derrida 1994) refers to that which affects us in unsettling, uncanny ways while remaining unseen. Ghosts are ambiguous, but still able to move us to action. Tracing the development of this idea, beyond Derrida’s initial invention of “hauntology,” Lincoln and Lincoln categorize hauntings by primary and secondary (2015). Primary haunting refers to cases of animate ghostly subjects returning to demand rituals that will allow them to transition to an afterlife and evoke fear from the living. Secondary haunting refers to the textually-mediated “ghostly matters” such as those described by sociologist Avery Gordon (1997) that evoke anxiety but then compassion.³¹ Both call us to do things, but primary ghosts often ask for specific rituals, whereas secondary ghosts call us to continue a fight for justice against powerful forces that had wronged them in the past.

The “ghosts” we see here take on a distinctly Irish form, created from a narrative of the legacy of nationalist struggle and blood sacrifice. This concept of “blood sacrifice” was more a product of the nationalist uprisings of the 19th and early 20th century in Europe, and on a larger scale, during World War I. As Jean Elshtain notes, war stories from this period seemed to

³¹ “Secondary Haunting” is often traced back to Derrida’s *Spectres of Marx* (1994), in which Derrida develops the idea of “hauntology” to describe how the ideals of and potentiality of Marxism (as an alternative to neoliberalism and capitalism) continue to haunt the post-USSR world order. In a parallel way, the memory of James Connolly’s Marxist vision for Ireland is one of the primary narratives of SMS activists. I examine the legacy and historical memory of Connolly in a subsequent chapter of this dissertation, and plan to return to this idea later.

indicate that “the young man goes to war not so much to kill as to die, to forfeit his particular body for the larger body [his nation]” (1991:395). This idea was refined by Irish thinkers, especially Pearse, who argued that generations of sacrifice of Irish lives (in the various uprisings throughout British colonialism on the island) have served as such a sacrifice, but more is needed to finish the nationalist project. The dead Irish nationalists remain with the living, to haunt the living into action and work towards their common goal. Speaking at the 1915 funeral for the Fenian leader Jeremiah O’Donovan Rossa, Pearse declares,

In a closer spiritual communion with him now than ever before or perhaps ever again, in a spiritual communion with those of his day, living and dead, who suffered with him in English prisons, in communion of spirit too with our own dear comrades who suffer in English prisons to-day, and speaking on their behalf as well as our own, we pledge to Ireland our love, and we pledge to English rule in Ireland our hate...Life springs from death; and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. The Defenders of this Realm have worked well in secret and in the open. They think that they have pacified Ireland. They think that they have purchased half of us and intimidated the other half. They think that they have foreseen everything, think that they have provided against everything; but the fools, the fools, the fools! — they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

In this speech, as well as his other writings and later actions, Pearse explicitly lays out a local hauntology rooted in nationalist struggle. Ghosts will haunt us in more or less explicit ways and serve as martyrs to a glorious cause that is worth dying for. Only complete (political, economic, and social) sovereignty for Ireland will appease these ghosts, and both their blood and ours must be shed to “spring to life” the new Irish nation.

Like Pearse’s ghosts a century earlier, the “ghosts” on Moore Street are not mediated by living human re-enactors. They are not specific individuals per se, but those who “fought for our freedom” and are not yet at rest, because in their view, Ireland has not yet shaking the yoke of international control. Instead of the political control of the British Empire, Ireland is subjected to

economic control at the hands of the EU/Troika, and especially its biggest trading partner, Great Britain, and Moore Street specifically is certainly under British control.

This is why the “ghosts” are not allowed to smile—continuing the fight for Irish freedom against developers is serious business, even when the developer himself is funny. By dressing up and “resisting” the development plan, activists claim to speak FOR the those who fought in the Easter Rising. At the same time, they are satirizing the developers and state officials seen as responsible for this plan, whose actions shame the memory of 1916 and thus betray the goals that the revolutionary generation fought for, and successive Irish governments should have pursued. As they tell me, Patrick Pearse and his allies did not fight and die for a bank bailout that would cripple future generations of Irish people.

Cathal's Perspective

Because he is very involved in planning these events and has thought quite a bit about them, I wanted to ask Cathal about his experience and thoughts around costumed events. I have included an extended section of our conversation below:

E: I think it's interesting how you have the people in period costume versus the developers

C: Yeah it was to say this is that this was our, you know, this was part of our heritage, and our history which from the past which they're trying to take away but I always try and **it's not so easy to do that in kind of figurative way, to represent also that it's our future, you know because people without history are easier to control and their future is easier to control, and I also see history...as a tree with our roots in the past, our trunk in the present, and our branches stretching out to possible futures**

E: and so, you've been dressing up a few times

C: Yes I've dressed up in, I don't have a uniform, so I would normally wear a big coat, either black or brown, with a hat, you know, a broad brimmed hat well, and I had one which I pinned up like Finn's there, to look a bit like what they used to

call a Boer hat, of course it was around before that, has another name which I can't remember, here in Ireland it was called a Boer hat, because in the Second Boer War [1899-1902], towards the end of the previous century, the Boers had worn that fighting the British and there was an Irish contingent, which fought against them and of course, their organizer and leader was in the 1916 Rising as well [Major John MacBride, executed after the Rising among the leaders], and was shot probably for that rather than for the 1916 Rising.

E: And are you trying to be any specific person?

C: No, never, never trying to be a specific person. I never could see a point in that, except for a play or something like that, **represent people from that time. [I am] representing I suppose, resistance, struggle.**

E: And do you feel any different dressing in different costumes or?

C: not that much, I mean **I try and live up to what I'm dressed in, but I don't feel it invests me with a different personality or aura**, no. If I'm performing a song, for instance, I try because I might just sing a song, but sometimes I'm performing a song, which means that there'd be gestures, and things like that in it, posture, and then I would try and convey what the song is saying or what I think the song is saying, so in that sense, but no not really, and in fact I have to fight against a little bit of embarrassment as well, you know, **feeling like I'm putting on some kind of air or something or representing people I'm not fit to represent.**

What struck me here is though Cathal first said that he didn't feel any different when he put on his costume, he shared that such clothes came with a weight far greater than just the fabric. He had to do them justice, in order to do this historical period (the Revolutionary Decade, 1913-1923) justice. He is not embodying (or empathizing with) a specific person, but an idea that those who wore the same clothes represent today. He is also making the statement that the Irish have a history, specifically a history of uprisings against perceived injustices. Thus, they cannot be easily manipulated by outside forces of power. This serves not only as a direct critique of a state

that does not honor its history (in the activists' eyes), but as a reminder to the members of the public passing by that Ireland has a history worth remembering, and in this case, learning from³².

In order to more deeply understand Cathal's historical experience in 1916 period costume, I interviewed two Irish professional reenactors and took part in the "Nightmare on Moore Street" as a "ghost" myself, and then in 2017, a reenactment festival in Southern California (with a group that performs as the 3rd West Cork Brigade during the Irish War of Independence, 1921-2). I wanted to learn both first- and second-hand how it felt to dress historically.

Reenactments

Though the SMS activists do not engage in straightforward historical reenactment, like the American Civil War reenactors studied by Rebecca Schneider (2011), forms of reenactment function as historical remainders that problematize the Western conception of linear time. This concept of temporality has been thoroughly shown to be a peculiarity of Western cultural history, as anthropologists have described alternative forms of timekeeping and historicity across many non-Western societies (see Hirsch and Stewart 2005). However, Schneider's work, and my own, shows that even within the geographical-cultural areas known as the "West," time and history are not solely linear, and people do find ways to experience the past, often in affective ways. Schneider explores the ways that reenactors "feel" history atmospherically through dressing, gesturing, speaking, and eating as if they were in the 1860s. Though one of Schneider's informants told her that they "fight" in reenacted battles "because the history books don't get it right, so we have to," they often do so out of public view (2011:39, 33). Thus, they preserve

³² An important difference is that today, the idea of blood sacrifice for a common good has thankfully fallen out of favor as a tool for political and social change. Most activists are not willing to put themselves in harm's way (or be arrested) for the campaign to Save Moore Street. Some have consulted legal counsel to be sure that they stay within the bounds of the law in their activities.

history themselves, and attempt to copy historical events and scenarios as exactly as possible, to preserve them (40).

Similarly, Irish professional reenactors (“historical educators”) John and Tom strive for factual and “authentic” representation of the past in their presentations to schoolchildren, community organizations, and museum events. Like the American Civil War reenactors, they want to teach history in an engaging and affective way and have received overwhelmingly positive feedback from their audiences of all ages. Like Cathal said, John and Tom do not perform as specific historical figures, but strive to represent “ordinary people, because we feel ordinary people are the ones that are forgotten.” This includes women who acted in both combat and auxiliary roles during the Rising, as well as those who did not participate in leadership roles (and thus did not enter the pantheon of nationalist heroes for future generations).

To John and Tom, their reenactments fit within the moral domain of hauntology: they see the purpose of their work as “serving the interest of the dead generations, in some respect, as they talk about themselves in their own time.” They do this by introducing local participants of the Rising around different small towns outside of Dublin, so that the audience can connect the history of their own community with larger historical events that seem (to those not in Dublin) to only be marginally relevant to their own histories. By bringing forgotten historical subjects into present people’s consciousness, John and Tom feel that they are successful in their mission to honor and hear the ghosts of the past.

This motivation is similar to Cathal’s assessment that he wishes to live up to the legacy that the Revolutionary Generation left and carry on their struggle for a more just and less corrupt Ireland in the future. What separates Cathal’s reenactment and historical dress from professional and hobbyist reenactments is the fact that it is less about replicating the past than it is about

invoking the past. Though he wears a specific style of hat that was popular among participants in the Rising, he does not own a professionally made uniform and instead wears contemporary clothes that are similar to 1916 era menswear. Cathal arranges the positions of the “ghosts” from those dressed in 1916-era clothing to modern clothing (and therefore, anyone was welcome to take part and had a part to play in this historical legacy of struggle against the “evils” opposed to a Proclamation-esque vision of Ireland’s potential future). The effort toward historical accuracy (however successful) suffices, because this performance is not meant to be an exact reenactment, and therefore different from John and Tom, and Schneider’s American informants. Instead, like Haugerud’s Billionaires, Cathal and the “ghosts” perform historical subjectivity to draw attention to the present situation and move people to act for the good of the future. A gesture toward the revolutionary-era past is all that is required here, in order to alert the audience to the historicity of the image created.

Funny, Angry Ghosts

What is most striking about both “Brown Envelopes” and “Nightmare on Moore Street” is that it provides an image of conflict between the comically corrupt developers (supported by the state) and those who wish to preserve Ireland’s heritage in order to honor the nation’s founders. The motivation behind creating these images is the dissatisfaction of the SMS activists, and their drive to enact the change they would like to see in their home city and country.

The air of solemnity that Cathal tried (with some success) to impart upon the “ghosts” at first seems at odds with the comedic satire of Hammy and his friends; however, I think the juxtaposition of these elements creates an effect that is greater than the sum of its parts. Both satire and ghosts can be considered uncanny, because they bring into view that which has been hidden and unsettle people into questioning or reexamining their surroundings. However, they

are quite different phenomena, and to call this display “uncanny” is not accurate in a strict Freudian sense. According to Susanna Trnka’s assessment of the Freudian difference between jokes and the uncanny:

There is thus an important distinction between the feeling of the uncanny and the emotion produced by jokes. Both are incited by a return of something unconscious, but the joke is intentional, it is clearly produced by us (Freud 1963:65). The uncanny, however, has the appearance of being outside of our control and of originating outside of us. (2011)

So, these performances show that the scene is certainly intentional, created by activists for a specific purpose. Therefore, though these ghosts are a representation of the return of a past, they are not uncanny. But if these “ghosts” are not uncanny, then what are they? And how should we think about the ways in which satire and the uncanny affect us in similar ways?

To tie back to Section 2, it is important to recall *why* the “ghosts of the past” should be conjured in this space and time. To recall, 2016 felt like a liminal economic period for Ireland, neither past the effects of austerity, nor in a clear recession (as a factor of GDP and market strength); this disconnect fostered a “winter of discontent,” in John’s words. I recall multiple strikes and threatened strikes and heard the complaints of many people who felt as if the cost of living was rising faster than they could afford. I followed SMS activists as they participated in large-scale rallies and protests against utility privatization, austerity, and the bailout. People feel as if they are going backward from the goals that their grandparents fought so hard for. Moore Street is thus a synecdoche or symptom of the social ills brought by unbridled capitalism and privatization. I began this section with the Proclamation of the Irish Republic from 1916 because it presented a vision of a sovereign Ireland, free from external control, and putting the needs of citizens central to the national project. This vision of Ireland has not yet come to pass and remains to “haunt” the establishment.

Additionally, perhaps we need to expand our academic ideas about what counts as hauntology, especially to consider local epistemologies of ghosts and justice for the future. Those I worked closely with are very well read in Irish history and are aware of the rhetoric of the “ghosts of a nation” described by Pearse, 6 months before he himself became a member of this ghostly pantheon of Irish rebel leaders. They are staking their claim that they hear these ghosts and are taking a stand for the ideals that the ghosts call for. They speak for the ghosts, and claim that saving Moore Street, seen as sacred for its connection to the Rising, from an international development would honor Ireland’s revolutionary ghosts. They are on the “right” side of history and hope to be remembered in this way when they also become ghosts for a new generation.

What comes out of these performances is, essentially, a moral lesson: history, and figures from it, demand our respect and reverence, but the developers and current politicians do not, because they have not earned it. Instead, they have tarnished the legacy that those from 100 years ago bestowed upon us in subsequent generations. Those from the Revolutionary Generation are treated as exemplars for us to follow as well as ghosts for us to heed (Robbins 2017). By heeding the call of the ghostly exemplars, activists are engaging in a moral pursuit. Here, I follow Joel Robbins’ concept of the exemplar to understand the role of Irish revolutionary ghosts. Robbins argues that this idea provides an explanation of how people discover moral direction, instead of discovering a moral code through “culture” (which is currently unpopular as an explanatory force in anthropology) (156). Values are important because they motivate actions, and our value systems conform to general trends (so we can interact meaningfully with others) (158). Using the simple idea of “culture” to explain how these values come to be meaningful for individuals no longer satisfies anthropologists in the post-modern era, so Robbins seeks to fill the theoretical

void with his concept of the “example/exemplar.” He defines examples as “concretely existing realizations of single values in their fullest forms...that solicit our attention” (159-160).

Furthermore, “In any given society there are specific people—living and historical—who are well-known for having cultivated the ability to realize one or other value, and who thus stand as exemplary in relation to it” (161). As Robbins explains, we follow these exemplars because we have “faith” in them, and their examples influence the formation of our own moralities.

The idea that those in the Revolutionary Generation are both ghosts and moral exemplars. The primary purpose of these concepts is the sharing of moral imperatives within a sociocultural setting. Exemplars, as Robbins outlines, are often living people (or can be mythical characters), and actively or passively instruct others how to live morally correct lives. Ghosts are less tangible and obvious (as outlined by Derrida, Gordon, and “secondary haunting” by Lincoln and Lincoln), but when their traces are felt, they affect us in ways that impact the way we see the moral frameworks of the world around us. Using these ideas, Ireland’s Revolutionary Generation fall into both categories because they really lived and acted in a way to inspire others to join their cause (British colonial rule in Ireland was, of course, framed as a moral problem). In the 21st century, they inspire activists to fight for social justice and community well-being, which was often seen as the end goal of creating a sovereign Irish state. Though neither exemplars nor ghosts (of real people) can predict the future, the actions of the characters portrayed here are directed toward imagined futures, and future potentiality. These figures are, in their present, shaping their own legacies. It is then up to us to decide what to do about these legacies.

As Haugerud notes, it is difficult to ascertain the impact of grassroots activism (2013). However, one strategy for expanding the audience of “Brown Envelopes” and “Nightmare on Moore Street” is to put these performances online and disseminate to sympathetic audiences via

social media. Cathal, Finn, and Erik are active on the SMS Facebook page, and write reports each week based on their experiences at the weekly stall and other campaign-related events, as well as providing updates on the campaign overall (such as the status of pending court cases and planning applications). The fact that these performances and events are now on the internet is another way of historicizing them: the activists are creating an archive that will exist indefinitely and is accessible to the public³³.

Conclusion

This Chapter has sought to show how SMS activists are creating not only historical events, but also controlling the creation of their own historical narrative. This is why I take seriously their terms such as “ghosts from the past” and their critiques of the Irish state. In this way, the SMS activists resemble Haugerud’s Billionaires: “The Billionaires and their satirical compatriots such as the Yes Men are not naïve about the future or about their own capacities as agents of change, yet they wholeheartedly embrace the moral vision of a fairer economy, a more just social order, and a vibrant democracy—values in sync with those of many ordinary citizens but somehow marginalized in official discourse and political practice in mainstream media” (Haugerud 2013:13). Though activists are committed to fighting for their goal to protect and respectfully redevelop Moore Street, as Steven confided, being a part of history (and being *on the right side of history*) is equally important.

³³ Similarly, the rebels in 1916 pursued a similar strategy: they occupied the GPO because it was the center of Ireland’s communications network at the time, so they could send out radio signals to the world and create their own narrative.

Chapter 2: Empathizing with Irish Revolutionaries

“Moore St³⁴

What will we do without Moore St,
The end of the houses are here
No mention of the household,
And we won't ever hear its music.

Why are we there 2 years, why? Why?

Culture of the area, the market is 300-400 years old the house 100-150
In 1916 Padraigh Pearse was with his men in the GPO fighting against the British army.

My Grand Uncle Harry Boland was fighting in the Metropole Hotel. The Hotel went on fire and my Grand Uncle went into the GPO. The GPO then went on fire and they had to escape. They ran down Henry Place and more than 300 men went into number 10.

The Seven met there for the last time. They decided to surrender to put an end to the slaughter of the people and the deaths of the soldiers.

They made holes in the walls and out through the houses to the last one and out they went.

Outside at the top of the street, the English army were waiting. In spite of this, the O'Raghallaigh led a charge but many died. He himself was mortally wounded and died alone there.

The rest were placed under arrest and left all night in the Rotunda, my Grand Uncle Harry with them.

Are these houses important? Yes in our history and culture. The Minister says it is not a battle site, well what is it then? People were fighting and people died.

For the last few years people have been saying that it is only to preserve these buildings, but no one agreed with them.

For the last 2 years, I, Cathal, Finn, Bernie, Erik, Emily, Donal and many others, have been there every Saturday, collecting signatures to save Moore Street.

³⁴ I reproduced Carmel's words, flow, and grammar as faithfully as possible, limiting my edits to minor grammatical points for an American audience. Additionally, I would like to state that Carmel wrote this in both Irish and English. I have only shared the English version here. I have changed all names except for my own.

People think it is not historical. They would prefer to build a huge shopping centre from O'Connell St to the ILAC centre and a hotel on the site where the O'Raghallaigh died. They have no respect for the site, money is talking not History.

That is why we are there.

I would like to thank Finn for all his help in writing this.

Carmel.”

This poetic piece mourns the threat of imminent destruction of Moore Street, which would be both a national loss for Ireland and a personal loss for Carmel herself. Here, she argues that Moore Street is important for both her own family history and Irish history overall. Because her relative, Harry Boland, is well-known as a member of Ireland's Revolutionary Generation, these histories are not easily disentangled. Instead of separating the narratives, the poem directly situates Harry in the center of the drama. Because Carmel uses “my grand-uncle” to refer to him, she also places herself into the story, and claims a stake in the future development of the area. She then references her own activities on the street collecting signatures. She is not a passive stakeholder (as a relative of Harry's), but also actively participates in a campaign for Moore Street's preservation. By publishing this piece, Carmel is publicly creating her own historical legacy, and like her famous relative, she wants to be known for doing something to make Ireland a better place in the future. As the central, but not exclusive, subject of this Chapter, I will chronicle Carmel's family history, and how she (and others) can connect with those in the past.

Introduction

Thinking of yourself as part of history includes imagining a connection between yourself and those who have come before you, in a single historical narrative; but what does it mean to empathize with a historical figure? Is this sort of relationship even possible, and if so, how can it

be achieved? In this chapter, I seek to understand how subjects imagine their own personal connections to those in the past, through familial stories and photos, watching historical films, and by stepping into the spaces of historical dramas. I do so by bridging the gap between the anthropological literature of historical consciousness (which I argue includes more narrow concepts such as historical experience, and postmemory) and the educational literature on historical empathy. Both of these disciplines have built rich, but separate, traditions of analyzing how to best understand individuals' ways of conceptualizing the past, and one's place within an ongoing historical narrative. This chapter will illuminate the ways in which 'historical empathy' can fit within the anthropological literature, especially given the substantial attention that psychological anthropologists have given to empathy (as a cognitive and affective phenomenon) and its relation to ethics.

Understanding Empathy Anthropologically

In a broad sense, empathy refers to humans' ability to engage in a "first person-like, experiential understanding of another person's perspective" (Hollan and Throop 2011:2). Bioethicist and philosopher Jodi Halpern conceives of empathy as a type of "emotional reasoning" based on experiential knowledge (2001). Empathizing with another is a process which requires cognitive and emotional work, though not necessarily actively. It helps us understand not only *what* a person is feeling, but *why* they feel this way in order to understand what, in the context of their lifeworld, brought about this feeling (Hollan 2008:475). For Halpern, as a medical doctor, the next question is: how can the clinician help ease a patient's suffering? For the anthropologist, the next question is: how can I understand the ideas and life of another person within a specific cultural-historical context, and thus get closer to understanding what psychosocial capacities make us "human?"

In 2008, Hollan and Throop argue that empathy has been relatively understudied within anthropology. So, to provide a basis for further analysis, Throop reviews the development of the idea of empathy that has emerged from Continental philosophy, especially phenomenology (2008; also citing Kögler and Stueber 1999). Specifically useful for the present research, Throop mentions the work of Wilhelm Dilthey, who theorized how an empathy-like understanding could be used for historical research (2008:404). Dilthey argued that historical understanding is, at its basis, situated in humans' ability to contextualize their perspectives in order to imagine the world as another (Throop 2008:404; Dilthey 2010; Stueber 2010).

Ethnographically, empathy can be studied in a variety of ways and must be contextualized within a cultural and historical context (Hollan and Throop 2011:389; cf. Briggs 2008; Groark 2008; Hollan 2008; Kirmayer 2008; Throop 2008; Throop 2010). In some contexts, people value discretion and may not wish to reveal their inner intentions (Groark 2008; Throop 2008). They may also simply not understand why they feel a certain way, which presents a challenge for a therapist (Hollan 2008; Hollan and Throop 2011:394). Additionally, empathy is a process, and never quite "complete," because people's thoughts and emotions shift over time, of course, over one or more intersubjective encounters (Hollan 2008:476). Hollan and Throop's 2008 special issue of *Ethos* and 2011 edited volume, both centered on empathy, invited a longer-term engagement with the concept within anthropology. One question from their introduction that forms the basis of this chapter concerns the possibility of empathizing with "imagined" people and communities (and here I will include those who are real but not present with the empathizer) (Hollan and Throop 2008:386). I argue that this is possible, through an ethnographic illustration of the experiences of activists in Dublin, Ireland. First, however, it is useful to review how anthropologists have thus far theorized other forms of historical understanding.

From Ethnohistory to Ethnographies of Historicity

The theoretical line dividing anthropology and history is sometimes quite blurry, especially as anthropologists and historians both seriously approach people's memories and interpretations of past events. Beginning in the 1990s, the distinction between the two fields seemed to fade further, during and after anthropology's "memory boom;"³⁵ however, anthropologists have long been interested in human's cultural change over time. As one of modern American anthropology's founding principles, Franz Boas argued in favor of "historical particularism" to combat racist "evolutionary" views of human cultural difference (Faubion 1993:37). This means that Boas argued for the study of cultures according to their own specific histories, not along a universal timeline of cultural "progress," which of course, placed the West at the zenith. Though Boas and his students meant to understand cultures according to local historical narratives, this form of ethnohistory involved documenting the history of a culture according to the Western linear historiographic paradigm³⁶ (Hirsch and Stewart 2005:267).

More recently, anthropologists shifted to examining not only a culture's history, but its historical epistemology or ideology, which Hirsch and Stewart frame as cultural historiographies (2005:268-9). This involved moving past the Western linear idea of time, in which events are documented (and documentable), and instead accounting for how their subjects conceived of historical time and made meaning from events and figures of the past. As Hirsch and Stewart note, many of these ethnographies of historicity were undertaken in non-Western societies, where conceptions of history were likely to be most radically different from those familiar to

³⁵ Particularly "historical" ethnographies worthy of mention are Kristen Ghodsee's *The Left Side of History* (2015), which chronicles the lives of communist soldiers in WWII Bulgaria to historically contextualize modern Bulgarians' nostalgic ideas toward communism; and Ann Stoler's *Along the Archival Grain* (2009), which analyzes the affective dimensions of Dutch Indonesian colonial records, to challenge assumptions of documentary neutrality of archives.

³⁶ The idea that there is a single "Western" historiography is problematic on its own, as Hirsch and Stewart (2005) remind us and also as I will show in this research.

US/UK academic audiences (2005). To use their definition, the term ‘historicity’ refers to “a human situation in flow, where versions of the past and future (of persons, collectives or things) assume present form in relation to events, political needs, available cultural forms and emotional dispositions” (2005:262). In addition to ‘historicity,’ anthropologists have used other terms (historical memory, historical experience, historical consciousness, etc.) to understand how people make sense and meaning of the past. For example, Stoller (1995), Lambek (2002), Kenyon (2012), and Fjelstad and Hien (2013) have described spirit possession as an effective (and affective) way in which individuals communicate with, seek advice from, and maintain relationships with spirits of the past. In this way, history is not part of a past that cannot be reimagined or grasped. It is part of the present and lifeworlds of participants in such ritual practices. Additionally, even within the “West,” spirit possession and ghostly conversations (through dreams, songs, psychics, or specialized technology) regularly found as an intersubjective, historical practice (Lucitt 2014; Manigault-Bryant 2014; Hanks 2015).

Another avenue for anthropological understanding of various historiographies is concerned with affect and experience of historical phenomena. Specifically, we have seen recent examinations of ‘historical consciousness,’ and ‘historical experience,’ by authors such as Charles Stewart (2003; 2012), Thomas Schwartz-Wentzer (2014), Yael Navaro-Yashin (2009) and Rebecca Bryant (2014). They pay attention to the fine grained details of individual experience in historical spaces and interacting with historical objects to understand individuals’ complex, subjective feelings toward the past. Hirsch and Stewart (2005) call for a cross-cultural re-examination of ‘historicity,’ or the way the past is understood by individuals in the present, from their specific subjective viewpoints. Understanding the past this way makes history “a complex social and performative condition, rather than an objectively determinable aspect of

historical descriptions” (Hirsch and Stewart 2005:262). As Stewart has argued, even within the “West,” history is not understood in a single, monolithic way (Hirsch and Stewart 2005; Stewart 2012; Palmié and Stewart 2016). In Greece (since the Renaissance, considered the ‘birthplace’ of Western culture), Stewart has shown that people experience history through dreams and the search for buried treasure. In nearby Cyprus, Bryant explores the affective, embodied historical responses of Turkish newcomers who face the material debris of past displacement and trauma (2014). I argue that her ethnography, and idea of ‘belonging’ draws us closer to historical empathy, because she shows us situations in which Turkish Cypriots imagine themselves in the positions of the Greek Cypriots they displaced after wartime, by using their household objects and looking upon the treasured possessions they were forced to leave behind. It is through such understandings of ‘historical consciousness³⁷’ and ‘belonging’ that I introduce a more explicit empathic aspect of historical experience to this rapidly growing field of anthropological literature.

The present research builds upon this literature by calling attention to the relationship between individuals across temporalities, through occupying similar space—what happens when we literally walking in someone else’s footsteps? In a phenomenological sense, what kind of affects arise through imagining the life of another? What do people take from such encounters, and how is historical empathy a tool for learning about the past, present, and future? How does this affect one’s notion of their own place in history?

What is Historical Empathy?

³⁷ This concept is often traced to Hans-Georg Gadamer, who argued that we must reflexively acknowledge the historical situation in which we approach a horizon of understanding (1975b). Public Historian Robert Parkes has recently used Gadamer’s ideas to explore how history educators can situate “fake news” and harmful stories about maligned “Others” (2017).

Historical empathy is a common, though not completely uncontroversial³⁸, term in the literature of historical pedagogy and K-12 education³⁹. It is considered to be a way to teach students about history, especially traumatic or difficult historical events, by guiding them to imagine themselves in the places of those they are studying. Learning about history is always biased, from a specific perspective, and thus has an inalienable moral and cultural valence. Thus, I introduce it here in order to integrate it with the anthropological literature of historical consciousness, experience, and memory (briefly reviewed above), in order to enrich the historical conversations within both disciplines.

As Foster conceptualizes historical empathy, pedagogical historical empathy is not simply “imagining” what life was like in the past, but a critical thinking heuristic in which students use historical evidence to understand why actors made specific choices, given their sociohistorical surroundings, and the ways in which certain events cause/alter potential futures (1999:19). It requires the student to understand the ways in which the present differs from the historical period of study, instead of simply putting themselves (in their present mindsets) in the positions of the Other. Historical empathy has been used continuously by educators into the present day: for example, Davison (2017) argues that this method contributes to New Zealand-based students’ affective and cognitive understanding of complex historical events (his classroom was analyzing soldiers’ experiences during World War I), and Savenije and de Bruijn (2017) find similar results, but in a Dutch museum exhibit centered on the experiences of children during World War II. Their research shows that young people (both of these cases used

³⁸ In the mid-20th century, historians and historical educators argued against the use of empathy for teaching history (Lee and Shemilt 2011) because they believe that it relies on the imagination more than critical analysis of historical data (see also Davison 2017). However, many scholars of education support its use, especially when supported by recent advances in the cognitive science of empathy (Lee and Ashby 2001; Brauer 2016; Davison 2017).

³⁹ In a review of the idea of historical empathy in the classroom, Lee and Shemilt (2011) reference Mink’s review of Collingwood (1968) but, surprisingly, not Dilthey.

teenage participants in their research) are able to grasp the perspectives of historical Others without completely sympathizing or identifying with them, and historical empathy is a useful pedagogical tool to educate students about the past, including complex, traumatic, violent eras.

As it relates to this research, I am interested to find out *how* subjects empathize with historical figures, not in a pedagogical or classroom-based way, but throughout life and the everyday, as a result of hearing stories, seeing photographs, or inhabiting ‘historical’ space. Similar to Stewart’s ethnographic engagement with ‘historical consciousness,’ also a term borrowed from historical educational scholarship (Seixas 2006), described above, the varieties of historical empathy I have identified in my fieldwork privilege the formation of an imaginative, inventive, or genetic bond between individuals in the past and those in the present. Of course, when one party in this relationship is already dead when the other has yet to be born, historical empathy can appear to be rather one-sided; however, it is not. Those who are the objects of these relationships (the dead) have acted in ways to intentionally affect the lives of their descendants in the future, in a general sense. Present subjects do not feel as though historical actors will ever understand their present minds and feelings (unlike those who claim to see and hear ghosts, the matter of my MA research), but they project their estimations of historical figures’ assessments of Ireland in the 21st century⁴⁰. Though I combine educators’ concept of “historical empathy” with anthropological/ethnographic methods, I primarily use the term “historical empathy” to describe subjects’ empathic relationships with those in the past who they do not have first-hand relationship with. I use “ethnographic empathy” or “anthropological empathy” when the ethnographic methods are meant to be highlighted, but I do not draw a distinction between these

⁴⁰ This is similar to the satirical Waterford Whispers News segment from Chapter 1.

terms here, because they are meant to describe and analyze ways in which people connect to the past, but simply from scholars in different disciplines.

These varieties of empathy support activists' deep emotional and affective interest in saving Moore Street. For them, Moore Street is a place where they can connect with their ancestors and role models, by literally following their footsteps. In order to construct such a historical experience, Moore Street cannot be entirely commercialized. It must resemble its 1916-era façade, structures, and street plan, and include as much of the 1916-era materiality as possible.

Family Values

A part of Relatives' moral duty is to respect and honor those in the Revolutionary Generation, for their sacrifice to the ideals of an Irish Republic. In an interview with author Hélène O'Keefe, James Connolly-Heron⁴¹ reflected, "There is a lot of pride [in my family history], obviously. But it's difficult as well trying to live up to the ideal" (O'Keefe 2015:18). As O'Keefe describes, "As well as an innate sense of duty, there is evidence in the interviews of a deep emotional legacy. Interestingly, the full weight of the emotional inheritance was more obvious in the interviews from the third layer of memory...With the perspective that distance offers, the grandsons and granddaughters were more willing to articulate the pain, and often the resentment, felt by their parents—the children of the revolutionaries" (19). O'Keefe's descriptions of Relatives' understandings of their family histories in the Rising echoes Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory," which "describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors

⁴¹ Great-grandson of James Connolly

among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right” (Hirsch 2008:106–7). Though it originated with the study of a very different historical event, the Holocaust, postmemory is a useful tool to aid in our understanding of the historical subjectivities of relatives of the 1916 Easter Rising.

While postmemory is traditionally oriented toward the past, Carmel’s ‘postmemories’ of the Irish Revolution are future oriented. She is primarily concerned with preserving memories of the Boland family for the future, so that her grandchildren (and following generations) have the chance to have a historical experience walking down Moore Street, and learning about the experiences of their ancestors.

Unlike classroom-based historical empathy, which relies on a critical analysis of historical evidence and is open to all, no matter their relatives’ experiences, “postmemory’s connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation” (Hirsch 2008:107). Though postmemory is a separate phenomenon from memory, it shares memory’s “affective force” (Hirsch 2008:109). Thus, the way Relatives understand the Rising is not through simple recall of events that they have witnessed themselves, but by imagining the experiences of their relatives, which they know from personal anecdotes and familial narratives, as well as from more public sources, such as the Bureau of Military History’s archive of Witness Statements⁴² and other academic and popular historiographies. An anthropological historical empathy would borrow educators’ focus on the ability for anyone to

⁴² Beginning in 1943, the Fianna Fáil government oversaw the effort to document and archive the experiences of the Revolutionary Generation, before these stories were lost to history. At the time, most records of this period were British, and Irish leaders wanted a more emic perspective. The commission to collect the statements of witnesses were directed not to include records of events after 1921 (after the War of Independence ended, and before the Civil War), but there was still controversy over the neutrality of the project, and many veterans declined to take part because they did not trust the state’s motives. The commission finished in 1957, and the collection was locked away indefinitely. It was finally opened in 2003 (and is now available online, free to the public) (Ferriter 2003).

enter into a historically empathic relationship with a historical subject, but, like postmemory, allow for various conscious and unconscious affective forces. It is this sort of connection to and understanding of the past that I hope to develop in this chapter, through ethnographic examples.

A key reason that I shy away from relying too heavily on the use of postmemory as a theoretical tool is that because it describes the relationships between family members across time, it necessarily privileges family histories over those outside of a specific familial/historical lineage. This is salient for the current research because the most contentious debate within the broad Save Moore Street campaign network and its supporters, as well as the Irish public at large during the 1916 commemorations, is the disagreement about whether or not close relatives of the rebels have any sort of privileged claim to the commemorations or buildings' development due to their genetic heritage.

On one side, Hélène O'Keefe argues that, yes, "only [relatives] can testify to the reality of a revolutionary inheritance; they are also the custodians of memory, the caretakers of stories, which, like the medals and faded photographs, have been handed down from one generation to the next" (2015:5). This argument is also used by members of the SMS campaign, to argue that one approved plan for the redevelopment of Moore Street is best *because* it has the support of Relatives.⁴³ Patrick, a Relative of a signatory of the 1916 Proclamation, also advocates for this position. He has long spoken in political events, with the 1916 Relatives Association, and has been involved with Save Moore Street campaign since its genesis in 2003. Patrick told me that "the safest guards of commemoration are those naturally who are linked through blood to the event, I would argue— 'wouldn't I?' somebody else would say—but...relatives are the safest guards of the process of commemoration into the future." He has faced criticism by those who

⁴³ I will return to plans for the future of Moore Street in Chapter 3.

disagree with his (and other Relatives') claim to hold a special link to 1916, and in the process of telling me about his ideas about the 2016 Centenary program, he gave this answer, including an imaginary critical interlocutor⁴⁴. Those who do make such a critique accuse Patrick of elitism, and his public notoriety makes him an easy target for such critiques.

While Patrick makes his familial claim to a stake in the future development of Moore Street clear, other Relatives, such as Finn and Carmel, have a more complex way of using their unique subject position in the service of the SMS campaign. Finn and Carmel are involved in a smaller SMS sub-group, who collect signatures each Saturday and operate independently of other SMS campaign groups and are also relatives of 1916 combatants.⁴⁵ This group claims that Moore Street belongs to everyone, because the Rising is of global importance and so many people of all nationalities have patronized the market of Moore Street over the centuries. However, during my participant-observation with this group over 3 calendar years, both Finn and Carmel appeal to passersby to explain the importance of Moore Street by mentioning their relatives' involvement in the Irish Revolution. Carmel tells people that her relatives had gone through the terrace of houses during the escape from the GPO, other relatives lived in the area, and her great-great grandfather helped to put in the cobblestones that are still visible under the partially-asphalted ground. I interpret this apparent contradiction (saying that Moore Street is for everyone but mentioning her family's specific claim to its legacy) not to consciously assert a superior kind of historical subjectivity over others, but as a personalized appeal for support. If a

⁴⁴ It should hardly be surprising that Patrick is a retired lawyer.

⁴⁵ The signatures are mainly symbolic at this point. The group has been actively collecting them since 2014 and has counted over 100,000 signatures (as of July 2018). They occasionally "present" the signatures, in long taped-together lists, to the Lord Mayor for photo opportunities to be posted on social media. The current and previous Lord Mayors have been supportive of the SMS campaign. This is the primary group that I conducted ethnographic research with, so I got to know Carmel, as well as Cathal, Finn, Erik, Bernie, and Donal quite well. The goal is not about reaching a certain number of signatures, but maintaining a regular presence on the street, in order to develop relationships with traders and raise awareness of the campaign within the general public.

member of the public can put a face to those who appreciate Moore Street's history, they may be more likely to support the campaign. This gives family memories and legacies power outside of a narrow way to claim legitimacy or leadership in the SMS campaign.

Carmel's Story

Because I wanted to understand what it meant to know that you are related to someone (or believe that you are related to someone) who was involved in one of the nation's most significant historical events, I began to attend events organized by the 1916 Relatives Association and read the works authored by members of this group. After gaining the trust of key relatives, I was able to conduct in-depth interviews with 8 people who are related to prominent actors during the Rising (on the rebel side—I could not find anyone related to a British soldier) and casually got to know many more. I will begin with a life-history style introduction to Carmel, a woman I got to know quite well through the course of my fieldwork and am still in regular conversation with.

Carmel is in her mid-60s and has lived in or around Dublin for her entire life. Growing up in Bray (County Wicklow, 45 minutes south of Dublin), Carmel lived a fairly typical Irish life during the mid-20th century, working for Aer Lingus until she got married and had four children. She currently lives in a suburban community in South Dublin, and spends weekdays babysitting her two young grandchildren, whose parents live nearby and work full time. On Saturdays, she takes a 1-hour bus ride to Dublin city center to have breakfast with friends (occasionally including myself), drop off food and supplies for local homeless groups, and sit at a stall on Moore Street with the small, independent SMS group that includes Finn, Erik, Cathal, and Donal, collecting signatures in support of "saving" Moore Street. Carmel is interested in cardmaking, crafts, and genealogy, and has multiple relatives who were involved in 1916, as

combatants and auxiliaries (including her grandfather, Gerry, granduncles Harry and Ned, and grandaunt Kathleen). Within popular Irish historiography, Harry Boland is certainly the most famous revolutionary member of the family, primarily for his close friendship (and then tragic falling out) with Michael Collins. Along with his brother, Ned, Harry was involved in the escape from the GPO into Moore Street. Both brothers occupied the terrace of buildings during 1916, and this connection is very important to Carmel⁴⁶. Her grandfather, Gerry, was involved in the Rising in a different garrison, in Jacob's Biscuit Factory, south of the GPO and River Liffey.

When I went to Carmel's home to interview her for the first time, we met in the city center and took the bus together to her home in a south Dublin suburb. The stop is a 3-minute walk from Carmel's home, via a small side street. We entered through the backyard garden area, where Carmel keeps a hen named Penny, who faithfully lays eggs that Carmel enjoys for breakfast each day. We entered the terraced two-story home through the kitchen, in the back of the house, and then proceeded to the living room down the hall, toward the front of the house. The living room had two couches and a chair, and one couch was covered with a blanket that Carmel was working on knitting for a friend. She is an avid crafter, though her favorite activity is card-making. There were plenty of decoupage items lying around, and the house was a bit messy (but warm and cozy) as a result.

The most noticeable part of the living room, to me, was the photo wall of Carmel's family members, past and present. She gave me a "tour" of how she organized the photos,

⁴⁶ In addition to her revolutionary legacy, Carmel recently found out through a local historian that she has an even earlier connection to Moore Street—there is archaeological evidence that her great-grandfather laid the cobblestones on Moore Street (in the late 19th century), strengthening her connection to the space.

beginning with the iconic⁴⁷ photo of Harry Boland and Michael Collins on a Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA) pitch, circa 1921 (below).

There were (at least) four other photos of Harry, interspersed with more modern photos of Carmel's four children (now in their 30s), and photos of earlier generations, which looked to be originally taken in the mid-19th century. Carmel has given interviews about her family's revolutionary heritage before, so once we got started, she had a set narrative to share.⁴⁸ I will first repeat Carmel's narrative as she told it to me, and then introduce the primary characters in



Figure 5: photo of Michael Collins and Harry Boland on GAA pitch, photo of reproduction by author

⁴⁷ This is the exact word that Carmel used to describe the photograph, and I would agree that the photo is very well-recognized as an artifact of Irish history.

⁴⁸ For example, she actually did an on-camera interview with Steven for his YouTube channel.

Carmel's family drama. Then, I shall analyze this family history to explore how it can help us understand the multifaceted and various forms of historical empathy anthropologically.

Discovering Her Roots

Despite her famous relatives, Carmel told me that she first learned of her family's historical and political legacy because her father played Bridge with Roddy Connolly, son of James Connolly. Thus, she first associated Roddy as her father's friend, and only secondarily as the son of one of Ireland's most prominent founding figures. Her grandfather, grand-uncles, and father were also family first. As she recalls, "All the time while I was growing up, I never realized that my granddad was so important politically. He was just my granddad, and he was a lovely, lovely, lovely man, and it really wasn't till now, and a few years ago when David Fitzpatrick did a book on grand-uncle Harry (Fitzpatrick 2003), that I began to read up the whole history of my family." She mentioned that she had suspicions that her family was political, hearing the older members of her family make certain remarks about their party or the opposition, and holding grudges against Free State/Fine Gael supporters long after the Civil War ended (which I shall discuss later). However, she only began to research *why* her family members made such remarks, and actively took an interest in her personal genealogy, well into her adulthood.

Even before David Fitzpatrick approached the Bolands to write his book on Harry, Carmel told me that while raising her children, she became curious about her family's genealogy and sought out the guidance of her uncle, who was a genealogist himself. He showed her how to examine historical census records and fill in both her matrilineal and patrilineal family trees⁴⁹. The fact that a prominent and well-respected Irish historian came calling to research Harry no

⁴⁹ Carmel later became an active member of a local genealogy club.

doubt gave Carmel a fresh understanding of how Harry's legacy was important not only to her own family, but a wider community of those interested in the Irish Revolution.

A Revolutionary Family

Carmel soon learned that her patrilineal family tree is steeped in Irish republican history, stretching a generation before 1916. Her great-grandfather was a Fenian, likely associated with the Manchester Martyrs⁵⁰, and her grandfather, Gerry, and his siblings (of the Revolutionary Generation) were likely involved in the Gaelic League (Irish language enthusiasts), GAA (Irish sports league, still very popular today), two Celtic Nationalist activities that were fashionable in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While participating in these activities, the Bolands met other prominent Irish nationalists, and Harry formed a close friendship with Michael Collins, a charismatic and intelligent Cork man, who later organized the military strategy for the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921). Both Harry and Michael Collins were especially active in the GAA, and even fell in love with the same woman, Kitty Kiernan⁵¹.

Gerry fought in the Easter Rising in a Jacob's Biscuit Factory, a south Dublin support garrison, and her grand-uncles Harry and Ned were in the heat of the drama—they began down the street from the GPO in the Metropole Hotel and Imperial Hotel, respectively, until they both joined the GPO garrison and took part in the evacuation through Moore Street.

Carmel's grandfather, Gerry, and his brother Harry were tried and sentenced to prison sentences for their rebellious activities. Gerry was sent to Frongoch, an old distillery converted

⁵⁰ The Manchester Martyrs were three members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and convicted of taking part in the killing a police officer while breaking their compatriots from imprisonment. They were hanged as part of official reprisals, and soon became martyrs for other Fenian sympathizers.

⁵¹ Carmel has copies of Harry's letters to Kitty (who eventually chose Collins), which she describes as the saddest letters, because she could feel Harry's heartbreak as she read them. This is the only time she found evidence of his sadness—in photos, Harry always smiled or showed a serene air of confidence. Thus, this intimate window into his emotions is particularly precious for her. Even the 1996 film *Michael Collins* did not delve into Harry's emotional life to this level, and the fictionalized Harry seemed to take his rejection in stride.

into a prison camp for Irish republicans located in Wales. Frongoch became known as the “University of Revolution” because the inmates were allowed to casually interact and easily found ways to plan their next strike for Irish freedom, led primarily by Michael Collins (whom Gerry disliked but tolerated because he was Harry’s best friend).

After 1916: Harry

Harry was interned in Mountjoy Jail in Dublin, and then Dartmoor Prison in England following the Rising, and stayed at the center of the Irish revolutionary movement (Brasier and Kelly 2000; Fitzpatrick 2003). In the general election of 1918, he was elected to serve as a representative for South Roscommon as a member of Sinn Féin, but he never took his seat in Westminster. The elected Sinn Féin elected representatives instead collectively set up their own Irish parliament, the first Dáil Éireann, in January 1919. This represented a declaration of independence and thus began the Irish War of Independence. Despite his active combat experience during the Easter Rising, Harry was selected to accompany Éamon de Valera on a trip to the United States, to gain international support and crucial funds for the Irish cause.

Harry’s friendship with Michael Collins soured over their differing opinions of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, which Collins helped to negotiate with the British. The Treaty would grant 26 of Ireland’s 32 counties the status of a “Free State” with domestic autonomy and its own parliament, but the remaining 6 counties in North would be allowed to remain in the United Kingdom (many Protestant Unionists fervently opposed Irish nationalism and considered themselves British above all other identities), though Irish representatives would have to recite an oath of allegiance to the Crown, and many key Irish ports would still be under British control. Collins believed that this was the best arrangement that Ireland could achieve at the time, and it represented “the freedom to achieve freedom” later on (Collins 1968). The Treaty was narrowly

ratified by the Irish Dáil, but with a very high cost. Current Dáil President De Valera resigned in protest of the Treaty, and those who felt similarly followed suit, including Harry. The Irish Free State was created in 1922 without them, with the support of the British political administration and military. Harry joined the Anti-Treaty “Irregular” forces, against his old friend, Michael Collins. Both would be dead within one year, becoming casualties of the guerilla-style assassinations that both sides employed against those they recently fought beside. Harry is now buried in the Republican Plot in Glasnevin Cemetery, in Dublin. His grave is regularly visited by well-wishers, from the Boland family and modern republicans as well.

After 1916: Gerry

While Gerry was fighting in the Rising and imprisoned for this, his long-suffering wife (Carmel’s grandmother) was pregnant with Carmel’s father, Enda. Though he loved his family, Gerry had always said that “Ireland came first.” Though Ireland may have come first for Gerry (and many of his comrades in arms), for Carmel and others among the later generations, family came first. Gerry was released from prison in December 1916, under a general amnesty for Irish rebel prisoners, when he returned to Dublin and laid eyes on his young son, Enda, for the first time. This did not end Gerry’s involvement in the Revolution. He was arrested again in 1918 for rebellious activities, commanded a battalion in the War for Independence and Civil War (also on the Anti-Treaty side). Gerry was then imprisoned again, but this time by Free State forces. Carmel related to me that a particular family tragedy was that Gerry was not allowed a reprieve from prison while Harry was dying from gunshot wounds in 1922. Harry’s death was devastating for Gerry, who “idolized” his brother (Fitzpatrick 2003:16) He was released from prison after the Civil War, and quickly began his political career. He and his wife, Annie, raised a family of 7 children.

Gerry became a politician “by accident” when he took Harry’s place in Dáil Eireann as a representative for Roscommon in 1923 (Skinner 1946). He remained in politics until 1961, serving in multiple government cabinets with Sinn Féin and then Fianna Fáil (established in 1926 by former Anti-Treaty Republicans after their defeat in the Civil War). However, to Carmel, he was always her grandfather first. As mentioned previously, she had a vague understanding of her family’s political importance but knew few details of Gerry’s actions as a politician, because he rarely spoke about his work at home. In the next generation, Gerry’s son Enda (Carmel’s grandfather) followed his father’s model of silence about the family’s role in Irish politics, ensuring that Carmel grew up in what seemed to be an apolitical household.

Despite his initial reluctance to enter politics, Gerry rose quickly to become a senior member of the government cabinet, and served as Minister for Justice during World War II⁵² (White 2009). During this time, the IRA reorganized and resumed guerilla activities, especially in the Border counties. In his professional role, Gerry was responsible for suppressing the very organization that he previously belonged to. He took a hard line against paramilitary activity and punished former colleagues harshly, setting up a military tribunal for IRA prisoners without the possibility of appeal (White 2009). Gerry lost his 1961 re-election and instead served in the Seanad, nominated by the Taoiseach. His son Kevin Boland, Carmel’s uncle, took over the family tradition and entered politics, serving with Fianna Fáil from 1957-1970, in various ministerial positions.

Morals and Politics

Politics is not an issue that Carmel likes to bring up. She says this is because her father, Enda, had enough of it from his own father’s and brother’s involvement in governments

⁵² World War II was called “the Emergency” in Ireland, which was officially neutral.

throughout his life. Enda raised his family apolitically (which accounts for Carmel's lack of knowledge about her own family's revolutionary importance while growing up). It wasn't until recently (around 2014) that Carmel became an activist herself by joining the Save Moore Street campaign.

Carmel is even uncomfortable discussing historical politics with me, especially concerning the Civil War. This was a very painful time for her family, as her grandfather Gerry was imprisoned and grand-uncle Harry was assassinated (likely connected to his old friend, Michael Collins). Being on Harry's 'side' means that Carmel doesn't know or often think about Michael Collins. As she says,

...you see my family, not my family but my aunties, were very against anyone who was on the Fine Gael side⁵³, I mean they just called them the Blueshirts⁵⁴, and my youngest uncle, Ciarán, married a lovely lady called M__, but she was always known in my family—not me but my aunties, [who] were very bitchy most of the time—as ‘the one in the pink scarf from D__ whose father fought on the wrong side in the Civil War.’ See, I don't know much about the Civil War really, but it kind of split, I mean, I do know it was a disaster really, it split families—brother against brother, father against son—and I mean it was just awful, so many atrocities were done [and] those hurts have taken so many years to heal, and they're still not healed.

Harry Boland died relatively early in the Civil War, on August 2, 1922, though his siblings continued to support the republican cause, and held their loyalties close for the rest of their lives.

⁵³ This is the Pro-Treaty/Free State side, led initially by Michael Collins. They supported a limited form of autonomy under the British Empire, with Partition and an oath of loyalty to the Crown. This was completely unacceptable to many Republicans, then called “Irregulars,” who would support nothing short of a Republic. The Civil War (1922-1923) was extremely brutal, as friends and families turned against each other due to political differences, and many died at the hands of former comrades in arms. For the current case, it is not completely clear who fired the fatal shots that killed either Collins or Boland, though this has been the subject of intense historical speculation. For more on the transition from the Civil War to the Free State (and Republic), see Appendix.

⁵⁴ The “Blueshirts” refers to a group of right-wing Irish supporters of European corporatist and fascist goals during the 1930s. Many joined Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War. This group was banned, but members reorganized and joined with Cumann na nGaedheal (the pro-Free State party founded by Michael Collins), to form the modern Fine Gael party in 1933. The term “blueshirt” is now used as a slur toward Fine Gael supporters, especially among former generations of Fianna Fáil supporters and, more recently, by progressive social activists.

As mentioned previously, later members of the Boland family entered politics on this “republican” side, which became the Fianna Fáil party, led by Harry and Gerry’s friend Eamon de Valera, who is both a controversial and larger-than-life figure today, still held in high esteem by many Irish people. Interestingly, Carmel tensed up when I asked her for her thoughts on “Dev.” She said he was her grandfather’s friend, he was good enough to her, though it was clear that she did not approve of his later political agenda⁵⁵ and ideas about women’s place in the home, but she saw Dev as a product of his time.

Though she does not like to discuss partisan politics herself, which she sees as a result of her non-political upbringing, Carmel does have a strong moral compass. For example, she is religious but not always supportive of the institutional Catholic Church in Ireland. She supports LGBT+ and women’s rights and gives generously to the homeless and needy. She is also very friendly to the numerous non-native Irish people that live in her neighborhood and populate the city center, especially the Moore Street area. She believes that as long as you do not hurt others, you should be allowed to carry on, and people should not judge others and just be kind.

Carmel sees morality operating outside of partisan politics. However, it can be difficult to separate her morals from her family’s history of political activity (especially as 20th century Irish politics were often expressly concerned with policing public morals through politicians’ partnerships with the Catholic Church). For the sake of this research, Carmel’s morals are less tied specifically to partisan political agendas, and more aligned with local, personal, and historical ideals, such as valuing the stories of others, through understanding their lives and

⁵⁵ De Valera served as Taoiseach (Prime Minister of Ireland) in 1937-1948, 1951-1954, and 1957-1959, and led the Fianna Fail party from 1926-1959. He then served as President (a non-partisan position) in 1959-1973. He is credited with advancing many of the conservative policies in Ireland during the mid-20th century and arguably the most influential person of 20th century Ireland.

perspectives empathetically. This idealized tolerant moral state is the sort of Ireland that Carmel's ancestors fought for in 1916.

Silences and Family Dramas

Carmel is delighted and proud that her children are as interested in Irish history as she is. As I asked her about their interest, though, the topic of conversation quickly turned from the present to the past.

Emily: ...and your children are interested in their family history?

Carmel: Oh very much so! Very much so, oh yeah, absolutely they all are, and I'm encouraging them. My daughter is actually building a memory box of all the invitations and badges and information and coins, and things that I got. She's actually building a memory box for each of my grandchildren, which is really nice, because the problem is, there isn't much left from 1916 in our family. One member of the family kind of has everything and he's not going to share any of the things he has, so I didn't want that to happen again, but my grandchildren will be there for the 150th anniversary, and I didn't want them to say like there's nothing left from 2016 so they have loads of things, and I am stockpiling stuff upstairs that I pass out among the kids so that everybody has something from this centenary. Because I think it's very sad, there are loads of memorabilia but just not in our family, and the funny thing is that my grand-dad never spoke about it.

E: Oh?

C: Oh no, no, never spoke, I've picked this up from his daughter, Eily who lived to be 94, and I picked most of my information up from her and my auntie Nuala, because grandad, he wrote stuff alright, and I have all his writing, but he never actually spoke about it. But the funny thing was, he did not like Michael Collins. Michael Collins was in Frongoch with him and he said I did not like him, isn't that funny and he was Harry's best friend, his brother's best friend, grandad didn't like him at all, thought he was arrogant, yeah funny, yeah thought he was arrogant.

Carmel's grandchildren were both under 5 years old in 2016, so she wanted to make sure that they would have memorabilia from the recent Centenary when they are old enough to appreciate it. It is still too early to tell whether or not they will do so, but Carmel is preparing for their

interest. She imagines sharing her collection of souvenirs with them when they are older. She mentions that they will be alive during the 150th anniversary of the Rising, in 2066, and hopes that they will be interested in looking at items from 2016, perhaps to show their own children about 2016. Carmel explains how she is unhappy about the fact that there is very little left from 1916 (no mention of 1966, interestingly) because one family member is keeping it all. Carmel also laments the fact that 1916 was not discussed in her family as she grew up. As I previously mentioned, she did not know the extent of her family's significance to the Irish Revolution until she followed her ancestry on her own.

Carmel's father's silence about this is typical of those in the Revolutionary Generation, many of whom struggled to regain a sense of normality after the brutality of the Rising, and the later War of Independence and Civil War. According to Hélène O'Keefe, "the pattern that has emerged from the selection of interviews is that a combination of reserve, regret and practiced restraint proved to be a deterrent to conversation about the revolutionary period. The continuity between insurrection and Civil War discouraged discussion about the Rising..." (2015:13).

Among Relatives I interviewed for this research, most mentioned that those who fought in the Rising did not routinely share their experiences with the next generations.

Thus, she performs a moral act, in response to a historical silence or need. She values the stories (and related artifacts) from her family's past⁵⁶ and does not want the future generations to miss the opportunity to appreciate these, as she missed as a child, due to her grandfathers' and fathers' silences about their own revolutionary and political roles. In Carmel's estimation, the passing of the family legacy is thus a moral duty for herself. However, on the contrary, she does not blame members of the previous generations for their silences, because she appreciates how

⁵⁶ Carmel does not only collect 1916-related artifacts from her family archive, but also personal belongings such as school certificates (from her aunts and herself), in case her children are interested in these.

traumatic circumstances must have been for them, and thus how difficult it was to discuss such matters at home. With a century of distance, Carmel sees herself as the one who can safely bring the Bolands' story into the future, to teach her grandchildren, and respect the dead. Carmel believes that at this time, the stories of her family members' actions and work toward a better, more just Ireland 100 years ago should be shared and honored.

The Photo Walls



Figure 6: Carmel's Photo Wall, photo by author

Carmel does not solely rely on others to recognize her family members' contributions to the Irish Revolution. I mentioned the photo wall earlier and will now bring it back into the analysis. Carmel explains the importance of her photo wall by telling me,

I just love my history wall, because I look up at that when I'm in here, and I say, 'you brave, brave, brave people' like I mean I've said that to people, I can speak

Irish whenever I want, I can go to céilís, now I know you can go to céilís in Britain but they don't have all-Irish schools, which we have here, so I had that option, I also have the option to be a Catholic, a Protestant, whatever, but you don't always get that option, in every other country, you know? And I just feel the freedom we have now, like for me and you to sit here and talk? Do you know what I mean?



Figure 7: Carmel's other photo wall, photo by author

This quote, perhaps meant to define what the Revolutionary Generation fought for, also complicates their motivations. Carmel references the ability to attend céilís (traditional Irish social dances) and all-Irish (language) schools, but also religious freedom. Thus, in her logic, her family members fought both to ensure tolerance and also to protect and promote Irish cultural nationalism. This makes sense within an early 20th century nationalist and postcolonial

framework, because for centuries, Irish people were not free to practice their own religion, and either prohibited or derided from following their cultural traditions⁵⁷.

This mindset still holds relevance for Carmel today, and it informs her relationship with her family members. As she says, she directly speaks to those in her photo wall. Though she is arguably reflecting to herself about their bravery, she does not simply say, “they are brave people,” but “*you* brave people,” thus including them as imagined interlocutors. When addressing other living people, such as passersby on Moore Street, Carmel would identify her relatives in the third person, as expected, but she makes a choice to personally and privately acknowledge them herself as she looks at their photographed portraits on her wall.



Figure 8: Close up of set of photos of Harry Boland, photo by author

This alerts us to the power of photography in our imaginations and memories. According to Marianne Hirsch, photography is “a uniquely powerful medium for the transmission of events that remain unimaginable” (Hirsch 2008:107-8, emphasis in original). Hirsch explains that photographs actually inspired her to theorize postmemory in the first place, and it remains a crucial element for this concept (2008:107). Photographs of events (or in this case, portraits of individuals) offer a method to connect people across time and space, and a way for individuals in

⁵⁷ See Appendix for a discussion on the historical Penal Laws, which legally designated the Irish as second-class citizens in their home country.

the present to understand and imagine the experiences of their ancestors. Hirsch's point of reference, the Holocaust, occurred in a time of far more widespread use of photography than 1916, when photojournalism was still in its infancy and photography in general less widespread (Smyth 2016; see also Sontag 2003). The vast majority of Carmel's photos on the wall are c. 1916 or older, though mid- and late-20th century images can be found, standing out from the sepia tones, drawing the viewer forward in time, as a reminder that one cannot simply live in a single era of the past, and that events in one time do not exist disconnected from both earlier and later times, and lives.

Carmel, and now I, can imagine the lives and experiences of those in the photos. Above, I have included a close-up of one photo of Harry (below), who has the most photographs (because he was so centrally involved in the revolution, and a member of many organizations, such as the GAA, etc. which would have featured photographs of members). This photo, and those like it, allow for historical empathy with Harry, because we can imagine him as he looks here, in various activities, and as a character in our imagined narratives of the Rising.

According to Hirsch, "memory signals an affective link to the past, a sense precisely of an embodied 'living connection.'" (2008:111). We are thus looking into Harry's eyes, and can imagine what he must have seen and also felt, as Carmel tells his story, filling in details of his personality that she learned from her grandfather and others who knew him personally. Thus, the photos of Harry outlive him, and "function as ghostly revenants from an irretrievably lost past world. They enable us, in the present, not only to see and to touch the past but also to try to reanimate it" (Hirsch 2008:115). Photos thus remind us that the stories of the past are true, and these people actually lived, so we can never forget them entirely. Unlike my analysis, Hirsch focuses less on staged portraits and more on photojournalistic images of suffering, which directly

call to attention events of the past. Here, we must imagine Harry fighting in the GPO, because there are no images of that⁵⁸, and we must rely on Carmel's narrative or that of historians to fill out the story and animate its subjects. We must imagine the connection between a portrait and the subjects' actions and experiences, because, phenomenologically, we privilege "looking" to make the sensory connection to the past (Casey 2000:23–24). Harry's photograph on the wall is a site of projection (Hirsch 2008:116), of our own ideas and the situation of our own time, because Harry is there to remind us what his generation fought for. Has their goal been met? Is it worth meeting now? After looking at Harry's portrait, can we say that his life—cut tragically short in the Civil War— and actions for a republic are still relevant? What would Harry say about modern Ireland? This tells us not only about Harry's story, or Carmel's story, but of their relationship (beyond the family lineage). Though Harry died before Carmel was born, she can know him and empathize with him.

Michael Collins (1996) and *Harry on Film*

Unlike these family photos, as a medium, film animates a narrative for the audience, leaving less to the imagination. It also has the potential to inspire historical empathy, as educational scholars have demonstrated (Marcus et al. 2018). Like a story from a living relative, watching a well-made film can teach an audience not only what a historical subject does, but *why* he or she acts the way they do.

There is definitely an audience for visual representations of the Rising, but what is it like to see your family's story onscreen? When you are related to a prominent historical figure, your relative's legacy gains a life beyond the familial archive. For Carmel, Harry Boland has become

⁵⁸ The Rising itself was heavily documented by photojournalists, mostly of the following destruction of the city center. Very few photos of the actual fighting took place, and those that claim to do so are likely staged. There was huge interest in photographic souvenirs of the Rising from the public.

a character in multiple fictionalized accounts of his role in the Irish Revolution and friendship with Michael Collins, most famously in Neil Jordan's 1996 film *Michael Collins*. In the course of our interviews, I asked Carmel what she thought of Harry's Hollywood treatment:

E: what do you think about the way Harry's been represented in movies, like *Michael Collins*?

C: I thought it was, I love Aidan Quinn anyway, the only thing that was wrong with the film, now there was probably lots of things wrong,⁵⁹ but the worst thing was he wasn't shot running through the sewers, he was shot staying in a hotel room in Skerries, so that was all wrong, how he was shot...

First and foremost, Carmel is interested in the film's historical accuracy, concerning Harry's life and death. She doesn't see why Harry's death had to be changed for the movie. She would have rather seen a more accurate portrayal of his death, and I suspect the fact that the film had Harry die around the Dublin sewers likely also felt disrespectful to Harry. According to historian Luke Gibbons, "For this reason, the main task in evaluating a historical film is not the pedestrian one of identifying 'inaccuracies', but the more difficult one of determining the point of these inaccuracies, the extent to which they are required by the 'logic' of the film" (1997). Gibbons specifically argues that *Michael Collins* was shot in the style of an American film noir gangster drama (1997), which may account for Boland's 'seedier' death scene than in a hotel in the north Dublin suburbs. Symbolically, the Hollywood version shows Harry's and Michael's friendship also dying in the sewers during the night. Harry's death was not only a tragedy, but a disgrace, within the logic of the film. It was dirty and ugly. Unfortunately, because many people who learn

⁵⁹ Carmel is correct when she says that other things are wrong with the film—significantly here, the rebels are seen surrendering straight from the GPO in 1916 (in the beginning of the film), instead of from Moore Street. Other SMS activists have told me that this inaccuracy belies the general public's lack of understanding of the significance of Moore Street.

about Irish history in the cinema (the film was a huge hit in Ireland⁶⁰, though a more modest hit abroad), Carmel often has to correct people about how Harry met his demise. However, some aspects of the movie showed an impressive attention to historically accurate detail:

C: ... and the other thing was Aidan Quinn actually contacted [my] Uncle Harry (who'd be that Harry's nephew, my dad's brother), and went over to him and Uncle Harry never told us because he knew we'd all come over and look at Aidan Quinn's beautiful blue eyes. Anyway, Aidan Quinn went to Harry and said that Neil Jordan wanted to put them in camouflage, and army uniforms. As you see in all those photos, Harry was a tailor, he's always in a suit, usually a double-breasted suit, with a matching hanky, and beautifully dressed, always in lovely tailored clothes, nice hat and he would never have been in camouflage or fatigues or whatever uniform. So, Aidan Quinn went back and said 'no he was always in a suit,' so that's why the two of them were in suits. I've seen Michael Collins once in an army uniform but Harry never. Never ever, ever, no...so that's how that came about because if Aidan Quinn hadn't come to Uncle Harry, Neil Jordan might've gotten his way and put them all in army uniforms.

...

E: That was nice that he actually went and asked—

C: —Yes, exactly. I think Aidan Quinn is a lovely actor and see probably Liam Neeson had looked up lots of things about Michael Collins, but Aidan Quinn probably came into it not knowing very much about Granduncle Harry, so he went out to Uncle Harry to ask him. and so, Uncle Harry was very good and showed him all the letters and the stuff he had, so he got a better understanding and [in the film, Quinn] played him beautifully, so I have no qualms about him.

Carmel clearly respect's Quinn's commitment to accurately portraying Harry. In interviews about the movie during its 2016 re-release (coordinated around the Easter Rising centenary), Quinn has stated that working on *Michael Collins* "was an absolute privilege to work on, and with this extraordinary group, and remains one of my favorite film making experiences" (Kelly

⁶⁰ Upon its release, "A 15 cert [akin to a "PG-15" level rating] was originally awarded, but this was lowered to PG because of the film's historical significance. Before its release, Neil Jordan's picture already occupied an officially sanctified status that no mortal entertainment could hope to attain. The film smashed all domestic records and generated a thousand conversations about "historical accuracy" (Clarke 2016).

2016). Whether or not this is sincere or simply a Hollywood nicety at a publicity event, Quinn certainly put in extensive research for the role, and this impacted Harry's portrayal on film. Through this film, Harry has been given another afterlife, beyond his family's memory and his commemoration among historical groups. Far more people can now empathize with Harry, and learn about his perspectives, motives, and experience of Ireland's struggle for Independence, to Carmel's delight.⁶¹

Despite its historical inaccuracies, which she already covered, Carmel admits that she enjoyed the film, especially Aidan Quinn's performance, and thinks that it is a good introduction to the Irish Revolutionary period for those with no background in the subject. However, this is not an opinion held by her entire family. Her aunts (the 'bitchy' ones mentioned earlier) could not appreciate the film because of its historical inaccuracies, even beyond Harry's death scene. As she told me,

...I enjoyed the film very, very much, and I always tell people to watch it if they want an understanding of what went on at the time, you know, if you haven't read stuff go watch the film. But anyway, my aunties kind of complained about it, various little things, but I can't even remember the things they complained about...[Overall,] I'm delighted the film was made.

However, Carmel doesn't dwell on the Hollywood version of Harry's death, and she is not alone in this. Our discussion of the film reminded her about an event that she has penciled into her diary for 2022, the 100th anniversary of Harry's death:

I just remember his death, because [a local GAA group in Skerries is having a big commemoration of Harry's death]. A man has contacted me for 2022, Harry's anniversary, if I'm still alive, and that he wants me out in Skerries for that, because he was shot in the hotel there.⁶²

⁶¹ For promotional images as part of the film's theatrical release (1996), Quinn posed in a recreation of Harry's portrait. Significantly to Carmel, he is wearing a suit, as Harry always did.

⁶² The hotel in which Harry was shot no longer exists, so the ceremony will take place nearby. Anniversaries of a loved one's death are important within Irish Catholicism.

I include this quote because it shows how interconnected private and public memory can be. When Carmel's Uncle Harry shared stories and photos of Harry Boland with Aidan Quinn, he gave permission for his relative's story to be shared with the public, and trusted Quinn to faithfully and respectfully depict Harry onscreen.

To conclude, the revolutionary legacy of the Bolands can be discovered in various ways. We can empathize with individuals, such as Harry, by learning about his life from his relative, or from books, photos, or a film. We can empathize with Harry's goal of building a better Ireland, or simply as a sports enthusiast who was unlucky in love. These various aspects of his identity and life history allow for multiple entry points into an empathic understanding of him as a historical figure.

“The Most Interesting Thing”

One of Carmel's favorite things about coming into Moore Street every Saturday is that she has the opportunity to hear stories from many people, often about their memories of the street from childhood, or their relatives' experiences during the Rising. As she says, “...I just find it so interesting, I think people's stories are the most interesting things you'll ever have.” This helps to explain why she treasures her own family's stories. The artifacts can (and have been) taken by others or lost over time. However, stories can be remembered and kept by multiple people, and given new meanings and significances over time.

Using Rebecca Bryant's polyvalent concept of “belonging” to history through relationships with objects and a subjective claim to a historical narrative (2014), Carmel's photos give us a glimpse at her own family's personal and public historical story, and intimate what is most dear to her—the story-like quality of history and finding one's place in it. To her, Moore Street is an extension of her own family photo wall, where she can share Harry's (and his

siblings’) stories with others, and hear the stories of strangers (and new friends) in return, apart from an ‘official’ version of history, mediated by the state or another party, which may not give each story the respect that she thinks it deserves.

Overall, Carmel and her relatives are looking for their family’s story to be respected, and their actions to be recognized in history. This is not selfish—Carmel has no ambitions to become a public figure herself, through writing, politics, etc. She has cultivated strong friendships and takes pride in the accomplishments of her family: those who literally fought for Ireland and served in government in the past, her adult children and relatives taking part in activism in the present, her young grandchildren, who are beginning to ask questions about where they came from.

Carmel’s relationship to Harry’s actions are part of ‘postmemory,’ as Hirsch describes it, and through Carmel’s telling of Harry’s story, and sharing of his portrait, others can learn about Harry as well. However, one will also learn just as much about Carmel, and the way 1916 is remembered by Relatives 100 years later, and in the media. Of course, each version of Harry’s story depends on one’s perspective, but all of these stories provide a way to empathize across generations. We can empathize with Carmel while hearing of Harry’s revolutionary exploits, and we can empathize with Harry as well, mediated by his photo, Aidan Quinn’s portrayal of him on film, or through Carmel’s loving stories of him. He can be remembered in many ways, as a talented GAA athlete, a revolutionary politician, or an unlucky romantic whose affections went unrequited. However, memory of a historical figure is not quite the same as historical empathy—in addition to his memory, we can empathize with Harry because we can imagine seeing the world through his eyes and try to imagine what he may have felt during the Rising. By empathizing with Harry, we connect to the past in an affective, imaginative way. Though it may

only exist on a superficial level, this is the power of photography, as scholars such as Barthes (2010) and Sontag (2001) remind us. It is a power shared by family stories and film. To further empathize with Harry and the other rebels of 1916, we can also walk in the same places they inhabited 100 years ago, through a visit to Moore Street.

A Historical Place

Like family portraits, landscapes, of the natural and built environment, can become sites of memory, as they can also invite affective imagining of the past. The connection between space and affective memory has been thoroughly explored by anthropologists, with relation to indigenous geographies and sites of colonial trauma (e.g. Trouillot 1995; Feld and Basso 1996; Casey 1997; Cole 2001; Lambek 2002; Cameron 2008; Holsey 2008; Tamanoi 2009; Filippucci 2010; Stewart 2012; Stoler 2013; Gordillo 2014). Others have begun their analysis from the perspective of heritage struggles, where the meanings of affectively significant spaces are debated by various stakeholders (e.g. Dominguez 1986; Herzfeld 1991; Harvey 2001; Crooke 2010; French 2012; Jackson 2012; Joy 2012; Franquesa 2013; Daugbjerg, Eisner, and Knudsen 2014; Macdonald 2013; Geismar 2015; Hanks 2015; Carr and Colls 2016; Herzfeld 2016b). Within Irish Studies, ideas about heritage and memory have been explored from various scholarly disciplines, especially history and literature (e.g. Kockel 1995; Beiner 2007; Gibney 2013; Godson and Bruck 2015; Grayson and McGarry 2016).

In her examination of the material legacy of a WWI battle site, Filippucci (2010) argues that the physical remains of the war “interact with visual and verbal representations of the war to engage later generations and make the war ‘real’ for them” (164). She continues to argue that such materials and spaces “act as bridges between the known and the unknown, between the sayable and unsayable, and indeed perhaps the unconscious and the conscious” (164-6). Like

Malancourt, the town in which Filippucci conducted her research, the Moore Street area is structurally very similar to how it was in 1916.⁶³ However, unlike Malancourt, where 90% of its residents left following the war, Moore Street is still a commercial (but not residential) hub of activity in Dublin's city center (Filippucci 2010:166).

Central to my analysis is the idea that “people recognize themselves in their material surroundings, which thereby play an important role in forming and expressing individual and collective identities and relations” (Filippucci 2010:167). We inscribe spaces with meaning both actively and passively through our engagement with it, and these meanings change over time, developing new forms of significance to new generations (e.g. Casey 1996; Low 2000; Low 2016). At the most basic level, Moore Street could only become a revolutionary site after April 1916, and only contested in the 21st century, when the retail development plan was discovered.

Drawn to Moore Street, in search of a historical experience?

For this section, I will continue to use Carmel's experiences, but also those of other activists who do not have familial connections to Moore Street and the Easter Rising, to provide a wider variety of spatial historical experiences. Specifically, I will reference the experiences of SMS activists Aisling and Erik, and then return to Carmel's historically empathetic experiences as I explore the relationship between historical empathy and space.

First, I explore Aisling's and Erik's experiences while inside 14-17 Moore Street. Along with other campaigners, Aisling and Erik took part in the January 2016 occupation of 14-17 Moore Street, which began as an emergency preventative effort against an immanent planned demolition. Once campaigners saw the construction equipment and workers approaching, they

⁶³ The level to which the area is composed of pre-1916 buildings and material is a central aspect of the High Court (2016) and Appeal (2018) cases.

entered the building, and did not leave until 5 days later⁶⁴. The occupation had ended upon the judgement of the High Court case, in which the judge declared the entire site historical and worthy of preservation⁶⁵. This judgement rendered the occupation unnecessary, and the occupiers exited the building to much fanfare and support. Because I was not in Ireland during the occupation (I came during the next month in time for the state's commemorative parade), I asked participants to tell me about the experience of occupying the historic epicenter of the area that they were fighting for (which has long been restricted due to safety concerns).

Aisling

Aisling was born and raised in rural Wicklow, though she has lived in Dublin for over 10 years by the time we met in 2016. Her family has long held republican sympathies and participated in political activism, but she does not participate in the 1916 Relatives Association or mention any relative in the Rising. The closest is her grandfather, who participated in the old IRA during the War of Independence, where much of the fighting took place outside of the capital. Aisling is critical of Relatives' argument that they hold the greatest legitimate claim over the memory of 1916. She is a college-educated socialist and admirer of James Connolly, who has worked in political and community organization and journalism. Aisling became involved in the Save Moore Street campaign relatively late in the game—during the occupation of 14-17 Moore Street in February 2016. She and other like-minded socialist-leaning activists organized their own group dedicated to saving the area, and they began petitioning the government for its protection and organizing large-scale rallies and marches, leaning on their significant collective

⁶⁴ In a separate interview, SMS activist and organizer Finn specifically mentioned that the end of the occupation paralleled the surrender of the rebels in 1916.

⁶⁵ This judgement was appealed in early 2018 by judicial review in the Appeals Court. At this time (July 2018), it is unclear if those who originally brought the case to court plan to further appeal to the Irish Supreme Court.

activist networks. In 2017, however, she stepped back from the cause to focus on other issues (such as homelessness and abortion rights) and starting a family. She would like to see the area around Moore Street utilized for social housing and community initiatives, believing that Connolly would similarly want to see the area used this way in his honor.

Aisling notes that the SMS campaign is different from others that she was a part of, because it has a more physical dimension than a tax or law, the consequences of which cannot be touched by one's hands. As she explains, "this is something that you can touch, you can feel, and you have a connection to. You hear of [Moore Street] as a kid—and like I grew up fucking listening to James Connolly and all those stories—and then you grow up and are talking about Moore Street and there you are, trying to preserve a part of it." What Aisling refers to can be thought of as the affective aspect of memory and historical experience.

Aisling said to me that upon entering 16 Moore Street during a protest occupation, "I was in the room where James Connolly was laying down [during the Easter Rising in 1916]...I was in tears, to be quite honest with you, just to stand there and kind of breathe in what these people have done and what they did, and I'm a follower of James Connolly, so it was quite an inspiring moment to be in there, and what I think I took from that is that the fight has to continue on." Like Schwartz Wentzer's conceptualization of historical experience (2014), Aisling's experience of inhabiting 16 Moore Street came with a sense of responsiveness⁶⁶ to the past, but here she responds to her imagined narrative of the last days of the Rising, based on her theoretical historical understanding of that event and now her occupation of the space in which it happened.

⁶⁶ According to Thomas Schwartz Wentzer, "historical experience" is a type of moral experience in which a subject must respond to a "demand without access to the original event that encompassed the essence or the real content to be experienced" (2014:27). This concept of "responsiveness" puts the experiencer into a dialogue with a known and cared-for other's "voice of the past" (building on the hermeneutics of Gadamer (1975a)). Similar to Derrida's "hauntology," this idea of responsiveness implies a relationship of obligation, or duty, from those of us in the present to those in the past.

Additionally, I would argue that this kind of future-oriented responsiveness is closer to Derrida's (1994) and Gordon's (2008) ideas of haunting, in which the ghosts of the past reveal themselves to people in the present in subtle, affective ways, and call for the haunted to carry out their wishes, oriented toward creating a revolutionary future⁶⁷.

How does this relate to historical empathy? I would like to offer the following: haunting can be brought about through affective historically empathetic experiences. To get to historical empathy, it is useful to follow a phenomenological route, to account for the sensory experience of inhabiting a place. Places are spaces that have meanings and histories. People have personal and historical stakes in places, more than spaces. This is not simply descriptive, as Meyers (1991) and Casey (1996) explain. "We come to the world...as already placed there. Places are not added to sensations any more than they are imposed on spaces. Both sensations and spaces are themselves emplaced from the very first moment, and at every subsequent moment as well" through bodily perception (Casey 1996:18). This includes breathing in the atmosphere of a place, as important as the tangible walls, ceilings, floors, and household objects surrounding a person's body.

Aisling did not mention that not only did she breathe in the air of the present moment, and the history that she and her comrades were creating themselves but was rather overtaken by "breathing in" what "these people did here [in 1916]" that inspired her to continue "the fight." For her, Moore Street is not only about the restoration of a few buildings, but the realization of a socialist vision of urban equality in Dublin, which began with the ideas of James Connolly in the late 19th century. The "fight" became more urgent and intense to her upon entering the buildings and imagining the experiences of Connolly 100 years previously. Thus, James Connolly has

⁶⁷ It is worthy of note that Derrida writes of Marxism haunting Europe, and Aisling is haunted here by James Connolly, a Marxist.

become a Christ-like martyr (as the rebel leaders are often portrayed in popular nationalist imagery), brutally killed for his ideas that spoke truth to power.

Aisling herself recognizes the religiosity of her statement.⁶⁸ She further explains that being in 16 Moore Street caused her to paint a picture in her mind of April 28th, 1916: Connolly lying on a stretcher (in pain from a gangrenous gunshot wound to his leg), and the rest of the rebels considering surrender: “it’s kind of like—it’s not like a religion, but it kind of reinforces what you’re doing, if that makes any sense?” Her sense of ethics comes less from the church and more from the socialist ideals of equality and social responsibility, taught by Connolly and others (Aisling considers herself a Leninist Marxist “with a bit of Trotsky sprinkled in”). “Breathing in the air of the space connected her to the man that she has long idealized, who gave his life for the cause she holds dear. Thus, to Aisling, James Connolly was with her: his lingering presence reassured her of her chosen path.

Erik

Erik, on the other hand, can be considered “New Irish,” because he moved to Dublin from the Netherlands in the early 2000s, during the height of the Celtic Tiger. He had been working with a Dutch company that had a Dublin office, so he volunteered to go there for a few months, eventually moving back and forth for work until he met a local woman and settled down to raise a family in the north inner-city neighborhood of Phibsborough. Like Aisling, Erik is involved in multiple social activism campaigns (especially concerning animal rights). For most of my fieldwork, he has been a central member of the smaller SMS group that I worked with, so similar to Carmel, I got to know him quite well over the past few years. Erik claims that he has ‘always’ been interested in Irish history, more than Dutch history, which he says is “all kings and

⁶⁸ For more on the relationship between embodiment and religiosity, especially within a Christian tradition, see Csordas 1997 and Luhrmann 2012.

queens” and he is “not mad into royalty.” Instead, he says that he is entranced by Ireland’s natural and historical built landscapes and has travelled around the country honing his photography skills by taking photos of spots such as Skellig Michael and Newgrange. Erik became involved in the SMS group after hearing about an adjacent event (organized by George), where he met Cathal and Finn. He now takes photos of the weekly SMS activities, and has created an impressive archive of the group’s progress, which is accessible to the public on Facebook. He would like to see the historic terrace in Moore Street restored with a 1916-style façade, encasing an interactive museum telling the story of the Rising. He specifically does not like the prospect of branded high-street commercialism. He would rather see “old-style” shopfronts and more emphasis on revitalizing the street market.

Like Aisling, Erik also had a difficult time putting into words his experience of stepping into 16 Moore Street during the occupation. Below is an excerpt from our conversation:

Emily: So, what was it like to be in the buildings?

Erik: In the buildings, strange. It was a very strange feeling; I was only in there for a few hours, but I took photos there, at that time...you couldn’t really see much, the just the shutters there. The shopfronts were gone, most of the buildings were fenced off as well, like Numbers 17 and 18.

Emily: Did it feel like people had been in there, recently?

Erik: It’s a strange feeling, you know, the history, it’s like the spirits of people were there still in the building.

To connect back to a discussion of the uncanny in Chapter 1, Erik’s evaluation of his experience in the buildings certainly brought up feelings of unease for him. The abandoned buildings were “strange” because they seemed to be out of time. They had not been entered in years (as they were considered unsafe), so the fabric of the buildings has been left to decay, which added to the unease felt by those who entered. Like the homes of displaced Turkish Cypriots discussed by

Bryant (2014), a form of “temporal alterity” was established, meaning that subjects in the present develop different relations to the flow of historical time.

To Erik and Aisling, knowledge of the actions that took place in these buildings framed their experiences as they entered. They went into the buildings for the occupation, believing that the integrity of the buildings was at stake, but I believe they also expected a historical experience. Erik mentions the shopfronts, relating the depth of his understanding of the buildings’ history and historical forms. However, even without the shopfronts (and much of the furniture), Erik felt the presence of those who occupied the rooms before. His characterization of the “spirits of people” edges away from “secondary haunting” to “primary haunting,” in the way Lincoln and Lincoln describe these concepts (described in Chapter 1, Section 2), because Erik thinks of the spirits as individuals who are stuck out of their time⁶⁹.

Historical experiences on Moore Street are not limited to the activists—High Court Judge Max Barrett visited Moore Street as he heard the case brought by Colm Moore to protect the site from the retail development project. Mr. Justice Barrett’s retelling of his visit shows up in his final judicial review (which declared the entire area historically significant and worthy of preservation). As he wrote,

The visit took place on a damp Dublin evening, the light was falling, the street-traders on Moore Street were gone or going home, and the Friday evening ‘buzz’ was beginning to rise. The visit began with a walk along O’Rahilly Parade where a large wall-plaque now commemorates The O’Rahilly’s death.⁷⁰ The path where he lay is gone but it was not difficult to think of him lying there, callously left to bleed, his life ebbing slowly from him. (Barrett 2016:230)

⁶⁹ Another participant in the occupation, Donal, specifically told me that he believes that the spirits of those in the Revolutionary Generation literally haunt Moore Street (and Kilmainham Jail as well).

⁷⁰ For more on The O’Rahilly, see the Historical Appendix. Here, it is important to note that he led a fatal charge down Moore Street and was met by British firepower. He bled to death in an alleyway and wrote a heartfelt farewell letter to his wife as he lay dying. There was a plaque set up (recreating this note) to commemorate his actions.

Mr. Justice Barrett defends his foray into creative writing and the historical imagination because he wants to make clear the fact that the entire terrace and area surrounding Moore Street was a battlefield site—which the Minister denied. Furthermore, as he argues,

...what took place here was not just ‘any old battle’ but the final throes of the GPO garrison. This garrison comprised men and women, many of whom had seen the Proclamation read aloud outside the GPO scant days before, some of whom had died or were soon to die without knowing that their lives had been sacrificed in vain, or that the battle they had started would result in our re-birth as a nation-state, independent and free. (Barrett 2016:232-233)

As a narrative of historical memory and even more so as a High Court judicial review, this is extraordinary. Not only does Barrett argue that the site is significant for Irish national history, he engages in historical empathy by considering the actions and motivations of the rebels in 1916. Through this piece of writing, Barrett, like the activists, attempts to position himself on the same side of history as those rebels. He honors their sacrifices and the ideal of a sovereign Ireland, and thus argues that declaring the entire site a National Monument is not only legally sound, but morally important. It is impossible to know how the final judgement would have been different if Mr. Justice Barrett did not visit Moore Street in person, but it is telling that during the appeal hearing, the judges and solicitors joked that there should not be a judicial visit to Moore Street, which would likely hurt the state and developer.

Carmel

Though Carmel has long been interested in history and her family’s unique role in it, she only began engaging in activism recently, for the SMS campaign. As she tells it,

About two years ago, I can't actually remember how I started to come to Moore Street to help out, but I think it might've been something on the computer I saw and I thought, you know, I'm free on Saturday so I think I'll go in and I contacted Cathal [a lead organizer of SMS] and...went up and met him...and I said to him, I'd like to help you out in Moore street, and that's how it all started... this is my first thing I've done, I'm really surprised at myself but I'm delighted I did it, and

I'm two years down the line⁷¹ and sure it's lovely. I love it, and I love the people I meet.

Unlike those with significant activism experience, Carmel began spending her Saturdays on Moore Street because of her love of history and her family's place within it. "I love history, I've always loved history, and I'm just interested in how people lived, that's why I love Moore street so much, if you could imagine the families living there." Similar to how she thinks about those on her photo wall, Carmel told me that during the Centenary, she imagined "those brave people" who were in Moore Street during the Rising, and explains that keeping Moore Street intact as a historical site will engender historical empathy for visitors, because, like Aisling and Erik described, others will be able to walk in the footsteps of ghosts. Anticipating my interview questions, Carmel asks herself rhetorically:

Why do I love Moore street and why do I want it to be there? I think the buildings are beautiful, and as I keep saying to people, nothing has been done to them, so they're exactly the same as they were 100 years ago.

And to think that 300 men went through that terrace and bored a hole in the wall into the next room, into the next room, now some of them stayed there, and they wrote the proclamation there, but some of them went through and they were picked on and shot by the British army who were camped down at the end of Moore street—so how the minster can say it's not a battlefield is beyond me—because if you come out of a building and you're shot dead by an opposing army, what is that? A battlefield...that's why I think it is **so important** that the scene of the last battle...where [my friend's] grandfather was shot and left dying there and they wouldn't even let him send a note home to his wife, and he wrote a note and pinned it to his jacket for his wife and they wouldn't let anyone come to help him, and they wouldn't let him go home to his wife, and or be brought home to his wife so that was a very sad thing, and there's a lovely plaque up there.

But what does the minister want to do? Build a hotel there and cover up the place where he was shot, now again nothing has been done to that corner so you can see where he was shot, and I have said over and over and over again, if they tidied up

⁷¹ The interview took place in July 2016, so Carmel began supporting SMS in 2014.

the houses just to stop them from falling down, and built a museum, or made some of them into a museum, brought you through the whole terrace of houses, and showed you like, were these people panicked? Were they scared? Were they happy, were they sad? What? Did they know it might be their last day? That they'd be shot when they came through? We don't know but we can *imagine*.

And if we had this wonderful terrace of houses to go through, how beautiful would that be? I would love to bring my grandchildren, where do I bring my grandchildren to see what it was like? [Other garrison sites have] changed, some of the places are gone, but this place hasn't changed, so why would you *not* preserve them?

There is quite a bit going on in this quote. First, as a rhetorical device, Carmel sets up her own question (“Why do I love Moore Street?”), and provides two primary answers: for one, “the buildings are beautiful” and two, “nothing has changed in 100 years.” The following response connects closely to the idea that Moore Street is a historical place, that has not changed in 100 years, because it allows for visitors to experience historical empathy. In fact, Carmel’s thought experiment (“what were they thinking?”) is one of the most straightforward examples of historical empathy that I came across. She solicits the listener to imagine themselves in the places of the rebels of 1916, as she herself has done, within the context of a potential museum on the site. Implicit in this argument is that the shopping center plan will deny the chance for anyone to experience this kind of historical empathy toward those within Ireland’s founding generation. Carmel would certainly bring her grandchildren there, reminding us that this is not entirely theoretical: her grandchildren’s historical education is at stake. Less and less of her memories of her grandfather (and his generation’s stories and records) will exist for her two grandchildren (who are both under 10 years old).

Carmel also experienced historical empathy with her relatives while visiting Frongoch, an internment camp set up by the British to house Irish prisoners of war following the Rising. It became known as the “University of Revolution” because the prisoners were allowed a high

degree of freedom to come along, and under the leadership of Michael Collins, plan the coming War of Independence. Carmel knew that her grandfather, Gerry, was imprisoned in Frongoch for 6 months, so she jumped at the chance to join a Relatives' trip to the now-abandoned site in rural Wales during 2016. Like walking through Moore Street, Carmel felt closer to her grandfather by walking in his footsteps in Frongoch. She said,

It really brought the whole thing about 1916 home to me because it is literally in the middle of nowhere, and I just said to myself, 'my God, what must they have thought when they arrived there'...it brought it back how my granddad must have felt, leaving his wife who was pregnant with my dad, and going to this place in the middle of nowhere, where they were probably speaking Welsh...it was very grim and it was not at all nice, it was just very lonely.

Carmel framed her visit to Frongoch in what she already knew about her grandparents' experiences of separation as they had been starting their family. She explores the affective, vague qualities of her grandfather's imprisonment when she feels a sense of loneliness and desolation. As Gerry had told his wife, "Ireland came first." By visiting Frongoch, Carmel could understand that in a deeper way. He was willing not only to risk his own life, but time with his pregnant wife and possibly time with his new child, sitting in a lonely Welsh prisoner camp. To Carmel, this is bravery and sacrifice worthy of commemoration.

Conclusion

Here, I propose a way of understanding historical empathy that is grounded in ethnographic examples of individuals' emotional, deeply affective experiences, as well as imaginaries, and experiences with films, photographs, and public and family narratives about history. By sharing their experiences of historical empathy in Moore Street, they argued for the importance of preserving the site in order to give others the chance to have similar experiences. This is a goal in itself, but also opens up the possibility of engaging others to reflect not only on

the Revolutionary Generation's actions, but their motivations for fighting and the sacrifices that they made. The rebels of 1916 were real people, and they stood in the same spots that we stand in. We can breathe in the air of historical events only if the original space exists. The ghosts of history cannot inhabit recreated habitats. This is why the historical structures themselves facilitate historical empathy and experiences. We make a connection with individuals from the past by touching what they touched, by breathing air in the same spot that they did. Historical empathy cannot be faked. It must be felt, through a connection with the past. Once made, this connection can lead to the formation of a respect for one's history, historically conscious moral subjectivity, and perhaps even a personalized call to activism.

Ethnographic Interlude: Respect and State Recognition

As a transition piece between Chapters 2 and 3, which examine the imaginative, intersubjective pursuits of historical empathy and future-oriented local development, I would like to add an ethnographic example of the relationship between Relatives and the State, to show what is at stake for those engaged in the campaign to save Moore Street. As Chapter 2 clearly shows, Carmel is certainly interested in her family members' recognition as participants in Ireland's struggle for independence. In my estimation of her motives, she does not tie this to any personal gain (financial or otherwise). She does not go out of her way to organize any commemorative activities on her own, and she is genuinely surprised and touched when others compliment or commemorate her relatives. However, she will speak up when she believes the Bolands have not received their due recognition. To illustrate this point, I will contrast two experiences that she had during different commemorative events in 2016, first at a reception for Relatives at the brand-new GPO exhibit, and second at a private showing of a documentary⁷² on Easter Monday, also in the GPO, especially for members of the 1916 Relatives Association's GPO Garrison group.

This contrast should show how Carmel responds to various external varieties of recognition for her family's national service and sacrifice, and illustrates how, in Ireland, commemoration of individuals from the Revolutionary Generation is still haunted by the divisions and painful memories of the Civil War. Though the State uses bureaucracy to navigate such tensions, Relatives are still left unsatisfied with official commemorative activities, and

⁷²This documentary was made by Steven, a relative himself, and active member in the 1916 Relatives Association (at the time of this research). While producing this documentary, Steven had solicited stories and photos from Relatives, and supplemented this primary research with secondary sources by professional historians. Steven profits very little (if anything) from his documentary work—he sells copies of DVDs at events, but also posts the entire films on his YouTube channel, “Easter Rising Stories.” This channel, and its films, are instead his passion project.

distrustful of state-led efforts to honor their ancestors. This is why Moore Street is so important—not only is the developer an antagonist, but the State as well.

The GPO is still a functioning post office. It houses the central postal activities for the Republic of Ireland and is open Mondays-Saturdays for public business. At the time of my first visit to the GPO in 2014, there was a small museum to the side of the general service area, dedicated to both the history of Ireland's postal system and the events of 1916 that happened within the building's walls. This museum underwent a dramatic facelift in time for the 2016 commemoration and is now called "GPO Witness History." This is a permanent exhibit which chronicles the build-up to the Rising and the day-by-day events that took place in the GPO building during the Rising but stops suddenly at the rebels' evacuation onto Moore Street (which is not mentioned in the exhibit's narrative). The exhibit itself is impressive; guides are dressed in period costume, and present themselves as rebels involved in the Rising, and professional historical re-enactors, such as John, were consulted in order to guarantee the accuracy of artifacts. I was personally impressed with the majority of the exhibit, but not everyone is entirely satisfied.

As Carmel explains, she liked the GPO "Witness History" exhibit overall, but she has one critique of the way that the curators handled the creation of a roll of honor. For one, it was on a looped slideshow on a large screen in a room at the end of the exhibit, right next to the toilets. Carmel thought that this was disrespectful, but she had a more substantive critique with the content of the roll of honor as well, because neither Harry nor Ned, who both fought in the GPO during the Rising⁷³, were included. Apparently, the roll of honor included those who were granted pensions for their service in the Rising (which were collected between 1923-1953, as a

⁷³ Verifiable through Bureau of Military History Witness Statements.

result of the Army Pensions Acts and Military Service Pensions Acts⁷⁴). However, before the new Irish Free State began to process these pensions, both Harry and Ned had died, and were thus unable to apply for pensions.⁷⁵

Carmel contrasts this to the second event, Steven's DVD launch:

I enjoyed the launch of Steven's DVD of Easter Monday in the GPO...but what endeared me to Steven is I have an ongoing quibble with the "Witness History" curator, that he wouldn't put my grand-uncle Harry and grand-uncle Ned [on the roll of honor]. Now grand-uncle Ned was in the Imperial Hotel, across the road, but that's the GPO Garrison, and grand-uncle Harry was in the Metropole Hotel which burnt down so he went into the GPO but [the curator] said, because they didn't get their pensions because they were both dead, as it turned out that's why they didn't get their pensions, they couldn't be on the roll of honor, but Steven, God bless him, put their photographs as the first two photographs you see on the DVD, and I love Steven forever because of that.

To Carmel and other activists, this sort of unimaginative bureaucracy typifies the way in which various sectors of the Irish state operate. Creating a roll of honor based on pensions to verify individuals' involvement in the Rising) seems lazy because it leaves out those who could not file a pension application (because they had died or moved away, for example) or chose not to do so. The pension process for veterans of the Rising was an incredibly politically sensitive matter, because many republicans did not trust the new state, sometimes for the rest of their lives (such as Finn's grandfather), so an accurate count of everyone who was involved in the Rising at the GPO during any point in the Rising would be a tedious task, but not impossible.

⁷⁴ From the Irish Military Archives website ("Origin and Scope" page, under the Military Service Pensions Collection section). Author and date unknown.

⁷⁵ On a larger scale, the task of figuring out just who is a 1916 Relative is a very complicated undertaking, and there is still not one definitive list of participants and (relevant here) their descendants. Though the Rising was very well documented at the time (due to the growing proliferation of photography in the 1910s), the British Army's arrest records, the Irish Free State's pensions and the Witness Statements from the Bureau of Military History, there are still a few participants that could have fallen through the cracks. Additionally, many people today do not understand the extent to which their ancestors participated in the Rising, if at all.

In contrast to this form of record-keeping, Steven compiled his own roll of honor (in this documentary) through his numerous interviews with various Relatives, as well as using primary and secondary historical sources (such as Wren 2015). Though he is not a trained historian, Steven is committed to the accuracy of his work, and more importantly, respect for those he works with. Like an anthropologist, he builds trust with Relatives (no doubt helped by the fact that he is one of them!) and is cautious of how he shares information publicly⁷⁶. In this case, Steven knew that Carmel was disappointed in the way that the GPO exhibit excluded her relatives, so he made sure that they were prominently featured in his own work, for Carmel and her relatives to see.

To Carmel, Steven's act of including Harry and Ned Boland, and his consultation with Relatives, corrected the State's (disrespectful) bureaucratic oversight. This is an important point for both Irish Studies and Anthropology, because it speaks to the way in which trust and respect for historical figures is mediated by various official and personal histories and relationships. Steven earned Carmel's trust as a fellow Relative and empathetic oral historian. He is a kind person who is genuinely interested and energized by gathering stories of the Irish Revolution. His films often include multiple viewpoints (especially when the films concern controversial characters, such as Patrick Pearse and Eamon De Valera), and he never repeats stories told in confidence. He also shares the films freely, instead of charging admission or viewing fees.

On the other hand, Carmel is disappointed with the State's commemoration of the Revolutionary Generation, as exemplified in the GPO Witness History roll of honor. Because the curators used the State's pension records to identify individuals to include on this display, they

⁷⁶ For example, he turned off the comments on YouTube videos of interviews with Relatives in order to prevent vitriolic comments that may offend the living subjects of the videos. This happened in a video about Patrick Pearse and his descendants, because Pearse is still a controversial figure (mostly due to some of his now-questionable poetry about young boys).

missed many combatants who did not or could not apply for a pension, and completely overlooked the female rebels (who were not allowed to apply for a pension on the basis of their gender, yet still served vital roles during the Rising). At best, this is lazy, and at worst, disrespectful and partisan⁷⁷.

Similar feelings of disappointment and distrust are seen in the way both Relatives and others approach the state-sanctioned development plan for Moore Street, and I will show in Chapter 3.

⁷⁷ The Military Service Pensions (1916-1923) were set up to provide financial assistance to wounded veterans (as well as widows and dependents) who could prove that they took part in the Easter Rising, War of Independence, and/or Civil War (Gibney 2014). Pensions had to be applied for, and their claims were assessed by a committee. Legislation to enact the relevant pension programs (and modify them) existed between 1923 and 1953. <http://www.militaryarchives.ie/en/collections/online-collections/military-service-pensions-collection-1916-1923/about-the-collection/origin-and-scope>

Chapter 3: Futures of Moore Street

Introduction

The Save Moore Street campaign may at first seem to be a straightforward story of a local community fighting against the building of a shopping mall on top of a sacred, historical place. However, campaigners' visions for the future of the area, both ideal and pragmatic, show that activists are not against change completely. They would like to see investment in their neighborhood, to improve their quality of life, and most importantly, they want to be heard, and have a stake in the future of their community and especially in a space that they find meaningful.

Community engagement and sense of ownership is essential to any successful development project. Local groups can stymie the plans of deep-pocketed firms and states through long-term campaigns and the generation of public sympathy. They may also hold more sustainable, thoughtful, and profitable ideas for how to encourage and enhance the experiences of tourists to their city. This is because tourists crave local experiences when they travel, and this includes when they shop. Many retail developments have now begun to embrace this 'experience' model of shopping center and include references to the local area and community in their architecture, to create a sense of place. Thus, developers should not only listen to local communities, but embrace their ideas—though developers have a financial stake in their development project's future and profitability, locals have a historical, affective stake in the area's future and profitability. They know what makes their community unique and interesting to both residents and visitors. Even anti-capitalists want to live in a nice city.

As an anthropologist, I am interested in understanding what it means to care about a place, and imagine its future, especially a future that you have a personal stake in. Why people care about this place has been the subject of the previous chapters, and I will add additional

insights here regarding this topic. I do this not only as a theoretical or academic exercise, but because the stakes are still very high for individuals interested in the Dublin Central/Moore Street development plan. Activists worry that they may come across as “cranks” to the opposition and general public, for their passionate pleas against the shopping mall plan. Instead, I hope to humanize these activists, by analyzing the complexities (and contradictions) of thought that underlie their public activities. Because this is a cause that is dear to their hearts, many activists have given much thought to what they would like to see in Moore Street in the future. Thus, their imaginaries of the area’s potential are rich in sensorial detail and some seem economically viable, as part of a larger long-term heritage development effort (which has been proposed by the state).

The Anthropology of Imagining the Future

Applied anthropologists have recently called for more attention to how people imagine futures (Salazar et al. 2017), and this chapter heeds their call, not only by providing a case study that further supports the importance of such an endeavor, but by exploring the psychosocial complexity of what it means to “imagine the future” and how it is closely tied to both identity and historical subjectivity. Thus, imagining the future is not only important for the community and development projects that are the content of these imaginaries, but also for how people understand themselves and their way of being.

There is a rich body of literature that focuses on the anthropology of the imagination, which encompasses dreams and rituals, as well as national belonging and is often traced to earlier philosophical, especially phenomenological, ideas (Crapanzano 2004; Anderson 2006; Gordon 2008; Hollan 2008; Sneath, Holbraad, and Pedersen 2009; Graeber 2011; Salazar 2012; DeLugan 2014; Gammeltoft 2014). I place the idea of “imagining the future” within this

literature, as the data from this research fits best here. One could make a case, however, that it would work just as well within the anthropology of uncertainty (e.g. Trnka 2011; Di Nunzio 2015), anticipation (e.g. Nuttall 2010; Weszkalnys 2014) or hope (e.g. Miyazaki 2004; Lear 2006; Zigon 2009).

The concept of “imagining the future” can also work as a theoretical category of its own, as Salazar et al. (2017) have recently argued. Such ethnographies can focus on either planning for what is known to happen in the future, imagining a radically new future, or the vague and unknown spaces between these ideal types. This line of inquiry is nothing new in anthropology. In fact, Margaret Mead was interested in using anthropological methods to imagine the future of Western civilization, and ways that humans understand such futures, in 1971 (Mead 2005). More recently, Pink et al. have theorized “the future as an alterity of the present, rather than something viewed as if from afar...the future is ‘other’ in that it is both imaginable and unknowable” (2017:133). Blending traditional ethnographic methods and design thinking, they argue for varieties of ways in which humans perceive the alterity of the future. One productive method is through embodiment: “the body and its relationship to the environment [are] productive of an affective sense or perception of an atmosphere of another alterity...we see this sense or perception as emergent from the relationship between the environment of the present and a human capacity to imagine (in cognitive and embodied ways) what it would feel like beyond the present” (2017:145). As I explored in Chapter 2, this idea also works in reverse: just as we can imagine potential futures, we can imagine potential pasts as well. As Simone Abram argues, “We are now well aware that people can hold multiple senses of temporality, just as there are different scales and senses of the past, so it follows that we can hold multiple futures” (2017:75). By

walking along Moore Street, one can imagine possible experiences of the rebels of 1916 *and* future groups of schoolchildren on educational field trips to the site.

Anthropological inquiry into how people imagine the future and understand their horizon(s) deepens the well-trod argument that developers need to include locals in their projects, especially in historically significant areas. For example, Crapanzano is interested in the “vague and inarticulate” (citing William James) horizons that we create as we ponder the future existentially (2004:18). As Simone Abram points out, such philosophical explorations into anthropological futures do not seem to sit well alongside the supposedly pragmatic practice of urban and regional planning (2017:77). However, she argues that, “to imagine is thus existential in that it is an act of being human and eliciting meaning. Imagining the future can thus be conceptualized as a way of thinking out what it is to be oneself, by expanding one’s horizon beyond oneself. Planning futures, on the other hand, are supposed not to be about the self, but must be about the grounded and socio-political imagination of the progression from now to a bounded reality yet to come, yet its means of imagination” is also an existential activity (Abram 2017:77, referencing Josephides 2014). I agree with this assertion, and as a psychological anthropologist, hope to reconcile how individuals affected by urban planning can imagine both existential and pragmatic futures for their community and their own lives.

In Chapter 1, I have written about how these activists work to further their cause, so here, I primarily focus on how they narrate their imaginative versions of their ideal outcome. While exploring such imaginaries, I have found that activists, like the rebels whose actions they seek to honor, carefully consider how their actions today will be remembered in the future. By imagining the future of a historical area, they also imagine their own future legacies and craft their historical subjectivities.

Imagining a City's Future

One of the primary lessons that I have learned from this research, and hope to share in this chapter, is that it is not only the morally correct decision for developers to include community members in their plans, but it will enhance the plan and ensure its long-term sustainability. As documentarian Giorgio Angelini has recently shown, communities thrive when residents feel a sense of ownership and stake in their neighborhoods (2018). The need to be included, and to have a recognized stake, in such a plan is vital to how local people form their identity (in this case, as Irish republicans, patriots, or progressives) and perform their own duties toward those in the past and those in the future. As both potential customers and attractions in their own rights (tourists overwhelmingly claim to want to meet locals during their trips, for “authentic experiences,” so therefore, locals *are themselves* a tourist attraction⁷⁸), local community members are an asset to developers, and should be treated with respect.

This argument is hardly new within the anthropological literature (i.e. Herzfeld 1991; Holsey 2008; Joy 2012; Hanks 2015; Herzfeld 2016). What I hope to add is that locals do not always favor preservation for its own sake (as developers often assume), but in fact crave alternative forms of development, even when they have difficulty articulating exactly what they hope to see for their communities. Though I do not wish to unjustly deride developers, who provide a necessary service, development business firms’ profit-driven analyses on investment returns can blind decision makers to the intangible value of spaces for the very people that they hope to serve. This is even more important in an urban center that heavily relies on tourism as part of the economy, as is the case in Dublin (Turner 2018).

⁷⁸ According to Lonely Planet, Dubliners’ warmth and friendliness is a key attraction of the city itself (McCarthy 2017). This is echoed in most every tourist guide that I could find via a quick Google search for “reasons to visit Dublin.”

Planning Imaginaries

This research builds upon the argument that the activity of planning is essentially an exercise in “imagining the future,” as planners must imagine a site’s potential for various uses (such as residential and commercial), and “zone” accordingly (Abram and Weszkalnys 2013). Additionally, “Planning is a form of conceptualizing space and time, and the possibilities that time offers space” (Abram and Weszkalnys 2013:2). Though Abram and Weszkalnys describe the day to day activities of planners as “mundane,” planning is hardly neutral and unbiased, and can be theorized as a Foucauldian form of governmentality (2013). In this way, Abram argues that, “visions of the future becomes figures around which to articulate hopes and fears for collective life, for ideals about nature and culture, about spiritual beliefs and moral standpoints” (2017:73). What Abram and Weszkalnys found in their research on local planning in England, and I found in this research as well, is “that little of the planning perspective from the district council planning office was shared by local residents, while house builders approached the planning system through game-playing with the ultimate and over-riding concern of maximizing profit and ‘shareholder value’” (2017: 67). Thus, what counts as heritage for planning (and tourism) purposes is often tied to public and private economic concerns. According to Thompson (2017) and Hanks (2015), socioeconomic concerns often parallel decisions on designations of heritage: gentrified, middle- and upper-class areas are more likely to be designated as “heritage,” whereas working class areas are “slums” that must be redeveloped regularly.

The Case in Ireland

This is especially important in Ireland, a country that has suffered economically from the risky investments of a few banks, which led to an austerity package that will cripple citizens for decades to come. The people were left behind because the banks were too big to fail, and the

country was left littered with “ghost estates,” half built real estate projects that no longer had investors.

Historical Overview of Planning in Dublin

Dublin is a very old city. It was first established by the Vikings in the 9th century, and grew into a prosperous trading settlement under them, as well as following waves of invaders from England beginning in 1169. The original Viking settlement was (perhaps surprisingly) rigidly planned, and their settlement patterns could be recognized into the 18th century, which is when Dublin underwent a dramatic geospatial transformation (O’Leary 2014:22–23). Here is not the place for a comprehensive history of Dublin, but for the sake of backgrounding the following argument, I will mention a few key relatively recent historical events that shaped the planning of Ireland’s capital city.

By the mid 18th century, Dublin was crowded and convoluted. Narrow medieval streets could no longer support a growing population and did not impress the increasingly wealthy Georgian elite. A commission to redesign the most congested thoroughfares, which became known as the Wide Streets Commission, began to intentionally redesign the central bridges and boulevards of Dublin. These projects (which began in 1757 and officially continued until 1851) transformed Dublin into a fashionable center for city life, and it became known as the “Second City of the (British) Empire” by 1800 (Fraser 1985). In addition to the creation of wide streets, elegant new terraced homes housed Dublin’s Protestant elites. In the early 18th century, these elites primarily resided on the north side of the city (near Moore Street), but following the Duke of Leinster’s surprising decision to build his new mansion south of the River Liffey, the fashionable set moved south. Dublin’s south side is still home to the country’s wealthiest neighborhoods to this day. The abandoned Georgian townhouses quickly became tenement

slums, especially in the mid-19th century, as refugees arrived from the countryside, escaping the Great Famine.

1913-1930

By 1913, Dublin had clearly become a city divided by an increasingly suburban wealthy elite and the almost 90,000 residents (of Dublin's 400,000 in total) of the north inner city tenement slums (Granville 2013:44). Families would occupy single rooms of once-grand estates, disease and crime flourished at higher rates than those in English cities (2013:53-54). Such terrible living conditions inspired the 1913 Lockout, led in part by James Connolly in order to advance workers' rights (and thus, wages and living conditions) for unskilled laborers in Dublin. However, living conditions did not rise for Dublin's poorest, even after Irish independence from the United Kingdom⁷⁹. Living conditions were still poor, especially in the north inner city. The new state had a lot of work to do.

Due to a combined lack of funding and interest in preserving 'colonial' buildings, post-independence urban planning was focused on economic development⁸⁰ rather than preservation (Parkinson, Scott, and Redmond 2016). The destruction of many central buildings in Dublin during the Rising also created an opportunity for a new, more modern city center to form. In the immediate post-independence period (1920s-1930s), planning administrators in Dublin (Dublin Corporation) were overwhelmingly nationalist in outlook⁸¹ (2016:41). Dublin Corporation did

⁷⁹ In 1916, though the Irish economy benefitted from increased trade (imports and exports) due to the war, living conditions for most people remained poor. The infant mortality rate for Dublin (city) was 153.5. In 2014, it was 3.3 for the same area (Central Statistics Office, Ireland 2016).

⁸⁰ This preoccupation with economic growth seems to have continued to the present day, and manifested itself again most clearly in the aftermath of the bank failures of 2008, when confidence in Irish markets was the primary concern of government ministers (Allen and O'Boyle 2013).

⁸¹ In the 1960s, Georgian buildings in Dublin were referred to as alien to "our real national heritage" by then Local Government Minister, Kevin Boland (Carmel's uncle) (O'Leary 2014:92).

succeed in clearing many of the worst slums during this period, but their own building projects have been described as “low quality and lacking in any distinctively Irish character” (2016:41). A central question of this research asks the converse of Dublin Corporation’s reluctance to preserve ‘colonial’ architecture: are buildings closely associated with Irish nationalism worth protecting for their heritage value?

In the immediate aftermath of the Rising in 1916, however, the primary goal was to resume business as usual in Dublin as quickly as possible. Approximately 60 market traders from Moore Street filed insurance claims for damage and looting during the Rising, and most local builders found work making repairs to affected properties in the following months (Kennerk 2013:72). Many traders and shop owners of Moore Street were initially resentful of the rebels, because of the destruction of their neighborhood and the fear that their activities would endanger the ‘separation money’ they received for their male family members’ British military service; however, like the wider Irish public, their opinions reversed after the leaders were executed (Kennerk 2013:52, 77). In the early 21st century, former residents of Moore Street recall supporting the IRA during the War of Independence (2013:78). Local historian Barry Kennerk spoke to one resident who remembered, “in post-revolutionary Dublin [mid-1920s-1930s], the occasional appearance of a rusty Webley revolver in a game of cowboys and Indians was something hardly to be wondered at” (2013:78). Even so, in local memory well into the 20th century, many of the residents of Moore Street (fairly or unfairly) earned a negative reputation for refusing to help the rebels in 1916 (see Kennerk 2013:161; I have also heard similar stories during ethnographic research). Now that Moore Street is no longer residential and many traders no longer wish to pass their business ventures to the next generations, such stories are now becoming lost to history.

1930-2008

Both planning and preservation laws were slowly being enacted in Ireland in the mid-20th century. The first piece of national legislation specifically enacted concerning preservation was the 1930 National Monuments Act, which focused primarily on pre-1600 structures (thus, built before the Tudor and Cromwellian conquests⁸² (2016:42). However, its scope has since been widened, and this law was recently invoked to support the classification of Moore Street as a National Monument of historic interest (Barrett 2016; Hogan 2018).

Unlike the immediate post-independence governments, cultural nationalist planning trends were falling out of favor in post-WWII Ireland⁸³, in favor of more globalized, European influences (Parkinson, Scott, and Redmond 2016:44). This makes sense, given that Ireland joined the European Council in 1949 and European Economic Community (EEC)⁸⁴ in 1973. However, Ireland was behind its European neighbors in terms of conservation of architectural heritage. Following their European neighbors, Ireland formed *An Taisce* in 1948 (inspired by the National Trusts in England and Scotland), in order to safeguard Ireland's natural and built heritage as development threatened the traditional character of the rural countryside during this period (Parkinson, Scott, and Redmond 2016:42).

In terms of planning, the 1934 Planning Act delegated most planning decisions to local authorities, which precipitated the formation of local councils (Dún Laoghaire Corporation and Galway Corporation were early adopters of this policy) (O'Leary 2014:70). Another planning bill, the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1963, further empowered local

⁸² See Appendix for more about these movements and their effects on the native Irish.

⁸³ In officially neutral Ireland, World War II was called "The Emergency." Citizens still suffered economic hardship and food shortages, which especially hurt the traders of Moore Street (Kennerk 2013:85–88).

⁸⁴ This body was incorporated into the modern European Union in 1993.

authorities to promote commercial and industrial development (2014:83). According to a specific developer-friendly provision of this bill, “If a development was deemed to be against the public interest, and permission refused, the developer could be compensated for loss suffered through refusal to grant permission” (Parkinson, Scott, and Redmond 2016:43–44). Refusal was expensive for the state, though, so it was given sparingly (2016:44). Furthermore, Irish planning authorities had little purchase power and funding (unlike their British counterparts, which the Irish planning laws had been based on), and thus relied on private, commercial investment (O’Leary 2014:99, 106). This has been interpreted as a symptom of Ireland’s “postcolonial tradition of individualism” and value of individual property ownership (Bannon 1989:148).

Perhaps the most significant measure aimed at protecting Irish heritage sites was the Council of Europe’s Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, held at Granada in 1985. This convention outlined binding rules and procedures for identifying and conserving heritage sites within Europe, which were not ratified in Ireland until 1997 (Parkinson, Scott, and Redmond 2016:44–45). To comply with the rules of the Granada Convention, Ireland formed multiple new administrative bodies, such as the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, and the Heritage Council (2016:45). The protection of heritage was sidelined during the Celtic Tiger in favor of economic development (when the shopping mall plan for Moore Street was first formed), but there is currently interest in preserving areas of Irish traditional heritage, especially connected with tourist plans, such as the Wild Atlantic Way, and more recently, Ireland’s Ancient East (established in 2016 to promote the pre-Celtic, Celtic, Viking, and monastic heritage of the eastern coastal regions), and Hidden Heartlands (established in 2018 to promote the quaint small towns and landscapes of the western midlands).

Wood Quay

There is a common saying that “History doesn’t repeat but it often rhymes.” In the case of Save Moore Street, there is quite a bit of “rhyming” with the campaign to save Wood Quay, a medieval Viking⁸⁵ settlement that was found on land that was set to become Dublin Corporation’s new office⁸⁶. This historic campaign, which occurred in the mid-1970s, is frequently referenced by contemporary SMS activists, as both a precedent for their campaign and reason to continue to fight.

The plan to redevelop Dublin Corporation’s new offices began in the 1960s. The land was selected because it was cheaper than properties closer to the city center. At the time, the neighborhood was in decline, though near some of the oldest buildings in the city, such as the c. 11th century Christchurch Cathedral. The Victorian idea that Dublin had been built on a bog was still assumed to be true into the mid-20th century (Haworth 1984:20). As initial excavations commenced, Viking and medieval-era artifacts emerged, within layers of building materials, which suggested continuous use of the area for a millennium. The National Museum was called upon to make a more detailed excavation, largely as a result of public pressure (1984:22). Their archaeologists found the preserved outlines of 10th and 11th century settlements, complete with artifacts from daily life, warfare, trade, and the old city walls (Bradley 1984). Such findings had the potential to inform generations of scholars and the public about the nature of Viking

⁸⁵ I know that using the term “Viking” for the Scandinavian explorers, settlers, and raiders who terrorized Western Europe in the Middle Ages (they invaded and controlled Ireland between the 8th and 11th centuries) is something of a misnomer because it refers to the act of raiding “going a viking” instead of the ethnic group of people we associate with such acts. However, this is the term used in the popular historical imagination and by those chronicling the Wood Quay controversy, so I use it here (Groeneveld 2017; Mark 2018).

⁸⁶ Dublin Corporation has operated since the 13th century, under the Anglo-Normans, as the city’s administration (though it has undergone much restructuring throughout its history, especially during the Victorian period). It was renamed Dublin City Council in 2001. Here, I will use the names that were in place at the time and hope that this is not unnecessarily confusing.

conquests as well as ordinary life in the Middle Ages, and thus, their significance cannot be overstated. The Danish National Museum agreed with this sentiment, and implored the Irish National Museum to continue their excavations and ensure the site's preservation, as it would contribute to a larger historical narrative of international importance (Haworth 1984:24).⁸⁷

Unfortunately, the National Museum of Ireland did not seem to agree with their Danish counterparts, and argued that, of the entire Wood Quay site, "only the old city wall" can be saved (cited in Haworth 1984:24). The Museum soon earned a reputation for siding with Dublin Corporation at the expense of their purported ideals when they ceased excavations in 1973 and supported the Corporation's plans, despite the fact that there was still a large area to survey. As a result, many people who remember Wood Quay still do not entirely trust the museum to impartially act as a steward for Irish heritage materials and sites (1984:28).

In 1974, the news of Wood Quay's archaeological significance sparked public outrage. A campaign group, the Friends of Medieval Dublin, was formed in 1976 to oppose the development plan and raise awareness of Wood Quay's historical significance. This group discovered that areas of Wood Quay were even set to be demolished without any excavation (Martin 1984:38). According to Martin, the largest march in 1978 "was unique because it embraced all classes, creeds, cultural interests and political groups. The trade unions were there with their banners, as were the Irish Hotels Federation and Dublin Tourism" (1984:47). Members of regularly opposing political parties agreed on Wood Quay's preservation, and the press (mainstream, local, and partisan) ran editorials overwhelmingly in favor of preservation as well.

⁸⁷ The Danish Museum's plea shows international interest in Wood Quay. Media figures argued at the time that no other country would destroy its own heritage as Ireland does (Haworth 1984:25, 37). This is exactly the same argument that SMS make today. They compare Moore Street's significance to national history to the United States' Alamo, or the Netherlands' Anne Frank House.

The Friends, led by historian Fr. F. X. Martin, even took their case to the High Court, and Wood Quay was declared a National Monument in 1978 (1984:40-41). Similar to the Moore Street High Court case, the judge visited the site, and was convinced of its importance to Irish history (40). However, instead of fighting the court case through an official appeal (as was done in the case of Moore Street), Dublin Corporation found a legal loophole that would allow them to demolish the National Monument, which inspired 52 activists to occupy the site in 1979, in a campaign they called “Operation Sitric,” named after the well-known Viking king of Dublin Sitric Silkenbeard (Rosney 1984). The occupiers’ goal was to pressure Dublin City Council to elect new leaders, who would understand Wood Quay’s significance and cease the plans for their new office there (Rosney 1984:86). The most stalwart occupiers left 20 days later, following a legal injunction against them by the contracting company (Rosney 1984:87).⁸⁸

During these incidents of legal challenge and direct action, politicians of the governing party at the time, Fianna Fáil, remained cagey over their authority to settle the conflict, and in December 1978, maintained that no public decision was made on Wood Quay, even though a plan to demolish the site was reached in August of that year, according to then-confidential records (Martin 1984:52). In the end, Dublin Corporation won the fight, and their offices were built on the Viking site in a stark mid-century Brutalist architectural style. These offices have since been rebuilt in 1994, and now include some references to the Viking settlement (such as a “Wood Quay Room,” which features an exposed section of the old city wall⁸⁹). Many of the

⁸⁸ In another similarity to the Save Moore Street campaign, there was also a national signature campaign in November 1978, in which 70,000 people signed in favor of preservation. Like the satirically costumed SMS campaigners have done in 2016, an organizer dressed up as Santa Claus presented this list to Finance Minister George Colley in December (In SMS, Finn dressed as a ‘capitalist vulture’ and others dressed in period costume) (Martin 1984:54).

⁸⁹ This room is available to rent for meetings, as was the case for a conference I attended about 1916 archaeology in mid 2016. The irony was not lost on SMS campaigners who were also in attendance.

archaeological treasures discovered at Wood Quay are now housed in the National Museum of Ireland, and the medieval settlement has been virtually recreated in a tourist- and youth-focused exhibit called “Dublinia” down the street from the original settlement.⁹⁰

The Legacy of Wood Quay

On paper, Wood Quay and Moore Street seem like very similar cases. Campaigns use similar tactics (many SMS campaigners remember the fight to save Wood Quay), and are met with similar official intransigence. Though almost everyone I have spoken to in Ireland (in Dublin and outside of it) has expressed support for its preservation, there have not been marches in support of Moore Street to match the size of the Wood Quay marches in 1978. The biggest difference is that Wood Quay represents a 1,000-year-old history, whereas Moore Street represents events from 100 years ago, and its social history is still being written (by the traders who are still there, and those who still shop with them). The Vikings in Dublin are much farther removed than the Easter Rising, and therefore can be considered much less contentious in the mainstream historical imagination.

Unlike those who fought to save Wood Quay, those who now work to save Moore Street do not always enjoy popular support from the media and those outside historically conscious and/or Republican circles⁹¹. Save Moore Street campaigners have been derided by their

⁹⁰ Even now, I have tried to research Dublin City Council’s reasons for continuing to insist on building their offices at this site and cannot find a compelling answer. As a researcher, I would like to understand, in an impartial way, why such decisions were made at the time, but Dublin Corporation’s and the National Museum’s logic only covered the legality of their development, or the archaeological status (sometimes disingenuously), never the motivation for continually defending this spot for the offices. As I mentioned earlier, Irish planning law was based on weak state administration and purchase power from private individuals and corporations, due to the long-standing, post-colonial Irish interest in enshrining private property rights. However, there are most certainly other spots where the offices could have been built. Personally, the motivation for profit explains the events of the Moore Street campaign far more than for Wood Quay (as Dublin City Council use the site themselves, instead of for a profitable venture, as on Moore Street).

⁹¹ I do not wish to paint the campaign as unpopular—in fact, reactions from the public during awareness-raising events (such as the signature table on Saturdays) are overwhelmingly positive. However, the media does not publish op-eds in support of the campaign, as they did for Wood Quay. Additionally, there are far fewer people that attend

opponents as “cranks,” and against progress and development in any form⁹². This is quite different from the cross-section of the Irish population that marched in support of Wood Quay, according to Martin’s estimation quoted earlier. Friends outside of Dublin (somewhat mistakenly) believe that SMS activists are in the IRA or part of Sinn Féin. Members of the campaign that I got to know and worked alongside have vehemently denied this; and as I explored in Chapter 2, some come from prominent Fianna Fáil and Labour families (such as Carmel, and George and Patrick, respectively), though many support smaller parties (Mary is part of the Green Party) or are Independent or apolitical today (Carmel, Cathal).

So why is there a discrepancy in public support of the two campaigns? Is it because WQ is in the south inner city, and Moore Street in the north, in an area still used and fondly thought of by the nearby working class? Is it because WQ’s heritage is much further removed from current political sentiments and divisions? I suspect that it is a bit of both, but does it go even deeper than that?

Lessons Learned

Save Moore Street campaigners have primarily learned two lessons from their understanding of the Wood Quay struggle: 1) Overall, Dublin City Council cannot be trusted to have the best interest of Dubliners at heart (though some of the individual councilors are on our side), and 2) We cannot lose another significant site in this way! According to George, a life-long Dubliner in his 60s (who remembers Wood Quay),

This [Moore Street] is one battle we cannot afford to lose. We lost a major battle in this city with the disappearance of the Viking site at Wood Quay, which again

rallies and marches for Moore Street today than attended similar events for Wood Quay 40 years ago.

⁹² Some of the Relative activists who have been involved in the campaign since its inception (and are elderly themselves) told me that they feel that others see them this way. Additionally, I was able to meet a collaborator for the developer who used this kind of language to describe the activists. I wish to keep this person completely anonymous.

was a massive shame, not that in this case it was done by developers, it was done by the city council, who we are led to believe are minding the shop for people, and they are actually doing the exact opposite, so that's how I feel about Moore Street.

For him, the shame of losing Wood Quay is reason enough to fight again, because losing that site raises the stakes here—there is now even less of Dublin's built heritage remaining. He continues that the Viking settlement could have been a massive hit for Dublin's tourist industry, as similar sites have been profitable throughout Great Britain.

The way that artifacts from Wood Quay are currently displayed to the public (and have been since their excavation) strikes curious minds of all ages as illogical. Reflecting on a school field trip in the late 1970s, 40-year-old Dublin native Saoirse saw the potential for Wood Quay's (literal) treasure trove of history. As she told me,

I remember Wood Quay as a kid—I don't remember them trying to save it because I wasn't old enough—but I remember vividly going, it must have been with school. They had like a temporary museum somewhere off Stephen's Green [less than 1 mile away] and it was literally a room where they put in the bits that they found from Wood Quay. I was only 10, probably not even 10, and I was standing in the room thinking, 'why couldn't they just leave them where they were?'

If Saoirse had asked this question out loud, I can only suppose that her teacher had a difficult time answering it! Why house artifacts in a temporary museum (or even a permanent one), when the artifacts could be kept in situ, where the potential for advancing knowledge and historical empathy (as I explored in Chapter 2) is far higher? Similarly, Steven critiqued the building of Dublinia, as a virtual replica of Wood Quay meant to educate the public about Viking and medieval Dublin. Like George, he sees Wood Quay's destruction as part of a larger trend of the destruction of priceless Irish heritage sites:

We've already kind of destroyed some of the Hill of Tara by building roads, [and] Wood Quay—I mean, you're going into the museum beside where the actual Viking bodies were, where you could have actually gone and viewed! There goes Dublin City Council on top of the bodies, so now go into this little tiny museum over here and look at on a computer what's underneath Dublin City Council, which is across the road where they built the buildings on top of!

I can only assume that Dublin City Council did not take future tourism into account when they planned their offices on Wood Quay. Thus, for Save Moore Street, the stakes are higher, but lessons have been learned. There are people willing to fight, who do not underestimate the forces against them. According to Relative and long-term campaigner Patrick, “we call [Moore Street] Wood Quay Part 2.”

The Development Plan and Rationalization

20 years after Wood Quay was “lost,” Ireland experienced the boom and bust of the Celtic Tiger, which was characterized by unprecedented economic growth. Once again, economic development was the priority of all local planning authorities, often at the expense of heritage preservation, and local social resources. This is the condition that allowed for the approval of a shopping center plan in the middle of Dublin that would replace the decaying buildings of around Moore Street. In this section, I hope to present the ethnographic situation for this specific case, to describe and analyze the various imaginaries of Dublin's future that have now come into conflict.

During the Celtic Tiger, it should come as no surprise that private developers wielded tremendous influence with regards to planning. In 2006, the Strategic Infrastructure Act made democratic opposition to planning decisions more difficult—those opposed to specific planning permissions would have to navigate multiple levels of bureaucracy to lodge their complaint, and they can only proceed if a plan is not of “strategic importance,” according to An Bord Pleanála

(O’Leary 2014:177). Planning professionals and politicians outside of government have argued that Ireland’s modern planning system was undemocratic, and benefited wealthy corporations and speculators, at the expense of everyday people. For example, Andrew Hind, the President of the Irish Planning Institute (2007-2009), has said that, “the planning system at the time seemed to give a higher priority ‘to the making of private fortunes’ than the needs of communities,” to the nation’s detriment (cited in O’Leary 2014:178). The development around Moore Street certainly seems to be connected to such “private fortunes.” During the Celtic Tiger, Moore Street was drawn into a bigger development plan called Project Jewel that was meant to revitalize O’Connell Street. An Irish-language documentary, *Iniúchadh Oidhreacht na Cásca* (2006), explored the potential corruption involved in this deal, which was taking place at the same time the Moore Street campaign was forming.

As the SMS campaign grew, they did see some victories: in 2007, Minister for Heritage, Dick Roche, declared 14-17 Moore Street to be a National Monument (one of the newest structures to receive this protection at the time), which criminalized any damage done to the site (McCarthy 2016:421). Roche argued that damage to Moore Street should be criminal under the law, but also morally “unconscionable,” including when such actions were taken by the state (2016:421). However, everything changed within two years, after the global economy crashed.

Then, the original Irish developer, Chartered Land, went bust during the crash, and sold the portfolio to NAMA⁹³. Once Chartered Land could no longer hold on to Project Jewel, NAMA quickly sold the loan (and thus control of the development) to the British retail

⁹³ I cover NAMA in more detail in the historical appendix, but for here, it is important to know that NAMA is conceived of as a “bad bank” that bought debts from developers who couldn’t cope after the financial crash. This was set up to “save” the Irish banking system. It was heavily criticized during its formation by economists and political opponents of the ruling Fianna Fáil party, but then Fine Gael took power and took it over and it’s still around. NAMA executives and developers have since been investigated and accused of serious corruption, and criticized more generally for selling off portfolios for dirt cheap (to US and other vulture funds), even as the market improved (Connolly 2017).

development firm Hammerson and the German insurance company Allianz in 2015 for €1.85 billion (Hancock 2015). Apparently, Hammerson executives failed to do due diligence on the acquisition, because they claim not to know that Project Jewel encompassed the heritage site of Moore Street (and was thus locally controversial) when they purchased the distressed loan from NAMA (Connolly 2017). Along with the Minister for Heritage, the Limited company set up for the development by Chartered Land, and now Hammerson, were successfully sued in 2016 to stop the development, but the ruling was overturned in an appeal in early 2018.

Dublin's Development Plan 2016-2022

Because this is a primarily ethnographic project, in which I am interested in the lives and experiences of individuals, I will not use this opportunity to closely read and critique Dublin City Council's official development plan, but I would like to mention a few key sections that characterize this primarily optimistic, inclusive document (which contradicts the anecdotal experiences of the activists)⁹⁴. Instead, I wish to include this document in order to portray a specific state-sponsored imaginary of Dublin's future, which can serve as an ideal type, alongside the activists' own ideals. As an analysis of this plan will show, these types do not sit in opposition to each other. Instead, activists can look to the plan to justify their own campaign goals.⁹⁵

Dublin City Council's plan for 2016-2022 was drafted in 2016, as fieldwork for this research was being conducted. At this time, Ireland's economy was slowly improving after the financial crash, but many families still felt the burdens of austerity. Even so, retail spending was

⁹⁴ Of course, how states act is often different from their official plans and propaganda, as seen in ethnographies of the state by (Scott 1999; Sharma and Gupta 2006; Herzfeld 2016a).

⁹⁵ ...or at least the more conservative of their goals—Dublin City Council is not interested in a socialist or communist revolution, as some activists would hope to see.

slowly rising, and construction projects in progress could be found across Dublin. Dublin City Council's overall goal for their plan is to continue necessary works in the city, so that Dublin could take its place as a vibrant, cosmopolitan capitals in the European Union. As they envision,

“The current return to economic growth is an opportunity to create a vision for the city that will not only facilitate economic growth and enterprise and employment generation, but will seek to ensure that this growth takes place in a coherent, sustainable manner for the benefit of the city, the region and the country... The vision for the city is that: Within the next 25 to 30 years, Dublin will have an established international reputation as one of Europe's most sustainable, dynamic and resourceful city regions. Dublin, through the shared vision of its citizens and civic leaders, will be a beautiful, compact city, with a distinct character, a vibrant culture and a diverse, smart, green, innovation-based economy. It will be a socially inclusive city of urban neighborhoods, all connected by an exemplary public transport, cycling and walking system and interwoven with a quality biodiverse green space network. In short, the vision is for a capital city where people will seek to live, work, experience, invest and socialize, as a matter of choice.” (18)

Though the plan focuses on increasing the availability of housing and transportation, and reducing Ireland's carbon footprint, I will focus on key points from the retail and heritage sections of the plan.

Part of making Dublin an attractive place for residents and visitors is developing exciting places for shopping. Dublin City Council would like the city center to serve as the entire country's “retail core,” where shoppers can find their favorite premier brands, and spend time patronizing local businesses and enjoying the city's build landscape as they shop (28).

Specifically, this means that “it is critical to ensure quality retail design in all areas of the city and especially those with historic streetscapes or otherwise high-quality visual domains” (106).

According to DCC's planning maps, Moore Street is right in the middle of this district.

Especially for out-of-town visitors (foreign and domestic), part of a destination's attraction lies in its aesthetic design and overall "character." This seems to be something that DCC wishes to capitalize on:

The development plan recognizes that Dublin's built and natural heritage is the core determinant of the city's character and is a unique cultural asset, invaluable for our collective memory and identity, to be enjoyed by all the communities of the city, all Irish people and visitors. The role of the city's heritage in providing an authentic urban landscape is important for city marketing, investment and tourism and is acknowledged as a key social, cultural and economic asset for the development of the city. It is a key objective of the core strategy to protect and enhance the special characteristics of the city's built and natural heritage (35).

In practice, determining what counts as the city's heritage is far from straightforward (as the High Court and Appeals Court cases involving Moore Street show). According to DCC's own Record of Protected Structures, only 14-17 Moore Street (not the laneways or surrounding buildings) are listed within the 8,720 distinct items of Dublin's built heritage. These items range from the city's medieval foundations to early 20th century structures, as DCC argues that

Dublin's character is derived from its historical layers...The basic building blocks of this unique urban character consist of individual buildings, streets (both vibrant and sedate), urban spaces, neighborhoods and landscapes. New development will be required to respect the unique character of the city by taking account of the intrinsic value of the built heritage, landscape and natural environment. (52)

The current development project that would place a shopping mall in the middle of Moore Street and O'Connell Street does not seem to follow these guidelines.

With specific reference to this area, the authors of the DCC plan would like to develop a "cultural quarter" around Parnell Square (and American architects were brought over to survey the area as it currently stands). Most interestingly, part of this cultural quarter would involve the redevelopment of a "Victorian wholesale fruit and vegetable market" at Mary's Lane, a short walk from Moore Street, and where the traders currently buy the produce for their stalls (66). In

a similar nostalgic fashion, DCC would like the development of mixed-use structures with shops on the ground floors and housing upstairs, similar to those of the 1916-era market district, and they will also offer tax incentives to protect pre-1915 structures (182).

While Moore Street sits comfortably within this proposed cultural quarter, this plan is independent of Project Jewel, which I can only assume would cause additional friction if both plans were allowed to proceed freely. However, “It is the Policy of Dublin City Council...to support the retention and refurbishment of the cultural quarter associated with 1916 on Moore Street” (200), and “It is an Objective of Dublin City Council...to develop a 1916 Historic Quarter, including Moore Street, with its National Monument and historic terrace, an appropriately developed street market, the GPO and Parnell Square, creating an integrated historic, literary and commercial focus for the north city center and providing potential for tourism and to prepare a Development Brief for the Moore Street Area which addresses the above.” (208) Both of these statements function as public “promises” by DCC to Dublin’s residents and developers (see Abram and Weszkalnys 2013), but the fact that the Minister for Heritage fought in court for the developers to continue to build a shopping center (or do what they would like) with the majority of the Moore Street area, and proper conservation strategies were not adhered to by construction workers in the area (Hogan 2018).

At best, DCC’s plan is a good faith ideal by members of the council that hope to improve the city. At worst, it is an empty ideal made independently to other development deals already in progress. Only future historians will be able to tell us how the plan mapped onto real developments made during 2016-2022, and how DCC ruled in each case.

The Time and Experience of Retail

In addition to the activists' campaign for Moore Street's preservation, there is another force working against the potential success of the proposed shopping center plan—the economic trend of increased online sales at the expense of in-store retail profits over the past decade. In this section, I explore the industry analyses of this trend as it relates to the focus of this research and compare these ideas to those of the SMS activists, who also hold nuanced, well-informed views of retail's future and the sort of businesses that they would like to see in their neighborhood.

Currently, the most important trend in the retail development industry is the growth of the so-called “experience economy.” Before we explore this concept, it is important to understand what is meant by “experience.” In psychological anthropology, the idea of an “experience” has been theorized and problematized. Notably, Robert Desjarlais argues that Western conceptualization of an “experience” is something that a person “has,” and that engages the senses, and “to experience” is not a given state of being in the world for every individual all the time (1994). “Experience entails an esthetics of integration, coherence, renewal, and transcendent meaning—of tying things together through time. A good day for someone who experiences might be one in which there is a novel integration of personal undertakings, a tale to be told about events bordering on the adventuresome” (1994:896). Experiences are bracketed in time; they have a beginning, middle, and end, which allows them to be retold in the form of a narrative (1994:897).

In this context, “experiences are a distinct economic offering” that can be bought and sold in capitalist markets (Pine and Gilmore 1998:97). Though in-person shopping still primarily takes place in physical stores⁹⁶, people do not always simply go to the mall to purchase goods,

⁹⁶ According to research by Deloitte, online shopping accounts for only 9% of retail sales in the United States, but increasing income inequality forces lower-cost retailers to compete for fewer sales (as middle and lower income

because they can do so online. To lure potential customers to shopping centers, retail developers and managers create possibilities for experiences (including premium dining, hosted events and pop-up shops, celebrity engagements, etc.) that shoppers can enjoy, document and share via social media, and tell a story about.

This type of retail design is already successful in various geographical and cultural areas. Alain Bejjani, CEO of Majid Al Futtaim, a leading retail developer based in Dubai, argues that characterless, generic stores will no longer work. Instead, brands must craft personalized relationships with customers and develop loyalty (often using data analytics to map and predict customer behavior), as he imagines that shops used to do in the past (and, I must add, as traders still operate in Moore Street today) (Breuer and D’auria 2017). Interestingly, Bejjani’s vision for the future of retail is a technologically-driven nostalgia. In other words, as technological innovation, such as online shopping, has depersonalized consumer activity, developers of brick-and-mortar establishments are similarly looking to digital technology to enhance the experiences of consumers, to entice them back to shopping in person. This approach has succeeded in China, where malls may dedicate between 30% and 40% of floor space to dining, thus inviting shoppers to rest and perhaps reflect on their shopping experience (Agarwal, Breschi, and Devillard 2017). In my own hometown of the San Fernando Valley (long associated with the “mall culture” of the 1980s), malls offer WI-FI, and encourage shoppers to digitally “check-in” as they shop and dine. Shopping centers may also offer artistic or historical exhibits, such as reproductions of Da

earners of all ages have smaller budgets for discretionary purchases), and higher income earners opt to shop online more than other groups (Lobaugh et al. 2018). These forces explain and complicate the current panic around a “retail apocalypse” seen in the popular media (e.g. Taylor 2018).

Vinci's Sistine Chapel paintings at the Westfield Topanga in Canoga Park, CA⁹⁷ or the Women's Hall of Fame at Michigan's Meridian Mall⁹⁸.

However, ideas about the “experience economy” and online shopping had not yet existed in the early 2000s, as plans for the shopping center in Moore Street were being drawn up. However, in today's economic setting, these forces create a tense disconnect between the plan and industry trends, with activists (and Moore Street) in an awkward state of development liminality. In a press release, Simon Beatty, Hammerson's Director of Retail in Ireland, shares the success that the company has found by acquiring the popular Dundrum Town Centre⁹⁹, located in a wealthy southern suburb of Dublin (Beatty 2017). Beatty shares the company's plan to further add “experiential” elements to Dundrum's customer offerings, such as a pop-up shop hosted by a popular local blogger, and stores from international brands¹⁰⁰. He argues that the secret to Dundrum's success is its “combination of flagship stores, modern dining, state of the art leisure attractions, first-class customer service and enticing events programs to win customer loyalty” (2017). According to this release, adhering to the previous Chartered Land shopping center plan for the Moore Street site would not make good business sense today.

In a point of agreement with Beatty, the SMS activists also understand that the experience economy currently dictates how retail operates. They see empty shops in shopping districts, and though they do not want these spaces to stay empty, they are not keen to see them

⁹⁷ <http://chapelsistine.com/event/los-angeles-ca/>

⁹⁸ <http://www.michiganwomenshalloffame.org/home.aspx>

⁹⁹ Along with the Moore Street site, the Dundrum center is part of Project Jewel, and was formerly owned by Chartered Land. Based on this site's established profitability and later releases from Hammerson claiming a lack of awareness of the controversy surrounding Moore Street, I believe I can safely assert that Hammerson acquired this portfolio because it contained Dundrum.

¹⁰⁰ The burger chain Five Guys recently opened its first Irish restaurant at Dundrum to much fanfare.

replaced by similar big brand shops. According to Saoirse, “We really don’t need another shopping center! You look at any shopping center and there’s probably 40% of the shops empty. There’s something there that can be used in that area.” Saoirse adds that simply building a shopping center will not bring back the vibrancy, color, and noise back to the street. Instead, it should be developed in a way that makes sense for the local community. Saoirse thus sees empty mall shops not simply as a space to be filled with similar offerings, but potential for more radical reimagining of this space, to provide new and original kinds of services or experiences.

Finn, a dedicated SMS campaigner and local community leader in his mid-50s, has thought quite a bit about North Central Dublin’s past, present, and future development. Though he was born in Cork¹⁰¹, and raised in New York for a time, Finn has lived within cycling distance of Moore Street for much of his adult life. He has participated in local politics, supports progressive, independent councilors, and has considered running for office himself.

Finn shared his conception of retail-development temporality with me over the course of multiple unstructured interviews. While discussing the pragmatics of redeveloping the Moore Street area, Finn reasoned that, “if you were to remodel, reimagine this central quarter, you could rebuild the entire market area of which there’s ample space to have all your market-y, boutique-y, type of set ups, going back into the ILAC Centre—which is going to have to be rebuilt, because those buildings only last for so long.” Finn states that the ILAC Centre “will only last for so long” because it was not built to last. I agree that this mall could use an aesthetic facelift but would not be able to assess its structural sustainability. However, what Finn points to is a form of temporality used by planners and economists, referring to the length of a building’s value to its owner/user. The traditional, commonsense view of buildings is that they are “durable” because

¹⁰¹ Finn has an impressive revolutionary lineage himself. His paternal grandfather cycled from Belfast to take part in the Rising, and then joined the IRA in the War of Independence and Civil War.

their “life spans” are longer than most other goods that can be bought and sold, though this often does not account for social factors such as design trends and obsolescence (and also assumes that a building has been reasonably maintained) (Thompson 2017). Within this reasoning, the ILAC Centre has already reached its sell-by date by virtue of being a brick-and-mortar shopping mall in a technologically-enabled and experience-focused shopping age. As Finn explains, “None of these [high street style] shops actually work, and they're working less now than they used to, because it's an online future, and it's only going to get more so. What are you going to do with all these spaces? You have to reimagine it. Retail is over...so what do you need a shopping center for?” As I explained previously, the assertion that “retail is over” must be problematized and is not always true for every segment of the retail market. Though department stores experienced a slight decline in sales between 2015-2017, most retail sectors have had steady sales over this three-year period (Central Statistics Office, Ireland 2018). However, what Finn points to is the idea that the ILAC Centre’s obsolescence can be reimaged into an opportunity for more radical changes to the cityscape.

Finn impressively uses economists’ and planners’ own language and ideas about durability to argue for Moore Street’s heritage value. Buildings that are designated as heritage must be preserved and maintained by law, so they do not fall under the normal rules of durability. Instead of lasting a few generations, heritage sites should last as long as possible, because they are valuable to a group of people that reproduces itself each generation. With this in mind, there is much work to do in Moore Street, by campaigners, planners, and the state. The buildings around Moore Street have hardly been regularly maintained, and currently exist in a precarious state of decay. They are not useful as buildings without lengthy and expensive restoration (even without the necessary regulations that come with heritage restoration projects).

However, the campaigners argue not for their preservation as they currently stand, and not to be used strictly in their original function as shops with family housing upstairs. Instead, Moore Street is significant because it is a trace of a previous time, subject to nostalgia in the present, and evocative of a “pure” or “quintessential” part of Dublin’s heritage that exists outside of time because it has existed for as long as people have documented Dublin marketplace activities.

Given the tensions between heritage time and commercial time, most notably explored by Herzfeld (1991; 2009; 2016b), it is significant to note that Finn does not see a problem combining elements of these temporalities in his version of Moore Street’s most sustainable future plan. In fact, he sees commercialization and development as a part of the regeneration of Moore Street as a more useful and inviting space for local residents who need social services and tourists looking for a specifically historical experience. As he claims,

You can preserve the terrace and the laneways and the footprints and have a focus on the market stalls and the battlefield through the terrace, through the laneways, and you can build the retail aspect of it as well. You can have housing in it, and you can have music centers and various different things. They're building a new school on Dawson Street [within the local working-class neighborhood], which suggests that they're expecting that there's going to be people living in this area of the city, with families, going to school, [so there is potential for the Moore Street area,] you know?

Of course, this would not be easy, and Finn has little faith that Dublin City Council would take all of these factors in consideration naturally. Many activists have complained that Dublin City Council are “paper pushers” and “rate collectors” for the state, without imagination or independent thought, which are two traits that Dublin could use at this time. According to Finn, “I think [we need to] open it up to some kind of mad imagination because the rules [of development and retail economics] are broken. We're in this era of uncertainty, you know, and

why we would have to be left with some kind of god-awful shopping center that's never going to work anyway because the concept is bankrupt?"

The Activists' Imaginaries

What do people think about all of this? To support my claim that developers should take locals' opinions and experiences into account during planning, I will now explore the varieties of imaginaries that engaged Dubliners have for the future of their city. Like Crapanzano's description of an "imaginative horizon," SMS activists universally oppose the shopping center plan, but they are less united about what they *do* want to see in its place. Some have clearly thought about the issue (such as Finn and Cathal) and others have a few visual ideas of what they would like to see, but perhaps they find it difficult to articulate their full vision (such as Saoirse). I am not trying to disparage those who could not gather the "right" words at the right time but acknowledge that describing an imaginative horizon is incredibly difficult, especially when the horizon is wide open. Being able to picture—and in a way, predict—the future is quite a radical concept.

Perhaps it was my own unconsciously-leading question, "What would you like to see in Moore Street?" that prompted the visually-rich responses that I received from subjects. Even so, I enjoyed listening to the narratives of people imagine themselves standing on an ideal-future Moore Street, describing what they sense, and especially what they see around them. Among the activists and supporters I interviewed ($n = 23$) and the public submissions from the Minister's Consultative Forum on Moore Street¹⁰², it is not surprising that all would like to see some kind of a 'proper' memorial site, though what exactly counts as a proper memorial to the rebels of 1916

¹⁰² This will be described later in this Chapter. I should note that some of the data from these sources overlap (i.e. subjects I interviewed also submitted proposals to the forum and expressed the same views). I include both of these sources in order to draw upon a wider range of data to cite as I describe the future imaginaries of Save Moore Street campaigners.

and the generations of street traders is not identical to all. Even so, I was able to find some prominent trends: respondents would like to see ‘respectful’ redevelopment, especially to improve local conditions, and a dedicated museum space centered on the events of the rebels in Moore Street during the Easter Rising.

Conceptualizing Historical Space

In an argument that would be familiar to any archaeologist, the supporters of SMS do not want the area (including the laneways surrounding Moore Street) to be subdivided for different development purposes. Instead, they argue that the entire area is holistically significant to Irish history and local heritage. This argument emerged from the expansion of the campaign’s focus as their original demands were met (the designation of 14-17 Moore Street as a protected National Monument in 2007). Even with this new condition, the initial shopping center plan was only marginally changed: the four protected buildings would become a museum, but dwarfed by the development plan, which by now included hotels and expanded car parks. To SMS supporters, this was hardly a concession to their demands, and seen as extremely disrespectful to those the museum would honor.

This disconnect points to how the two camps (developers and activists) conceptualize space—for development professionals, it can be carved up according to use, whereas for activists/locals, it cannot while preserving its meaning and ‘sacredness.’ Number 16 Moore Street, the last headquarters of the Rising, wouldn’t be the same if it was next to an unrelated retail store built more recently,¹⁰³ especially if it looks too modern or tacky.

¹⁰³ In Galway, there is a shopping center that was built around a Medieval wall (Eyre Square Shopping Centre). It was built around 2000, around the same time as the original Dublin Central Project Jewel was being planned (Eyre Square Centre n.d.).

Instead, the entire area in question should be developed as one whole unit, according to activists. According to Saoirse, “there’s so much there that can be used, and there’s the lane—I mean it’s not just Moore street, all the way back to O’Connell Street. There are so many fabulous buildings [here].” To her, these buildings have potential to be included within any local development plan (rather than being torn down and replaced with more contemporary architecture), but not in the state they are in now. As Saoirse continues, “you look at old pictures of O’Connell Street, and even Moore Street—the color and the vibrancy and the light, it’s gone, it’s not there. It’s devoid of character, it’s slowly being stripped of all the character, and people will forget all of that.” Saoirse’s comment here is based on her memories of coming to Moore Street as a child. She recognizes that her characterization of Moore Street may be a bit nostalgic, because it reminds her of her happy childhood. As she told me,

Oh, it was great when we were kids! On Moore Street, with the colors and the fruit, even if 9 times out of 10 the fruit was rotten. But it was part of where you came from, it was a part of your history. Even if you had nothing to do with it, it was still part of going in there on a Saturday and getting our fruit and veg, and the stories—we have a story! When we were kids, my mom had a shopping trolley, and we’d go into Moore Street. She’d fill it with carrots and all the vegetables, and we’d go home, and we’d wash all the vegetables in the bath—the bath was filled and fruit and veg that was thrown in and that’s how it was washed! And that was your week’s fruit and veg. That’s not done now because everything comes in a packet. I had to teach my kids, ‘they don’t come in a packet! they grow on a plant.’

Thus, for Saoirse, memories of Moore Street relate not only to identity based on a shared past “it was part of where you came from,” and a critique of the modern globalized produce trade and growth of supermarkets. You certainly can’t feel like you are part of a community, and a history, at a supermarket.

She told me that she misses the “buzz,” “vibrancy,” “life,” and “bustle” of the market in the late 1970s and 1980s, referencing not only the sight of color, but the smell of fresh produce and fish, the sound of 100 different conversations (conducted in the local banter, and a distinct Dublin accent that is now associated with street traders), and the physical sensations of navigating your way across a crowded thoroughfare. The Moore Street of Saoirse’s memories (and those of countless other Dubliners over age 35 or so) has a life of its own, full of complex sensory experiences. Today, Saoirse laments that Moore Street, though it has the same buildings, no longer seems to have the same “life” to it. Instead, it’s quiet and empty.

Saoirse still brings her family to Moore Street, even though they currently live in a small Midland town, an hour’s drive or train ride from Dublin. Though the area is now “lifeless” to her, she still brings her four sons so they can learn about their history. Her youngest son, Jay (9 years old during this research), is particularly interested in Irish revolutionary history. Saoirse told me that,

We go up Henry Lane, and Jay loves to do that walk, but he doesn’t like that it’s full of bins and pigeons and the rats and the smell and the dirt. [But] you look at it and there’s bullet holes—I mean, those laneways can tell a story. Without opening your mouth, they can tell a story. One should have an idea; one should know what happened. You can walk those lanes and hear the stories, whereas if you build a shopping center, or whatever they build, it’s gone, and you can’t bring it back.

What “it” refers to is the vibrancy and life of Moore Street, and especially the stories, both of the experiences of the traders, as many families have managed the same stalls for generations, and the experiences of the rebels in 1916. Though the streets are “lifeless” according to Saoirse, and others who remember shopping there before the Celtic Tiger years, they can still “tell a story” as if they have a consciousness, body, and memories (given Saoirse’s fascinating reference to a mouth needed to tell a story). However, Moore Street does tell a story to those who take the

effort to listen. In addition to its stories in the memory of those who used to inhabit the space (and of course, the past and present experiences of those who still do), Moore Street shares its history through local pop culture and archaeology.

First, traders' and shoppers' stories are familiar to many Dubliners, and have even been immortalized in an extremely popular television series, *Mrs. Brown's Boys*. *Mrs. Brown's Boys* centers around the comedic lives of a street trader, Mrs. Agnes Brown, her family, and neighbors. It was created by Brendan O'Carroll, first as a more comedy radio program in the early 1990s, and also as a comedy-dramatic series of books (the first of which was adapted into a film, *Agnes Browne* (1999), featuring Anjelica Huston in the title role). The television show receives lackluster critical interest but very high ratings in Ireland and United Kingdom (Ward 2014; Mrs Brown Retains... 2014; Mrs Brown's Boys D'Movie... :2014). The 2014 film adaptation was shot on Moore Street, and specifically features a conflict between Mrs. Brown and her fellow street traders versus a developer who hopes to demolish the market and build a shopping center! According to O'Carroll, developers "want to close her down and all the other stallholders to make way for this new shopping center. I don't know where they (the writers) make it up from" (Sweeney 2013).

Second, Moore Street tells its story through the archaeology that has only recently been studied professionally. According to local historical archaeologists, evidence of battle activity can still be seen in the form of bullet holes in bricks around Moore Street (Campbell 2016). This corroborates Witness Statements, which claim that the area around Moore Street was entirely used during the Rising by rebels, British troops, and civilians. It was an area of activity, with barricades, firefights, looting, and many deaths. Because so little redevelopment has taken place since 1916 in this specific area, damage from the Rising can still be found in a few areas,

including the bullet holes that Saoirse refers to in Moore Lane and Henry Lane. Bullet holes from the Easter Rising cannot be re-created and still “tell a story,” according to Saoirse. Other SMS activists and supporters, such as Carmel, have made the same argument. According to Carmel, the solution is simple: “This place hasn’t changed, so why would you not preserve it? Build up the rotten bits and make them into something spectacular. But no! The minister wants to build a shopping center, we have hundreds of shopping centers.” Here, Carmel compares the value of a generic, hypothetical shopping center with the potential value of the buildings and space of Moore Street. Like Saoirse, she acknowledges that Moore Street is not in perfect condition and would need work done for any restoration, but such work is a small investment for a long-term project that locals, visitors, and state administrators (especially those on the tourist board) can be proud of. She doesn’t say it will be nice—she says it will be spectacular! Though Carmel’s imaginary for Moore Street is vaguer than others’ (which I shall cover later), what stands out is her excitement for its regeneration and transformation. This is an issue that she is very passionate about, because it is deeply personal to her as a Relative, Dublin native and cultural enthusiast, and long-time Moore Street shopper who values her friendship with the traders. Moore Street is not a blank canvas for complete development, but has a story, a life, and its own distinct potential for the future.

Similarly, Saoirse references another re-purposed historical building in Dublin, the National Museum of Ireland (formerly Collins Barracks), to explain how Moore Street should be redeveloped:

...You can go up to Collins Barracks, and even though that’s been made into the museum, it’s fantastic. I absolutely love it there, [because] the structure is still there, and it’s been preserved. You can go in and you can imagine soldiers walking through the square, you can see them polishing their boots outside their digs, you can see it because it’s physically there. If it’s physically not there, it would just be a museum. You’d see bits in the display cases, and you wouldn’t

see beyond that. It'd be the same in Moore Street—they knock down the buildings, you'll see what's put in front of you, but you won't see beyond it, or think beyond it. You'll just take what's given to you, so I think it's vital that its preserved.

By illustrating an image of Victorian British soldiers going about their daily routines, Saoirse argues that Moore Street is important because can inspire historical empathy and imagination. Already, Saoirse's son, Jay, and Carmel (as I shared in Chapter 2) already imagine the lives and activities of the rebels in 1916 as they walk through the lanes around Moore Street. Thus, what is left from the physical foundation of the building function as “traces” that activate our imagination (Napolitano 2015). Even though Jay, Saoirse, Carmel, Aisling, and others already feel the presence of the past in Moore Street, they want to see further development so that others can learn to appreciate it as well.

A common idea for Moore Street's potential is a multi-sensory museum site that guides visitors through the story of the Rising (and the market's history) as they walk through the terrace retracing the steps of the rebels. Steven, a local independent filmmaker and campaign supporter, articulates this as a moral project:

I would like to see it as a walk-through museum—the whole terrace—so you enter in where the volunteers came. [It can be in] conjunction with the GPO [Witness History exhibit], you know so you finish your tour in the GPO, and now your next step is maybe to [follow] little arrows in the ground that lead you to walk through Moore Street. Maybe you've got an option to even climb through certain holes, or something, just to feel the experience [of the rebels in 1916], and then to come out at the end, maybe where the O'Rahilly died, but I think that'd be lovely, and then you're brought up to the surrender point, and it'd just be a nice way of doing a proper tour.

As he claims, this would be a *proper* tour, unlike the “shoebox museum” proposed by the state. Steven and others (such as Bridget) specifically oppose the state's plan because a museum would be an afterthought, not the primary feature of the site. Thus, such a plan is improper because it is

insulting to the memory of what the rebels fought and died for, in this very place. Steven explicitly references the death of The O’Rahilly, who commanded a fatal rebel charge down Moore Street and was met with a barrage of British gunfire, which reminds me (as his listener) of the literal blood spilled on these streets by actual individuals, who I can empathize with. Thus, the intent for development, as well as the final product, contribute to what characterizes a “respectful” and “proper” development.

The key here is that the activists want the memory of 1916 to be of primary importance for development of any kind in Moore Street. Some, like Steven and Saoirse, want to see a historical quarter. Others are interested in a less straightforward memorial; for example, Aisling proposed using the space in a way that Connolly would approve of (building a community center, school, social housing, etc.). To her, carrying on Connolly’s legacy would serve as a “proper” memorial to the ideals that he (and others) fought for. Another way to add a social justice component to any future development is to democratize the space, amending for local residents’ historical marginalization.

Additionally, Finn mentions that he would like to see a museum space that honors the actions of all rebels. Finn mentions that he would like it to focus less on the executed leaders and more on the ‘ordinary’ rebels and social life at the time, in the spirit of the republic. As he argues, he and fellow activists

...are in it for the bigger principles and values of the republic. For me, that's what Moore Street is. There's been too big of focus on the recognition of the executed leaders...the memorials that have been made are largely to individuals, and not to the broader sense of the actions that happened, [and] the greater values of what they set out [to achieve], to make a republic. I would aspire to a much broader concept of a republic than a narrow nationalism...the broader republicanism of something that Connolly would've liked to see. [That is what] we've emphasized in the campaign, and it is part of our argument for the entire terrace: it's not just about the five executed leaders that were resident there. The surrender was taken

from there by the command, there were over 300 men mostly, in the terrace, and more in the adjoining spaces as well.

Finn has taken it upon himself to begin this project of honoring *all* of the rebels who occupied Moore Street during the Rising, by carefully combing the Witness Statements and secondary sources to compile a list of names that he now reads at ceremonial events. Not only does this democratize the memory of the Rising and shift it away from a celebration of a few famous personalities, but Finn sees it as his contribution to the historical record and a moral act that must be done, so that all of the ghosts of the Rising are given the respect that they are due as a result of their idealism and bravery.

Moore Street as a Democratic Archive

Alongside the idea of making Moore Street area into a heritage quarter is the idea of turning Moore Street into a kind of democratic archival space, for people to bring their stories in to, so they can be shared and treasured by fellow residents. This is something that George and Finn have mentioned, and a service that the SMS Saturday stall already provides, unofficially (in Chapter 2, Carmel mentions that she loves coming to Moore Street to hear the stories that people share with her and the team, which can involve memories of walking down Moore Street as a child, or a relative's bravery during 1916). While collecting stories (and sharing them on social media) has long been part of the stall's activities, this is currently a side project, and under-strategized compared to the signature campaign. However, it has been proposed as a longer-term goal for the campaign, and its members individually. In contrast to the top-down approaches of established museums (such as the National Museum of Ireland), Finn would like to see "a repository, the place that you bring in your history to, not receive [an official version of history]" As he continues,

I think there's still such a strong oral tradition in this country, and in certain parts more so. I'm getting that stuff every day, you know—I mean today, I bumped into these guys from Carlow and they were telling me about [their relative] who was a business man who might've been shot in the barricade up in Stephen's Green [in 1916], I think it was now. People are carrying around all this stuff, [and I would ask,] 'How do you know that? How is that in your psyche? How is it there?' And [the story/artifact] has probably been handed down in some way or other, for example, somebody's father knew something or other... That's my plan, that's our [campaign's] part.¹⁰⁴

The idea that the curation of an archive as an activist project has been richly studied by scholars in archival and information studies, especially as they focus on feminist and LGBTQ+ histories (Cvetkovich 2003; Stewart, Lal, and McGuire 2011), postcolonial and post-violent states (Gilliland 2011; Wood et al. 2014; Gilliland and Caswell 2015; Halilovich 2015), including Ireland (Foley 2016). In many of these cases, the act of archiving facts that unsettle hegemonic histories can be a brave (and sometimes dangerous) choice, as we have learned from the experiences of anti-fascist political theorists and cultural commentators.

Though life and death are arguably not at stake in this case, activists are interested in creating an archive to bring to light stories that have been ignored in official narratives and to build an unofficial alternative repository of memory. It is also a way to connect with others on a deep and personal level, by sharing the idea that these stories, and these identities tied to history matter to another person, who likely also has a story of relatives' extraordinary experiences. As mentioned previously, many activists are old enough to remember the fight to save Wood Quay, and the National Museum's complicity in its loss. Why should people trust the Museum with

¹⁰⁴ Finn's own story is very interesting—he has relatives who fought on both sides of the Civil War (some in senior positions), and it strongly affected the next generations of his family. Even now, in his 50s, he is still working through what it means that his relatives experienced harsh violence in their early lives and kept it secret from him and his generation. He is still discovering records of their actions from older relatives and does his own research as well. I hope to write about his story in a future article, so I will save any further analysis for that.

their stories now? Even if one trusts the current Museum leadership, Finn argues that challenging any authority is the idea:

You could delve into the people's history, because it's a rich source of wisdom. I mean, that's a dangerous thing, and I acknowledge that it is a dangerous thing for the institutions and the powers, but I believe they should be challenged every day. That's what citizens are for, you know, that's what a republic is about. It's a whole load of citizens questioning everything, not just on holidays, or protesting, you know?

Thus, according to Finn, the act of creating an unofficial, democratic archive in Moore Street is tied to the goals of Ireland's revolutionary founders. In this way, archives, and people's stories, are powerful because they can inspire active citizenship, especially if they do not fit a standard narrative¹⁰⁵.

In a similar project, Bernie, another member of the Saturday team hopes to add the voices and faces to popular narratives of the Rising. She has begun to print Witness Statements that mention the activity in Moore Street during the Rising, and profiles of rebels outside of the central leadership (including Bridget Foley, Winnifred Carney, and Harry Boland), to better spread public awareness of the experiences of more “ordinary” members of the rebel group and inspire historical empathy. In addition to information about the inter-generational experiences of the traders (of whom multiple activists wished to make sure are represented in any museum display), such a “social history” archive would certainly be a part of their ideal of a re-developed Moore Street.

Who is this for?

Activists imagine three primary groups as the beneficiaries of a properly redeveloped Moore Street: local residents, present and future school children, and foreign tourists. I have

¹⁰⁵ The most prominent recent example of this is the erasure of women's participation in the Rising by the conservative post-Independence state (McAuliffe 2009).

discussed the ways in which activists hope to transform Moore Street into a more inclusive and supportive space for the local community in my ACIS chapter, “Something Connolly Would Have Liked” (forthcoming), so here I will focus on the remaining two groups.

Imagining Future School Tours

Roughly half of the participants in this research are parents (of children ranging in age from infants to adults in their 30s), and seven have classroom experience, as teachers, school board members, or visiting historical educators. Younger activists are also not far removed from their own school experiences. As part of my interview strategy, I asked participants to reflect on how Irish history was taught to them in school, and how they think it should be taught. Additionally, many brought up the potential for school tours in Moore Street for various age groups, independent of my prompting. This section will focus on the ethical reflections of activists, as they conjure images of school field trips to Moore Street, both in its current state and various futures.

Activists and concerned individuals often want to create a better world for future generations. In this case, activists want children to be able to visit Moore Street as part of historical school tours, to learn about 1916 through the historical experience of walking along the spaces of the battle, led by informed guides or teachers. This can certainly be done alongside the development (now because 14-17 are officially protected) but comes with a sense of shame that those in charge have let the area decay into a slum and only 4 of the buildings left. George, a retired teacher and leader of such field trips, recounts the emotions he felt as he led students down these laneways,

What used to hurt me was that I was a teacher and I used to run a lot of historical tours of the city with my students. I would follow the 1916 story from Liberty Hall [James Connolly’s union headquarters] right up to the GPO, right up to where James Connolly was injured, and right through to the evacuation up

through Henry Place, up through Moore Lane, to have a look at Number 10 [Moore Street], where they had to burrow through the walls to save people from the machine guns on Parnell Street, and imagine in a few years' time, if the developer gets their way, if NAMA get their way, if the state get their way, I would have to say about O'Rahilly Parade, 'well that's where it happened, but it's now a car park,' where Elizabeth O'Farrell left with the flag of surrender, 'that's now a Dunkin Donuts.' Try to imagine it—imagine saying that to children!

The idea here is that children will not understand—or accept—the corrupt influences that worked to demolish their heritage. Visiting historical sites has long been a feature of schoolchildren's historical education in the West, and has been shown to help students remember content from their field-based lesson, build historical empathy, and also develop stronger critical thinking skills and tolerance in general (Greene, Kisida, and Bowen 2013). Such benefits would certainly help an active citizenry during any period of time, but like in the United States, young people in Ireland are currently showing more interest in learning about their nation's history and fighting for social justice. Bridget, a 60-year-old SMS supporter and long-time social activist, fondly speaks of the local young people she has met. She is “amazed” at their grasp on facts and figures about the Easter Rising, and believes that they are getting a more holistic education about Irish history than she had (which she recalled was mainly about the British royalty). Other activists aged 40-60 recalled similar classroom experiences and expressed anger over the tight control of the Church over education in Ireland¹⁰⁶. According to Bridget, there is a large contingent of “activists of the future” currently growing up, and unafraid to discuss social issues in public (unlike their parents). One of these “activists of the future” is surely Saoirse's son Jay, who is already a familiar face among the campaigners. Saoirse is proud of his involvement, because, as she told me, “where Moore street is involved, and we can make every effort to be involved, and

¹⁰⁶ This is still a debate in Ireland today, but as I have learned from people of different age groups, religion has become a much less central component of Irish education post-Celtic Tiger years, coinciding with increased diversity and the globalization of Ireland.

when we're dead and gone, [my son] is interested as well, the likes of his generation will carry it on, you know? That's all you can hope for." Thus, like activists of social movements all over the world, including the Easter Rising itself¹⁰⁷, the SMS campaigners see themselves as a link between past and future, doing their part in the time that they have, to fight for a larger cause—protecting their city for its residents and ordinary people of all ages everywhere.

Tourism

Like planning, imagining the future is also a central component to the experience of tourism. Such “tourism imaginaries” have been studied by anthropologists from the perspective of the tourists themselves and tourism professionals (e.g. Chronis 2012; Rakić and Chambers 2012; Salazar 2012), or tension between locals’ and tourists’ imaginaries of a given place (Holsey 2008; Hanks 2015)¹⁰⁸. “Overtourism” has been recognized as a problem throughout popular Western European destinations, such as Scotland and Spain, and municipal authorities are brainstorming ways to best manage large numbers of visitors while maintaining a high quality of life for residents (Fraser 2018; Llado 2018). However, in Ireland, both national and Dublin authorities are interested in increasing the number of foreign tourists and developing sustainable and attractive tourist experiences (Dublin City Council 2016; Tourism Ireland 2018). They also want “to promote and enhance Dublin as a world class tourist destination for leisure, culture, business and student visitors” (94).

¹⁰⁷ As the rebel leaders prepared for surrender, proclamation signatory and strategist Seán MacDiarmada gave a morale-boosting speech to the troops, imploring them to “survive” because then they will be able to continue the fight (Feeney 2014:274).

¹⁰⁸ Additionally, Herzfeld (2016b) provides an example of a more complex situation in Bangkok, where tourist revenue is sought by both planning authorities and residents of a historical site, but like in Dublin, these groups have different, and sometimes conflicting, goals.

Unlike schoolchildren, it is less likely that tourists would join the cause to preserve Moore Street at a later time¹⁰⁹. Instead, SMS activists point to tourism as a reason to save Moore Street because it will help tourists appreciate the city, which will help the local economy, and provide a sense of pride in the North Inner City, which has been overlooked in favor of the more gentrified south side of Dublin since the late Georgian Period. This is not only for the larger goal of social justice and community investment across the Dublin municipal area, but a pragmatic approach for tourist management.

Despite the work of the Wide Streets Commission, Dublin is still a very dense city, and many streets are as narrow now as they were during the medieval period (especially between Temple Bar and Wood Quay, a popular area for tourists). This is something that Dublin City Council and activists agree on. Part of the Council's strategic approach to economic growth involves "promoting tourism as a key driver for the city's economy, particularly through making the city attractive for visitors, international education, business tourism and conventions" (Dublin City Council Plan 92). Finn mentions that some of the most popular tourist attractions, such as the Book of Kells, cannot support ever-increasing numbers of visitors.¹¹⁰ Also remarking on the crowds in the city center during the height of the tourist season (summer), Bridget noted that finding parking is a difficult and expensive task, which keeps suburban Dubliners (and many from outside the capital) out of the city center on a regular basis.

Additionally, Bridget invokes a sense of shame connected to tourists' experiences in the Moore Street area. She has noticed, and does not like, how tourists see the capital:

There are currently walking tours that come around this place, the amount of the volume of the footfall is incredible, and the tourists are looking at trash cans! I mean, they are appalled. We're kind of used to it, we become desensitized in this

¹⁰⁹ but it has been known to happen with Dutch and French allies, and an American researcher!

¹¹⁰ This claim is also made by Dublin City Council (2016).

country because we're used to all this crap going on, but I think it's when tourists from other countries come over, they are visibly appalled to see the state of the place that should be a museum.

Tourists' imaginaries of Dublin shatter when they notice that an area so important to Ireland's history is basically a slum, instead of a large-scale museum. The idea that a central tourist area is dirty is not unique to Dublin; as a native of Los Angeles, I similarly advise tourists to expect that Hollywood is dirty and tacky, but this is because it is commercialized as a tourist center, not in spite of it. Instead, I seek to highlight that Moore Street seems undertheorized and underdeveloped as a potential tourist attraction. Like the residents of Bangkok's Pom Mahakan (Herzfeld 2016), SMS activists understand that tourists hope to encounter "authentic" cultural experiences when visiting a foreign country and feel that they are in a position to provide this.

This does not mean that Dublin City Council has no role to play in developing local tourism. DCC "recognize[s] that many of our key tourist attractions are in regeneration areas with challenges of dilapidated buildings, vacant sites, and public domain in need of improvement; and to develop projects...that will address these challenges" (95). The DCC plan does not mention Moore Street as a tourist attraction, but rather focus on more established attractions, such as the Guinness Storehouse, Jameson Distillery, and Kilmainham Jail. These areas are located in traditionally working-class neighborhoods, but unlike Moore Street, are rapidly gentrifying¹¹¹. Such projects would simply expand the tourist areas surrounding already profitable spots, which is part of DCC's plan. The other part is the creation of new tourist experiences in and out of the metropolitan area, including the planned Parnell Street cultural heritage quarter.

¹¹¹ Even since the report was written in 2016, I have seen continuous progress "cleaning up/urban renewal/gentrification" the areas around the Guinness Storehouse (Saint James) and the Jameson Distillery (Smithfield). There are fewer run-down buildings and more hipster coffee shops.

Overall, SMS activists support this plan, and hope that it would help regenerate Moore Street, if local residents are consulted and included in the development. They imagine that this will be a benefit to future tourists and hope that tourists would approve of their goal to include Moore Street in this heritage quarter. To support this idea, Mary and others have imagined the experiences of future tourists in a properly redeveloped Moore Street. Mary empathizes with tourists by sharing her own tourist imaginary:

I think that it really has a future and its somewhere that I would like to see in generations to come: that people would go and be sitting there in the bar and having wandered around the [Moore Street area] and say, ‘Hey you know, can you believe, like I heard they were actually going to knock this down and put a shopping mall? Can you believe that? This is just an amazing place! Isn’t it great that we have this here?’

...

Why do I want to head into the city center and go to a shopping mall? I would rather leisurely wander around and discover new little things down little lanes and alleyways, you know? I don’t want to be in an environment that’s controlled, that has shops that all look the same as any shops. What’s the point, you know? Whereas Moore Street is uniquely Irish—you won’t get this anywhere else, and that’s what people like. They like to visit something that’s different, that they can feel that they discovered themselves, and they can go and tell their friends, ‘hey I found this really cool place’...and I just think that it will really rejuvenate the whole North inner city as well, because there’s been so little done to help that area. People who live there do feel proud about the area they live in, but it’s just been left to run down. [To me,] it’s almost like if the [state and developer] want to put something in, but it has to be done in such a sanitized way that will actually deter the tourists from the actual street. [They will be driven] away from the street, away from meeting the local people. It’s like somehow you couldn’t be mixing with them, you know what I mean? Whereas Moore Street is a place where people would actually interact and meet, from different backgrounds, [which is better] than sticking tourists in shopping malls that make local people feel unwelcome. It definitely would be very bad for the street traders and for the shops that are currently there; some of those shops have been there for generations.

Adding to Bridget's comment mentioned earlier, there are multiple different instances of shame at play. Bridget noted that she herself (as a Dubliner) felt ashamed and unhappy that tourists were disappointed in Moore Street's current condition. Mary adds that she suspects Dublin City Council (and/or those even higher up in the state) are ashamed of the local working-class residents, and do not want tourists to see this side of Dublin. Moore Street certainly lays bare the disparities of income and quality of life that can be found in Dublin. However, as working-class activists (such as Bridget, Saoirse, and George) express, there is nothing to be ashamed of about growing up working-class, and they critique the superficiality of the Irish middle- and upper-classes. This may certainly be the defense mechanism of a disenfranchised group, but it still provides a powerful argument in support of regenerating Dublin's North Side, as an area of "authentic" and "essential" Dublin character, worthy of sharing with tourists.

Instead of shame, a blog post by a supporter of the campaign, Diarmuid, colorfully illustrates his imaginary of a "future tourist's account" of visiting a Moore Street that has been developed to honor the Revolutionary Generation and take pride in its locality¹¹². His character is "Isabela," an Argentine woman generally interested in the history of revolutions, who has come to see the site of Ireland's own anti-imperial struggle. In "Isabela's" account, she joins a tour based on the Easter Rising led by a guide, assisted with audio headsets. She wishes to follow in the footsteps of the rebel Eamon Bulfin (who was born in Argentina to Irish emigrant parents but raised in County Offaly—and also celebrated there). Isabela enjoyed that, through her headset, she could hear sounds of gunshots and a blazing fire as the group passed the GPO and learned about the rebels' evacuation from there to Moore Street on the fifth day of the Rising. As the tour continues, her headset plays conversations between rebel fighters (which could be imagined for

¹¹² This is a publicly available document, so I use the author's name to give him credit for his writing.

dramatic effect or taken from accounts in Witness Statements), and she learns about the painful decision to surrender and the rebels' treatment under British martial remand, before the guide instructs the group to put down their headsets and tells the story of how Moore Street was almost lost.

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

Afterwards, the group dedicates a round of applause to these campaigners, before exploring a walkthrough museum built within the terrace on Moore Street. There is a plaque commemorating not the rebels here, but the campaigners, who have themselves become part of Ireland's history of rising up against authority in order to build a better future. Diarmuid has personally submitted this account to the Minister's Consultative Forum, to guide the forum to empathize with tourists who seek rich cultural and historical experiences. Both Mary's and Diarmuid's versions of tourist imaginaries highlight not only the realistic expectations of Moore Street's potential appeal among visitors, but also a kind of common sense regarding their specific forms of redevelopment ("why would they want to demolish *this* great place?").

The tourists of Mary's and Diarmuid's imagined futures are happy to meet local Dubliners, and they marvel at Moore Street's history, unique character, and development controversy. This is a powerful rhetorical device because it allows us to empathize with an imagined person from the future, and thus "see" Moore Street through different eyes, who do not take its current condition for granted. As Bridget mentioned, Dubliners are used to seeing (and smelling) the trash bins around Moore Street, but tourists are not. Such features take them away

from a historical experience that they crave—but things do not have to be the way they are. As the activists argue to the Minister and DCC, we can change the future for Moore Street, and it will help us *all*.

Conclusion: Realism vs. Idealism

Despite SMS activists' rich imaginaries of how and why Moore Street should be redeveloped, how confident are they that they will find success? For most activists, there is a deep ambivalence—they understand the forces of big money, but also want to keep fighting because they see it as the right thing to do, and a way to be on the right side of history. They believe that they have the nominal support of the public, as evidenced through the signature campaign, and are following the legacies left by the Revolutionary Generation, especially James Connolly. As the socialist Aisling shared in 2016, “My head tells me it's going to get demolished, my heart tells me it's not. And I wrestle with that.”

Another internal conflict for activists (and within activist organizations) is the amount of compromise of their ideals that they are willing to accept. There is certainly a high level of diversity among SMS activists and their supporters, but I would like to end with Finn's words, as he wrestles with this question himself:

Now I don't know how you can maintain the value of the republic within the context of those kind of things, but it's the kind of reality that we're faced with, and if you can control it, to some level and degree, you can maintain some level of integrity about it, and value, then it can be quite, you know, it doesn't have to be just brutally capitalistic, you know?

Thus, there are avenues for potential success that do not fit neatly within a “development” vs. “preservation” or “modernity” vs. “tradition” dichotomy. Instead, activists argue for a new kind of development that is based on their identities as Relatives, Dubliners, and republicans, and is supported by contemporary economic trends away from traditional retail

operations. Whether or not their demands are met, all of the activists I met are determined to fight for the sake of fighting, because they feel that the moral vision of 1916, of striving for a fair and free republic, in which sovereignty is held by citizens, is on their side. By doing this, they are not only building a legacy of activism, but their own personal historical legacies.

Conclusion

As I have attempted to outline here, *historical subjectivity*, a subject's awareness of their thoughts, actions, and motivations as based in historical narratives, with the potential to craft their own historical legacy for the future. This is an inherently moral phenomenon, because the historical subject receives their value system(s) from exemplars, both present and past, and this value system underlies the sorts of actions they pursue, and the way they hope to be seen by those in the future. My exploration of historical subjectivity has encompassed how historical subjects, in this case the activists of the Save Moore Street campaign, go about the practical business of creating their own legacy in the present (through public rallies and satirical street-theater displays that will be recorded for social media), empathize with subjects from the past and describe their own relationships with people, spaces, and events imbued with historical significance, and imagine the future of their city, community, and own legacies. All of these activists have strong moral ideas about *why* they pursue their campaign activities and the results that they hope for. To various extents, they understand that campaigns are compromises, but they are answerable not only to their supporters in the present, but past generations of historical figures (Irish Revolutionaries), and future generations of Irish and international visitors. They empathize with historical figures associated with the Irish Revolution because they see their actions as similar: as underdogs against powerful international elites over the control of Ireland. The activists are thus not only empathizing with members of the Revolutionary Generation's motivations, but also carrying on their project (creating a version of Ireland, whether the whole island or only a 1-square-mile area of Dublin's Inner City, that they would be proud to share with visitors and future generations).

This dissertation was not conceived as a traditional book-style manuscript. Instead, it is a compilation of writings from the almost-four years that I have been engaged in an ethnographic study of the Save Moore Street campaign in Dublin, Ireland. However, I have attempted to synthesize these writings into thematically-oriented chapters, which focus on the “past,” “present,” and “future” as these concepts function for historically-conscious subjects. Of course, one cannot easily separate such temporal dimensions, and this is not an ethnography of time or temporality in general. Instead, I use the “past,” “present,” and “future” as labels to orient the reader to the ways that the activists look to history for inspiration and a sense of purpose, the present to engage their audiences, and the future to secure their own historical legacies for the next generations. Throughout this dissertation, I have used the term “historical subjectivity” to refer to these various ways that subjects orient themselves temporally, within various levels of consciousness of doing so. For many activists and members of the public, thinking about the past seems natural on Moore Street. It is precisely the naturalness of this feeling that interests me. Furthermore, what does this feeling inspire within subjects? For activists and those who sympathize with the SMS campaign, it inspires empathy with those in the past, especially the rebels of 1916.

Final Thoughts

The primary source of this project’s fun and frustration is the feeling that, as an ethnographer, I am chasing a moving target. Social activism and development are ongoing, changing, evolving phenomena, and this written account of the situation in Moore Street will inevitably “freeze” both in time (specifically, in the period between 2016 and 2018). Though Chapter 3 involves imagining Moore Street’s future, I must leave this discussion on a cliff-hanger. As of November 2018, Hammerson’s revised plan for the Dublin Central part of Project

Jewel (which encompasses Moore Street) has yet to be revealed. Whether or not Colm Moore and his legal team will further appeal his suit against the state and developers is also uncertain. And in a point that echoes the Irish Civil War closely, 100 years after it bitterly divided the nation, will various SMS activists accept any compromises with the state and developer, or will they hold out for their own particular ideas of “victory”?

Ireland’s Decade of Centenaries is also still ongoing. As I write this conclusion in January 2019, Ireland is commemorating the centenary of the establishment of the First Dáil and the beginning of the War of Independence (January 21, 1919). At this time, Easter Rising veterans such as Constance Markievicz, Éamonn De Valera, Michael Collins, and Harry Boland were elected as Sinn Féin representatives to this first Irish parliament. This was a bold and revolutionary move against the British Empire, and in what is a dramatic coincidence, on this same day, a “flying column” of guerilla fighters ambushed a group of Royal Irish Constables (the police force) as they transported weapons in rural County Tipperary. *The Irish Times*, the nation’s leading broadsheet newspaper, calls this event “challenging,” and “sensitive” (Madigan 2019)¹¹³. It is true that the coincidental events of the First Dáil and Soloheadbeg ambush paint a complicated picture of a national movement, and their legacies have long been debated by various parties (McGreevy 2019). Judging by the difficulties involved in planning the centenary of the Easter Rising in 2016, it will be interesting to see how the Irish state continues to juggle any commemorative activities of Ireland’s partial success separating from Great Britain alongside its role in the European Union’s Brexit negotiations, especially as the even more haunting legacy of the Civil War (1922-1923) comes into renewed focus.

¹¹³ It should be noted that the author of this piece, Josepha Madigan, is currently the *Minister for Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht* (who inherited the position from Heather Humphreys). It is unclear at present if and how Madigan plans to tackle the debate over Moore Street.

This is especially poignant as Ireland becomes a bastion of social progressivism on a popular level (after 2015's LGBT+ marriage referendum and 2018's abortion referendum). Unlike in the United States, in Ireland and other European countries, social and economic progressivism do not always exist in parallel. Though social progressivism is on the rise, economic conservatism (both old-fashioned liberalism and neoliberalism) still dominate Irish economic policies, leaving many vulnerable residents at risk of poverty, homelessness, and without adequate social services. However, there is hope for the left: more than ever before, voters are rejecting the dominant parties of Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil in favor of nonpartisan Independent representatives, many of whom espouse leftist policy ideas.

Though it is still ongoing, the campaign to Save Moore Street is now a part of history. I do not mean to presume that my writing about the campaign has given it this historicity—the campaigners have done this on their own. They are historical subjects in both ways of defining the word¹¹⁴: they are products of history, affected by its vicissitudes, and they are also agents of the creation of their own historical legacies. By understanding the ways in which these subjects relate to historical events and figures, we can further uncover the varieties of historical experience and consciousness that can be “activated” to motivate change in the present, for the sake of the future. Through satirical street performances, they remind us that the “life” and “soul” of the city at stake under any development plan and hope that the “ghosts of the past” can provide moral direction to us in the present. Through encountering photographs, life histories, long-inhabited spaces, and films, they remind us that empathy across temporalities is possible, and empathizing with historical figures contributes to our identities and ways of relating to the world around us, because places are fundamentally historical (they have their own histories and

¹¹⁴ Biehl et al. provide an etymological analysis of the “subject” as both an actor and acted upon (2007).

meanings inscribed by people over time) (Feld and Basso 1996; Low 2000). However, not only places are historical—as the central thesis of this dissertation argues, we are also historical. We can be conscious of our ancestors and their legacies, and strive to create *our own* historical legacies, in both monumental and ordinary ways, for the futures that we can predict or imagine. Perhaps at its fundamental level, what this means is that we all matter, to someone or something, and that we all can make a difference. The kind of difference that we chose to make is up to us.

Appendix A: “800 years of oppression:” (the complex history of British-Irish relations, 1169-1998)

It’s quite common to begin any history of Ireland, even local history, with the “800 years of oppression under the British” and the struggle for national freedom. Whether or not the time before this was any sort of Celtic utopia is not clear today, but for now, ironically, we’ll start this Irish history with the English. In 1169, King Henry II¹¹⁵, sent forces to invade Ireland at the invitation of Diarmait Mac Murchada, deposed king of Leinster. Mac Murchada was engaged in a struggle to regain his kingdom. With Norman assistance, Mac Murchada was successful, and a prominent Norman commander, Richard (“Strongbow”) de Clare succeeded Mac Murchada as king of Leinster through marriage to Mac Murchada’s daughter, Aoife. Strongbow seized prominent Irish cities, such as Dublin and Waterford (which had been established as trading ports by the Vikings centuries ago), and the Normans began to consolidate their power, nominally under the rule of Henry II. Henry invaded in 1171 to establish his control of Strongbow’s territorial holdings and grant other Norman lords lands in Ireland. He was able to do this through a bill of Laudabiliter from the Pope, Adrian IV. This bill operated under the assumption that the Catholic Church in Ireland was badly in need of reform in order to bring the Irish system closer to the Roman system, and Adrian, the only English pope to date, gave this task to Henry II. Henry granted the land they controlled, now called the Lordship of Ireland, to his son John¹¹⁶. When John became king of the Angevin Empire (encompassing England and part of modern-day France), Ireland came under direct Crown rule.

¹¹⁵ Henry II came from the Anglo-Norman Angevin line, later called the Plantagenets.

¹¹⁶ It is important to note that not all of the island of Ireland was included in this territory. Only areas around Dublin and the major ports, such as Waterford and Limerick, were included. The rest of the island was still controlled by Gaelic chieftains.



Figure 9: historical provinces of Ireland (photo found on Wikipedia Commons)

Over time, the Norman lords assimilated into the native Irish political system, often through strategic marriages, and were seen as in fact “more Irish than the Irish” and not reliably under English control¹¹⁷. This all changed in 1542, under the rule of Henry VIII. The story of Henry VIII’s conversion to Protestantism in order to obtain a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, is well known, but it is actually quite relevant here—because Henry VIII established the Protestant Church of England, he no longer could rely on the bill of Laudabiliter to support his claim over Ireland. He also wished to replace the Anglo-Norman (Catholic) hegemony with a new Protestant order that would be loyal to him. So, the Irish Parliament passed the Crown of Ireland act granting Henry VIII (and his successors) the title King of Ireland. This means that Ireland was its own kingdom, with its own Parliament, controlled by Protestants loyal to the English Crown.

To briefly summarize the events of 1542-1798, under the Tudors, Stuarts, and Oliver Cromwell, English control of Ireland expanded, through brutal conquests. The English replaced Catholic landlords with Protestants and established a Plantation system in which the native Irish were stripped of their landholdings and forced into tenancy under a new Anglo-Irish landlord. They were only allowed small plots of land for their own subsistence, and they began to heavily rely on a nutrient-rich crop that could survive in inclement soil—the potato—newly introduced in Ireland after being “discovered” by Europeans in the Americas in 1536. At the same time, laws were passed in the Irish and English Parliaments limiting the political and economic power of Catholics.

The Irish versions of these were called the Penal Laws, established throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and not completely repealed until the 20th century (in the Government of

¹¹⁷ This does not mean that everything was peaceful—there were many violent clashes between the Norman and Gaelic forces throughout this time.

Ireland Act 1920). The Penal Laws were set up after the Catholic uprising of 1641 against the Protestant planters in Ulster, and the Jacobite (Catholic) losses during England's Restoration of the Monarchy. These laws severely restricted Catholic involvement in Irish legal and professional institutions, which allowed for the "Protestant Ascendancy," or age of Irish domination by an elite Protestant minority (Wall 2001). At the same time, the population was growing beyond a sustainable rate, and all residents had to pay a tithe to the (Protestant) Church of Ireland, no matter their own personal beliefs; both of these led to a decline in living conditions for the Catholic peasant majority and contributed to the humanitarian crisis of the Great Famine (Wall 2001:178). Most of the Penal Laws were repealed between 1778 and 1829, beginning when France declared war on Britain during the American Revolution, so Britain was worried that Ireland would become a pawn in this power struggle (as France was Catholic under the Bourbon monarchy) (Wall 2001:188). Though these laws were relaxed, the Irish did not experience a sharp increase in their standards of living or political representation, as the hegemonic Protestant Ascendancy was well secured.

Early Rebellions: "six times during the past three hundred years"¹¹⁸

It should not be hard to imagine that the Irish, now second-class subjects in their own land, were quite unhappy with their disenfranchisement. Largely inspired by the American Revolution in 1776, and the French Revolution in 1789, a group called the United Irishmen staged a rebellion against British control of Ireland¹¹⁹, and wanted to establish a more democratic government with religious tolerance (for both Catholics and Protestants, as the leaders were

¹¹⁸ This is a direct quote from the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic, which references the uprisings or battles between English/British and Irish forces during 1641, 1689, 1798, 1803, 1848, and 1867 (de Paor 2016:98).

¹¹⁹ I have switched from referring to "English" control of Ireland to "British" control because the Acts of Union of 1707 established the United Kingdom of Great Britain (formerly the Kingdoms of England and Scotland), under the same Crown, which controlled both kingdoms since 1603, when James VI of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth I, and received the additional title of James I of England.

Protestant themselves). However, they were great with ideas and pretty dreadful with military planning. This rebellion was firmly crushed, even with the aid of French soldiers, and resulted in at least 10,000 civilian and combatant deaths on the Irish side, though some sources estimate that this number is closer to 50,000 (cite).

The most important result of this uprising is the 1800 Acts of Union, which dissolved the Irish Parliament and brought Ireland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Irish representatives would now sit in Parliament at Westminster. A seemingly random effect of this is that the fashionable and political life of Dublin ended, as former Irish parliamentarians moved to London. Their former lavish Georgian homes would soon become some of the city of Dublin's worst tenement slums during the 19th century.

Though the Irish lost their Parliament, they did not lose their appetite for rebellion and longing for national sovereignty. There were three major armed incidents in the 19th century, in 1803, 1848, and 1867, all orchestrated by secret revolutionary societies, such as the Fenians¹²⁰. Because they were the results of secret organizations, these early uprisings were relatively small affairs, especially compared to the mass rural agitation of the Land Wars in the 1879-82, in which tenant farmers called for an end to the landlord system and spurious evictions, and for greater rights to the land they farmed. This is a direct result of the traumatic memory of the Great Famine (1845-50), in which approximately one million Irish died and one million more emigrated, mostly to North America (Moody and Martin 2001:226). As a result of the Land War and mass support for a greater degree of Irish self-sovereignty, the British government began to respond in favor of the Irish, first with the Land Act of 1881 and then with the Wyndham Act of

¹²⁰ The Fenians (also known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood) were responsible for the 1867 uprising and a subsequent bombing campaign, in the name of Irish independence (Connell 2011). Their influence waned in the late 19th and early 20th century but was revitalized in the buildup to the Easter Rising in 1916.

1903 (both of which encouraged landlords to divest of their Irish properties and sell their land to the tenants). However, the most significant legislative move for Irish independence from British authority, the idea of Home Rule, was far more politically expansive than these land-specific bills.

The Irish Volunteers: From Home Rule to WWI

Popularized by charismatic Irish parliamentarian Charles Stewart Parnell and championed by Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone and the Irish Parliamentary Party¹²¹ leader John Redmond, “Home Rule” refers to a political relationship in which Ireland is recognized under British authority, but largely self-governing with its own parliament. Home Rule bills were brought up in Parliament in 1886 and 1893, and both were defeated, with fierce opposition from the House of Lords. However, in 1911, the House of Lords lost their veto power and could only delay, but not prevent, a bill becoming law. The Third Home Rule Bill was passed by Parliament in 1912, and set to become law in 1914, but this never came to pass for two reasons: strong resistance from Unionists (primarily in the northern Irish province of Ulster), and the outbreak of World War I.

Not everyone in Ireland was in favor of Home Rule. In September 1912, a group of Unionists (mostly from the northern province of Ulster) met in Belfast and signed the Ulster Covenant, which stated their serious opposition to Home Rule, and promise to resist it as soon as it became law. Many Unionists were Protestant, and the descendants of those who immigrated to Ireland from England and Scotland following the Tudor, Cromwellian, and Jacobite wars in the 15th and 16th centuries. They identified more with Great Britain than Ireland and feared that they would become a powerless minority in a Home Ruled Ireland that would answer to the Pope

¹²¹ This political party was primarily interested in establishing Home Rule in Ireland.

instead of the people. They also feared a decline in northern industry, to the benefit of the southern agricultural economy, which was far less developed and modern (Dorney 2014:77). The Unionists talked the talk, and they also walked the walk. In addition to the Covenant, the Ulster Defense Force (UVF) was established in 1913, a militia armed with weapons imported through Larne, County Antrim. Because of British sympathies against Home Rule, nothing was done to reprimand or impede the formation or armament of the UVF.

In some ways, the formation of the UVF was a great opportunity for those in favor of Irish independence (Dorney 2014:81)—if those opposed to Home Rule would be allowed to form a militia, then anyone should be allowed to do so! In November 1913, a crowd of approximately 5,000 people assembled for the formation of the Irish Volunteers in central Dublin (Ferriter 2015:137)¹²². This militia was established as a response to the UVF and to aid Home Rule efforts. However, a secret society called the Irish Republican Brotherhood took little time to infiltrate the primarily cultural nationalist Irish Volunteers, in order to steer its agenda towards armed rebellion and total independence. A women's auxiliary force, Cumman na mBan, was founded in the next year, in order to aid the Volunteers in their mission. Like the Volunteers, they trained, drilled, and wore green wool military-style uniforms. Technically, all of these organizations were legal because they could argue that their purpose was “to defend the security of the Empire” in some way (Dorney 2014:83).

Because there are different active stakeholders involved, I will take a closer look at the Volunteers' leadership, because this will provide insight into the variety of political viewpoints that could be found in Ireland in the buildup to WWI. First and most obviously, the leader of the

¹²² The Irish Volunteers are often confused with Sinn Féin, a political party formed in 1905 by Arthur Griffith, which was formed to consolidate the various nationalist political groups in Ireland at the time. It later became associated with republicanism in both Northern Ireland and the Republic. For now, it is important to note that the Volunteers were erroneously called “Shinners” by their detractors.

Volunteers was Eoin MacNeill, a university professor and member of the Gaelic League, which promoted use of the Irish language and a romanticized ideal of “authentic,” pre-English, Irish/Celtic culture that was popular at the time¹²³. MacNeill and others in the League were not seen as violent or threatening to the wider social order and establishment. Under MacNeill, John Redmond hoped to harness the Volunteers’ enthusiasm for his own political agenda. Since Redmond was already very popular for his work advancing Home Rule, this worked to garner 180,000 recruits for the Volunteers by 1914 (Dorney 2014:83). In this way, Redmond (and to an extent, MacNeill) sought to use the Volunteers in aid of the political Home Rule bill, not for any uprising of their own for anything more than Home Rule. In order to further this mission and prove their mettle, the Volunteers’ leaders purchased and organized the transport of 1,500 rifles and 49,000 rounds of ammunition from Germany in July 1914 (Townshend 2011:54; Dorney 2014:83). This shipment landed at Howth, Dublin, and caught the authorities completely by surprise. The Volunteers were now armed, and some were ready to fight.

Unbeknownst to MacNeill until the spring of 1916, the Volunteers harbored a secret society with much more radical politics—the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). The IRB had regrouped since 1912, under the strategic leadership of Bulmer Hobson, and then notably Thomas Clarke and Seán MacDiarmada, and was still committed to total Irish independence through armed insurrection, despite their past failures (Townshend 2011:39). Clarke had been a member of the IRB/Fenians since 1878, and took part in one of their bombing campaigns, landing him a 15-year prison term. After his release, Clarke was still firmly committed to the IRB’s cause. MacDiarmada was Clarke’s close friend and conspirator, and an effective IRB

¹²³ This sort of cultural nationalism was quite popular all over Europe in the late 19th century, so the rise of the Celtic nationalist trend in the arts and culture is not surprising. The most visible aspects of this cultural movement is with the Gaelic League, associated with the Irish language, and the Gaelic Athletic Association, which sought to popularize ancient Irish sports. Both are still active today in Ireland and worldwide.

recruiter, despite a limp from childhood polio. Neither Clarke nor MacDiarmada were fans of Redmond's Home Rule plan, and instead argued that the Volunteers should fight against the British in order to achieve an Irish republic.

Of the 180,000 members, the vast majority of the Volunteers would fight not for Irish Home Rule, but for the British Army once war was declared in August 1914. World War I meant different things to the different factions of the Volunteers. For Redmond, it meant the chance to prove Ireland's loyalty, and thus ensure the passage of Home Rule. Redmond urged his followers within the Volunteers to join the British Army, and they did en masse. These men became known as the "National Volunteers." Only 12,000 stayed with MacNeill (and the IRB) in the Volunteers, which opposed Irish activity in WWI. In the ideology of the IRB, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." Thus, the time to strike for freedom was now!

Labor and Living Conditions: The Rise of the Irish Citizen Army in Dublin

The Volunteers and Cumman na mBan were not the only uniformed, armed militia parading around Dublin at this time. To some activists in Dublin today, the most relevant militia from this time was the Irish Citizen Army (ICA), which arose during Ireland's largest urban labor strike (check that?), the 1913 Lockout. To understand the significance of the ICA, I will first describe life in Dublin for the majority of the city's poor, and the labor dispute that preceded its formation.

According to data from the 1911 Census, Dublin had the dubious distinction of having the most slums and poorest living conditions in the United Kingdom (and it was supposedly the "Second City of the Empire" at the time). There was a mass influx of the starving poor due to the Great Famine (1845-51), and at the same time, the wealthy were abandoning their Georgian red-brick homes in the north inner city for more fashionable homes in the southern half of the city,

and London. The poor filled these homes, which became unsanitary, crowded, and disease-ridden tenements. Dublin had the highest infant mortality rate in Europe in 1911, and the leading socialists of the era (Marks, Engels, and Lenin) all believed that Ireland would be the natural setting for a socialist revolution (McCartney 2001:250).

Around the world, labor activism was on the rise, and unions were working to improve the condition of workers in Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere. In Ireland, the labor leaders James Larkin and James Connolly founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) in 1909. Predictably, capitalist business owners were not pleased about the rapid growth of this union, and in 1913, 60 workers at the leading newspapers, the *Irish Independent*, were fired for their union membership (Lorcan Collins 2012:202). A "sympathy" strike began among ITGWU members, and William Martin Murphy, the owner of the *Independent* and many other Dublin businesses, locked out the strikers from their workplaces. Overall, 25,000 workers were locked out and the strike became a "full-scale showdown" between Murphy and fellow capitalists on one side, and Larkin, Connolly, and the union on the other side (Townshend 2011:48). The Lockout lasted for 5 months, during which the union tried to take care of the affected families, especially by serving meals in their headquarters of Liberty Hall (Lorcan Collins 2012:218). The stalemate finally ended when the union could no longer support the strikers, and the employers promised a few concessions to the unions. James Connolly considered it a draw (224).

Two additional issues for the union was the fact that there were thousands of out-of-work men and also acts of violence taking place in the streets between the police, strikers, and "scab" laborers. To help give the strikers something productive to do, and protect themselves, their families, and other strikers from violence, Connolly decided to found the Irish Citizen Army

(implementing an idea from Captain Jack White) (Lorcan Collins 2012:218). When the Lockout ended, the ICA leadership decided to keep the army active, and it would stand for the pursuit of a socialist Irish republic, with equal suffrage and organized labor (Lorcan Collins 2012:225–6; Yeates 2014). Like the Volunteers, the ICA began publicly drilling on the streets of Dublin in full uniform and with arms (McCartney 2001:251).

The 1916 Easter Rising

Planning a Rising

The IRB continued to plan an armed rebellion against British rule in Ireland through 1914-16, and the secret Supreme Council added more members to its ranks, including the passionate orator, poet, and educator, Patrick Pearse. Pearse was a member of the Gaelic League and a cultural nationalist, who was first a Home Ruler, before his initiation into the IRB and position as a strategic leader of the Irish Volunteers. Though Thomas Clarke was initially wary of Pearse, he understood that Pearse's substantial talents as a public speaker could be useful for their cause (McGarry 2011:103).

Unbeknownst to MacNeill, the IRB Military Council (which consisted of Thomas Clarke, Seán MacDiarmada, Patrick Pearse, Joseph Mary Plunkett, and then by 1916 also Thomas MacDonagh, Éamonn Ceannt, and James Connolly) began to plan a military uprising for the Easter bank holiday weekend in 1916. Within historical circles, there is debate over whether or not this rising was meant to succeed militarily or whether it was a grand spectacle meant to inspire public support for an Irish Republic (McGarry 2011; Ferriter 2015). Indeed, the expectations and motivations of the various members of the Military Council is worth exploring

in far greater detail than can be done here¹²⁴, because they were a diverse bunch, in terms of ideals and military experience.

Now, I will provide a very brief background for each leader to guide the reader. More will be said in subsequent chapters as relevant to these men's legacies. As mentioned above, Clarke and MacDiarmada were the chief strategists and organizers of the Rising, and Clarke's tobacco shop on Parnell Street in Dublin was the headquarters for much of these strategic meetings. Pearse was the charismatic and enigmatic spokesman for the cause, and a committed cultural nationalist and Gaelic speaker who ran a rather progressive boys' school in Rathfarnham, South Dublin. Like Pearse, Éamonn Ceannt was also a cultural nationalist, Gaelic speaker, and musician from Galway who had also been the Irish Volunteers' Director of Communications. Thomas MacDonagh was a poet, playwright, and teacher at Pearse's school as well as University College Dublin colleague of Eoin MacNeill, and apparently an unlikely revolutionary (McGarry 2011:104). His friend and fellow poet, Joseph Plunkett, grew up wealthy but chronically ill. Because Plunkett was often bedridden as a child, he became an avid reader, and one of his chosen topics to learn about was military strategy. Though he had no firsthand military experience, his knowledge of historical battle tactics made him a key member of the IRB as they prepared their own rising.

The only member of the council with any military experience was James Connolly, a late addition to the group and Commandant of the ICA since its inception. The only reason Connolly joined with the IRB is that the ICA was already planning its own uprising around late 1915, and the IRB's Military Council feared that this would weaken the chance for their own planned

¹²⁴ For this, I recommend the *16 Lives* series, edited by Lorcan Collins and Ruan O'Donnell, *The Seven* (2016) by Ruth Dudley Edwards, and *Last Words* (1996) by Piaras MacLochlainn.

uprising¹²⁵ (Townshend 2011:113; Dorney 2014:103). Though an international socialist thinker, Connolly allied with the cultural nationalists and republicans because he believed that freeing Ireland from British rule would allow the birth of an Irish socialist republic (Connolly 1919; Lorcan Collins 2012:259).

The idea for the Rising was national in scope. The IRB Military Council would recruit officers from the Volunteers and ICA to report to them (instead of MacNeill, in the case of the Volunteers) to carry out their uprising, and also try to court German support (McGarry 2011:105). They believed that the Germans would be willing to help the Irish cause in order to hurt Britain during the war. In 1915, Joseph Plunkett and Sir Roger Casement¹²⁶, a former member of the British Foreign Office who exposed human rights abuses in Africa and South America before turning his energy to the Irish struggle, went to Germany to present their plan to the German leadership. This plan involved shipping soldiers and rifles to the west coast of Ireland, in order to spark national action, amplifying the Dublin-based maneuvers that the Military Council were planning (McGarry 2011:105–6). It was rejected by the Germans, but the Irish did not go home empty handed: the Germans promised to help if the Rising proved strategically viable, and did offer a smaller number of arms to the Irish, which would be shipped a few days prior to the scheduled Rising, in a ship disguised to look Norwegian (and thus neutral in terms of the war), and called the *Aud*. Casement would travel with the *Aud*.

¹²⁵ Connolly's induction into the IRB Military Council has been described as a "kidnapping," because Connolly "went missing" from Wednesday, January 19th – Saturday, January 22nd, learning of the IRB's plans from Plunkett, Pearse, and MacDiarmada (Lorcan Collins 2012:259).

¹²⁶ Far more can be said about Casement than I can include here, but it is important to note that he was not a member of the IRB (though he was a friend of Bulmer Hobson). Therefore, he did not know exactly what Plunkett and the others were planning at the time but committed himself to the cause of Irish freedom. He was so passionate about this as a result of his work with enslaved and subjugated peoples in the Belgian Congo and Peruvian Amazon—he saw the Irish as similarly exploited by the British Empire. For more, see Mitchell 2013.

Whether or not a Rising was planned, the Volunteers knew they needed weapons. As Pearse said in 1913, “We must accustom ourselves to the thought of arms, to the sight of arms, to the use of arms” (Pearse 2012:84). Due to murky gun-ownership laws during the war, the Volunteers found ways to secure arms in a few ways. In addition to hoping for German support for arms, the Volunteers were able to buy (and in some cases pilfer) weapons from British soldiers (and other more conventional sources), and they would also manufacture their own ammunition at Plunkett’s family estate and Pearse’s school, both in rural areas near Dublin, and Liberty Hall, the ICA headquarters in the middle of the city (McGarry 2011:109–110). The Volunteers, ICA, and others showed their strength at arms during a military-style funeral for Jeremiah O’Donovan Rossa, a Fenian active in the previous century alongside Tom Clarke who died in August 1915 (Dorney 2014:105–6). The most memorable part of this ceremony, finishing with a volley of rifle-fire, was Pearse’s graveside oration, when he uttered the now-famous phrase: “...The fools, the fools, the fools! They have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace” (Pearse 2012:112; Dorney 2014:106). Now, those against British rule in Ireland were not only armed, but also willing to dangerously provoke the authorities.

In order to actually mobilize the Volunteers for the Rising (without arising suspicion from MacNeill or the British authorities), the IRB simply decided that they would command the troops to prepare for some kind of maneuvers...but not tell them any details, including the fact that they would be actually involved in an insurrection. The Volunteers’ officers began to hear lectures on military strategy, especially tactics for street fighting, so it was likely that astute officers could guess that things were moving quickly toward real action (McGarry 2011:106). It

was important for the IRB to maintain secrecy for their plan to succeed¹²⁷, but the troops had to be prepared in some way.

In addition to practical matters, the troops had to be mentally prepared for the prospect of combat against a powerful enemy. This is where Patrick Pearse's oratory talent and undeniable nationalist zeal was put to effective use. He sent chills up the spines of the Volunteers when he theatrically asked them, "I know that you have been preparing your bodies for the great struggle that lies before us, but have you also been preparing your souls?" (BMH WS 340, Oscar Traynor).

Though souls may have been prepared, adequate arms for a national uprising were not. On Holy Saturday, April 23rd, 1916, a day before the Rising was set to take place, news broke that Roger Casement had been captured and the *Aud* sunk off the coast of Kerry. Eoin MacNeill, who only learned of the IRB's plan for the Rising on Holy Thursday and was already against it, issued an order to all Volunteers to stand down on Sunday¹²⁸. The Volunteer leader (and IRB member) Michael Joseph ("The O'Rahilly") O'Rahilly then drove around the country to share this order with Volunteers. There would be no national uprising, and the members of the Military Council were upset, distraught, and anxious—what would they do now? How much did the authorities already know? How many troops would be willing to fight now? After hours of deliberation, the decision was made to go ahead with a smaller, Dublin-based rising one day

¹²⁷ The prevailing wisdom was that every previous uprising was foiled due to the work of spies, informers, or participants' indiscretion regarding their plans, allowing the British to prepare their defensive strategy in advance.

¹²⁸ Bulmer Hobson was also against the plans for a Rising and wanted to prevent it. However, the Military Council arranged his "kidnapping" to make sure he didn't interfere with their plans, and he was kept in a safe house until the Rising was actually happening.

later¹²⁹. Word was spread to Volunteers, who rushed to organize and mobilize on Monday (and many joined later in the week, once word spread further afield).

The Six-Day Republic

It is important to note that the Rising was not only a military engagement—it was planned in tandem with the proclamation of an Irish Republic, with the Military Council as the Provisional Government. Patrick Pearse, the President of the Republic, likely had grandiose and dramatic ideas about how the Rising, and thus the Republic, would begin. However, when he stood outside the General Post Office (GPO), in the middle of Dublin's widest thoroughfare (then Sackville Street, now O'Connell Street) at 12:00PM on April 24th, to read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, only by a small crowd of curious onlookers were present. However, by the mid-afternoon, the rebels had secured six garrisons (including the GPO, which they stormed after Pearse's oration, to the fright of the postal staff and customers inside) and killed two policemen who resisted them. War had come to Dublin.

Before going through some key moments in the fighting, I will briefly describe the Proclamation of the Republic that the rebels were fighting for and is still important for Ireland today (as will become apparent in the ethnographic chapters to follow). It can be compared to the United States' Declaration of Independence, as it not only declares Ireland's sovereignty, but also outlines an ideal vision of the Republic that the Provisional Government wished to see. I provide the full text of the Proclamation in Chapter 1A¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ There were smaller armed engagements in Wexford, Galway, and Meath, but due to the spread of conflicting orders, no sustained national uprising developed during the week.

¹³⁰ It was primarily written by Pearse (not surprisingly), with revision from Connolly and MacDonagh (de Paor 2016).

There are a few important aspects to consider here regarding the Proclamation. First, given the broader context of World War I, it was imperative that the Irish declare themselves a sovereign nation, and thus belligerent party worthy of a seat at any international peace talks (de Paor 2016:50). This document was meant to be widely shared in print and via the radio (the headquarters of the latter were in the GPO, the national center for communications and thus not such a random headquarters as it may seem). Due to the secrecy inherent to the project and typesetting issues, members of the ICA printed only 2,500 copies in Liberty Hall. Two important aspects to the Proclamation are 1) its idealist and inclusive vision for the nation, and 2) the historical consciousness of its authors.

First, the Proclamation opens by appealing to Irishmen and Irishwomen, which is significant for its inclusivity. Women in Britain did not yet have the right to vote (they would not gain suffrage rights equal to men until 1928), nor did American women (until 1920). This is likely due to Connolly's influence—the ICA was open to women at all ranks (de Paor 2016:69). We can find this same spirit of inclusivity in the line about “cherishing all of the children of the nation equally,” which is still an extremely relevant ideal and national vision both to activists and the general Irish public today¹³¹. Such language, along with the guarantees of “religious and civil liberty” and the “happiness and prosperity of the whole nation” appeal to all people living in Ireland, from native “Gaels” who can trace their Celtic ancestry to pre-English days, as well as residents with newer lineages (Connolly was born to Irish parents in Scotland, and Pearse's father was English, so both had to fight for their own personal legitimacy), and people of all religions—mainly Catholic and Protestant here. In a way, the Proclamation was an answer to the

¹³¹ For a published example, see Hamilton et al. (2016).

Ulster Covenant, in which Protestant Unionists claimed that Home Rule would put their religious freedom at stake (de Paor 2016:101).

Second, this document shows that the authors (and here, especially Pearse) see their current rebellious activities as the natural step in a long history of uprising against the English/British (de Paor 2016:71). They appeal to “God and the dead generations” against the “usurpation” of their right to sovereignty by a “foreign people.” This right has been the focus of an uprising each generation, therefore, this generation had to live up to its duty to the ghosts of history¹³². The Irish also had the right of nationhood, through historical legitimacy and armed insurrection (and thus part in the Great War as well, with their “gallant allies in Europe,” the Germans).

*Right proudly high over Dublin town/ they hung out the flag of war*¹³³

The Republic had been proclaimed, and now it was up to the rebels (the combined forces of the Volunteers, Cumman na mBan, the ICA, and the Hibernian Rifles¹³⁴) to defend it. Despite the confusion over its planning, the Rising caught the authorities by surprise (Augusteijn 2010:309). Because Monday was still a Bank Holiday Weekend, many British troops were attending the Fairyhouse horse racing outside Dublin (Dorney 2014:121). However, the GPO was still open for business, so those customers or members of staff inside were undoubtedly shocked at the sight of 150 armed, uniformed men barging in declaring an Irish Republic. Once the fighting began (at first, mostly between rebels and members of the Dublin Metropolitan

¹³² Pearse himself refers to the “ghosts” of history and makes this claim in his 1915 essay “Ghosts” (reproduced in Pearse 2012).

¹³³ This is a lyric from “The Foggy Dew” (1919), a ballad that praised the rebels, at the expense of Irish men who fought for Britain in WWI. Canon Charles O’Neill wrote these lyrics to an already existing tune, and many artists, such as Sinéad O’Connor and The Young Dubliners, have covered it since it was written.

¹³⁴ The Hibernian Rifles were a small paramilitary organization of Catholics, who split from the Ancient Order of Hibernians in 1907. Approximately 20-30 members were active during the Rising.

Police force), Volunteers and others rushed to join the action, until approximately 1,300 rebels¹³⁵ had taken part in the week's activities.

The GPO Garrison held its position until Friday April 28th, when the building became engulfed in flames and a retreat was necessary. At this time, five of the signatories/members of the Provisional Government were inside: Pearse, Clarke, MacDiarmada, Plunkett, and Connolly. On the previous day, Connolly had received a gunshot wound in his leg. Plunkett was also in bad form, suffering from Tuberculosis (Molyneux and Kelly 2015:215). Pearse maintained his characteristic dramatic optimism, telling the men on Friday that "defeat was likely, but asserted that ultimate victory would still be their share, although maybe winning it in death" (Augusteijn 2010:317).

The leaders formed a plan to evacuate through a side door on Henry Street, and cross through Moore Street to the Williams and Woods factory on Parnell Street, where they could regroup and then join up with the Four Courts Garrison, a few miles away in a more fortified location (Molyneux and Kelly 2015:258). The main difficulty in this plan concerned the British barricade at the end of Moore Street (at Parnell Street), likely anticipating the rebels' plan to evacuate. The O'Rahilly, who by this time had heard that the Rising was underway and rushed to the GPO to join in, led a contingent of trusted men through Moore Street to secure the area and render it safe for the others. However, they ran straight into the barricade and were gunned down. Some of the members of this group found refuge in nearby buildings and alleyways. The O'Rahilly himself suffered gunshot wounds (likely more than one), and crawled to a side alley, where he wrote a final note to his wife, sending his love and explaining the course of events over

¹³⁵ It is difficult to ascertain an exact number of participants, because people would come and go during the week, and also due to post-Civil War state recordkeeping practices and biases.

the week before he succumbed to his wounds¹³⁶. There is now a plaque with the inscription of his note in this alleyway, now called “O’Rahilly Parade,” which leads to a car park. The O’Rahilly earned the distinction as the highest-ranking casualty of the week on the rebel side.

Though he failed to secure the area, The O’Rahilly’s charge taught the others that they could not face the British barricades in the open. Thus, they decided to *tunnel through* the alleys and buildings of Moore Street. The evacuation was tense, and the rebels left the GPO in waves, under a chaotic barrage of British gunfire (Molyneux and Kelly 2015:265). James Connolly was among the last to leave (though before Pearse) and had to be carried in a stretcher due to his increasingly gangrenous leg wound. Once they got inside the closest building, they began to smash the walls between the terraced buildings, which mostly served as shops with living quarters above. The men began returning fire from British snipers, under the command of Captain Michael Collins, then only 25 years old (2015:266). The rest of the rebel garrison fortified their own barricade and positioned themselves in Moore Street in order to plan their next move. While reflecting on the week’s events so far and the destruction of the city around them, Joseph Plunkett noted that no other European city had burned to the extent Dublin had since Moscow in 1812 (2015:269). Even during the chaos and struggle of the Rising, the leaders had an incredible sense of the historicity of their own actions.

The newly promoted Commandant-General Sean McLoughlin (age 20 at the time!) was wholly in favor of the plan to evacuate to Williams and Woods, but not all of the other leaders were so enthusiastic about this idea anymore. The leaders decided to make Number 16 Moore Street (in the middle of the terrace) their new headquarters (thus, Headquarters of the Provisional

¹³⁶ There is a story that as he was dying, a hospital convoy came through and offered to treat The O’Rahilly, but the British guard near his body refused their services. The O’Rahilly’s son, Aodogán, has called this story “complete fantasy” (O’Rahilly 2016:225).

Government of the Irish Republic) and have a meeting. They decided that instead of continuing the fight and risking the death of additional rebels and civilians, they would surrender to the British forces. Pearse had witnessed a civilian family killed by the British troops as they exited their Moore Street home, and was apparently overcome with grief over the incident (Molyneux and Kelly 2015:273). Tom Clarke wept over the fact that he would not live to see an Irish Republic, and perhaps also because he would soon return to an English-controlled prison (276).

Elizabeth O'Farrell, a Cumman na mBan nurse and dispatcher who had been caring for Connolly's injuries, was sent to the British high command, white flag in hand, to initiate the rebels' surrender (276). Lowe instructed her that he would only accept the surrender from Pearse himself. So, O'Farrell repeated her short walk to the top of Moore Street¹³⁷, but this time accompanied by Pearse. Lowe agreed to nothing short of unconditional surrender, and that is what was given on April 29th, 1916. The surrender letter stated:

In order to prevent the further slaughter of Dublin citizens, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, the members of the Provisional Government present at Head Quarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the Commandants of the various districts in the City and country will order their commands to lay down arms.

And the various garrisons around Dublin received this letter, dispatched by Elizabeth O'Farrell:

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.

¹³⁷ There is some debate as to the exact spot where the surrender took place. Multiple businesses around the area now like to claim that they are on this spot, but it is generally agreed to be at the intersection of Moore Street and Parnell Street (formerly Great Britain Street).

P.H. Pearse
Commandant General
Commanding in Chief
Army of the Irish Republic
29 April 1916

The Rising was over.

After the Rising—what did it all mean?

Given the rather diverse cast of characters involved, from the leaders to the lowest-ranking combatants, it is worth mentioning that the Rising was likely never going to mean one thing to everyone involved. Whether a viable military strike for freedom, a pageant of force and passion, or somewhere in between, I would argue that it is fair to assume that most of the leaders and planners (and I would imagine, a majority of participants) knew that they were making history. For example, Connolly saw the present fight for Irish freedom as part of a longer struggle for labor sovereignty (Connolly 1919). However, I have found that the most outspoken historically conscious leader is Patrick Pearse, who repeatedly writes of a historical tradition of Irish struggle for independence, and mentions the importance of the Rising as it takes place (MacLochlainn 1996; Pearse 2012).

Though the rebels believed that they were on the right side of history, in general, the Dublin public did not unanimously approve of their activities at first. As Volunteer Frank Henderson recalled, “the attitude of the civilians toward us was mixed” (as quoted in Townshend 2011:265). Those in the middle and upper classes of Dublin society were derisive, and the “separation women” (whose husbands were fighting for the Empire in WWI) were angry and critical, but there were others among the working class who were supportive, or at the very least, curious (Dorney 2011; Townshend 2011).

The British military were certainly not amused by the rebellion, and also aware of the possibility that the Germans would take advantage of the situation and exploit Britain's weakness by invading Ireland (Townshend 2011:270). They declared martial law in Dublin¹³⁸, and quickly rounded up the rebels. Overall, 3,430 men and 79 women were arrested¹³⁹, and work began to identify the leaders for more serious punishment. The leaders were court martialled, and 16 were executed within the year, including all 7 members of the Provisional Government. However, this proved to be a very shortsighted move on the part of the British, because the executed leaders soon became martyrs to the republican cause. Though more executions had been planned, including that of Eamon de Valera and Constance Markievicz¹⁴⁰, the remaining death sentences were commuted to life in prison. Even so, the damage had been done: there were now popular stories surrounding the executions of the rebel leaders that fueled their romantic, revolutionary legacies. For example, James Connolly was still suffering terribly from his injury, however, he was considered well enough to be strapped to a chair in Kilmainham Jail to be shot (Dorney 2014:143). Additionally, though he was dying from TB already, Joseph Plunkett became a "romantic icon" when his fiancée Grace Gifford went to Kilmainham, and the pair somehow succeeded in persuading the guards to allow them to be married before Plunkett's impending execution. They were only allowed 10 minutes together as husband and wife, but they later became immortalized as the subjects of a very popular Irish ballad, "Grace."

¹³⁸ This certainly helped turn the tide of public opinion in favor of the rebels.

¹³⁹ Though it seems that the British were a bit over-enthusiastic when arresting people—some of those arrested were simply supporters of the rebellion or nationalist sympathizers. Even Eoin MacNeill was initially arrested! Of this haul, 1,424 men were released within 2 weeks (Townshend 2011:274–275).

¹⁴⁰ These are two peculiar cases among the rest: Though both were high ranking leaders, Eamon de Valera was spared execution, on the basis of his American birth (America had yet to enter WWI), and Markievicz was spared on the basis of her gender, though she was willing to die with her comrades (earlier in the war, the British had spread propaganda that the Germans were cruel because they killed a female British spy).

The majority of the men arrested were sent to detention facilities, such as Frongoch in Wales, where 1,800 men were detained. It is unclear how well this plan was thought through, because Frongoch became later known as the “university of revolution,” because men were allowed to freely associate and even those who had been arrested despite lukewarm republican sentiments pre-Rising had become radicalized (Townshend 2011:320; Clifford 2016). The emergent strategic leader was Joseph Plunkett’s former aide-de-camp, Captain Michael Collins, who began gathering intelligence and planning for the next step in the Irish struggle for Independence. By Christmas 1916, most prisoners were released back to Ireland, ready to continue the fight.

Dangerous Politics and Dangerous Warfare: 1917-1923

Now I shall briefly turn to an outline of the past 100 years in Irish political (and commemorative) history, in order to establish the ethnographic setting. The years between 1917 and 1923 were extremely turbulent in Ireland, because in this time there was a War of Independence, a Treaty establishing a new Free State, and a Civil War over this Treaty. At the same time, nationalists were working to place the recent events of 1916 within the larger historical story of the island. How would 1916 be remembered by those who lived through it, while they were still under British rule, and then when they were finally in a “republic” of their own?

One interesting fact is that because photography and photojournalism was commonplace by 1916, there is a wealth of photos of Dublin immediately following the Rising (and a few taken during the events themselves), and they were certainly used for Irish propaganda purposes (Wills 2009). Additionally, the ruins of the GPO and other sites in central Dublin showed the world that the British were brutal in their destruction of a city that was a part of their Empire. Pearse’s

hopes came true: the Rising became a “most dramatic episode” against the backdrop of the world war (according to an unnamed commentator cited in Wills 2009:90). The rebels were painted as valiant and “honorable” soldiers, which was a very powerful compliment during WWI (Dorney 2014:150). It certainly does “read like a Hollywood epic” (Bunbury 2015:286).

One group that took advantage of this was the political party Sinn Fein, originally founded by Arthur Griffith in 1905. The Rising was incorrectly accredited to Sinn Fein (there was some overlap of membership), and the political party soon grew with the ranks of young nationalists ready to continue to fight for independence. This growth of nationalist (and anti-English) sentiment further increased as a result of the threat of conscription in 1918. By 1918, Irish people rallied against conscription (a measure which failed due to such popular resistance to it), and in favor of Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein representatives won 73/105 Irish seats in Parliament, but they never traveled to Westminster to take those seats.

The War of Independence

Instead, they set up their own Parliament, which they called Dáil Éireann, in Dublin and declared their national independence on January 21, 1919. That same day, the first shots of the War of Independence began, when the IRA (the re-branded Volunteers of this new Irish Republic) ambushed two policemen in Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary. This time, the fighting would last for over two years, and would not be largely confined to Dublin, but engulf the countryside as well. The Irish formed “flying columns” to engage in surprise guerilla attacks on the police (the Royal Irish Constabulary, or RIC, at the time), because they held arms in their barracks and were considered part of the repressive British regime. When the RIC proved ineffective against the IRA, the British sent in the Black and Tans, a paramilitary force made up of former WWI soldiers. The memory of the brutality and disorder of the Black and Tans,

especially their harassment of civilians, is still part of Irish collective memory today. The British could not maintain order in Ireland, and they were locked into an intelligence war with Michael Collins, whose spies, known as “The Squad,” would target British intelligence offices in the police force G Division (to my understanding, they are similar to the US FBI). Neither side saw a clear end to the war, so the politicians behind each administration (for the British, Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and for the Irish, President Éamon de Valera) organized a truce to negotiate a peace treaty. In what is seen as an odd move that historians still debate about, de Valera, a brilliant political strategist, did not directly meet with the British in the main series of peace talks. Instead, he sent Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, among others from the Dáil cabinet.

The final Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed on December 6, 1921. It was far from ideal for the Irish. Instead of a republic, Ireland became a Free State with Dominion status¹⁴¹, and 6 of the northern counties remained within the United Kingdom as the separate entity of Northern Ireland. Dáil Éireann would be reformed as a bicameral legislature, and all representatives would be required to swear an oath to the Crown. The British would also still have control of several strategic ports in Ireland, such as Cobh and Lough Swilly (Dorney 2014:229). To the British, this seemed more than reasonable, as the Irish would gain a large degree of autonomy over internal affairs, such as their own police force and tariffs (ibid.). This was far more generous than the Home Rule bill passed 10 years previously. Though he argued that it was not freedom, but “the freedom to achieve freedom,” Michael Collins also believed that by signing the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, he had “signed his own death warrant.” Less than one year later, this proved correct.

¹⁴¹ This means that the British Crown was still the supreme power in Ireland and the (mainly symbolic) head of state, such as the status of Canada and other Commonwealth nations today.

Collins and the other members of the Irish delegation brought back the Treaty to be ratified by the Dáil. Representatives were split, and they engaged in heated debate before passing the Treaty 64 to 57. Very few (except Arthur Griffith) praised the Treaty itself, and instead those in favor argued that it would be the swiftest path to peace, which is what the public wanted at this point, and it was good enough to work with for now (Dorney 2014:231–2). Those opposed to the Treaty (including the majority of female delegates and supporters from among Cumman na mBan (2014:235)) argued that war should continue until a 32 county republic was achieved, and nothing less would be acceptable.

Once the Treaty was ratified, De Valera resigned as President and challenged the Dáil's ability to ratify the Treaty at all, and others such as 1916 veteran and unwavering republican Cathal Brugha also resigned as well. The government, and the still influential IRB, split in two, and the military (effectively the IRA) also split. The pro-Treaty members of the IRA became the National Army of the Free State, and the anti-Treaty IRA became known as "Irregulars" by their detractors¹⁴². There were now two armies in Ireland, and both were popular within different areas of the country¹⁴³. The anti-Treaty side initially (mainly) peacefully harassed the new Free State forces and their de facto leader, Collins, but tensions escalated in 1922. This changed when the IRA occupied Dublin's Four Courts in April and exchanged fire with the National Army¹⁴⁴. On June 28, Michael Collins used heavy artillery (courtesy of the British) to force the IRA out. The

¹⁴² For the sake of simplicity, I will call the pro-Treaty forces the National Army, and the anti-Treaty forces the IRA from here forward.

¹⁴³ The pro-Treaty forces were initially mostly in Dublin, and the anti-Treaty forces were in the more rural counties.

¹⁴⁴ It is worth noting that while the National Forces largely held the anti-Treaty IRA in the Four Courts under siege, men on both sides recall a hesitance to fire upon former friends (Dorney 2014:252). Additionally, the anti-Treaty side did not want to be the first to fire, and thus be considered the aggressors (Dorney 2014:252).

Civil War had begun, and it would be far more brutal than the War of Independence, and continue to haunt Irish collective memory, politics, and social relationships to this day.

The Civil War cost between 1,200-1,300 lives¹⁴⁵, including that of Michael Collins, his best friend and fellow 1916 veteran Harry Boland, and fellow Treaty delegate Arthur Griffith. Deaths were caused during the guerilla-style battles and harsh executions and reprisal executions on both sides. The war had also scarred the civilian population and the land, as farmers went on strike at this time, and the IRA burned many colonial “Big Houses” because of their association with the former British ruling class and destroyed infrastructure and transportation utilities in order to cripple the Free State administration and army (Dorney 2014:304). Recovery would be slow, reactionary, and harsh for many, especially former Republican/IRA sympathizers.

Free State and “Republic”

The early Free State (and to some informants, the current state) is characterized as very conservative and insular. There were certainly high war debts, remaining republican activity (especially around the border), and deep political divisions. The Pro-Treaty/Free State side during the Civil War became the political party of Cumann na nGaedheal, and after an alliance with the “Blueshirts” (who supported Franco in the Spanish Civil War), they consolidated as the current ruling party of Fine Gael, which is currently characterized by center-right philosophies and policies. The Anti-Treaty side rallied around De Valera and created the opposition party of Fianna Fáil, which governed Ireland through a majority of the 20th century beginning in 1932, until Fine Gael took power in 2011 following a financial disaster, which shall be discussed in this section. Both of these parties are fairly similar in terms of ideology, though De Valera and

¹⁴⁵ This number is disputable, as the real death toll was not calculated (Dorney 2014:298), and I have found much higher estimates (up to 4,000) from other sources (Coogan 2003:142).

his successors have used more populist rhetoric than Fine Gael, especially to rally rural constituents.

During the 20th century, Ireland had a stagnant economy, high emigration, and Catholic Church hegemony over social and moral affairs¹⁴⁶. In addition, the pain of the Civil War was still raw—to the extent that Irish history education stopped in 1921 (Allen 2016:110, also mentioned by multiple informants). Many of the members of government came from the veterans of the Rising, such as William T. Cosgrave (leader of Cumann na nGaedheal/Fine Gael, who fought in the South Dublin Union under Eamonn Ceannt in 1916), and Eamon De Valera (leader of Fianna Fáil, who commanded the Boland's Mill Garrison in 1916).

1966: 50 Year Anniversary of the Rising

Since Dublin was still in ruins following the devastation of the Rising, the events of Easter Week 1916 had become part of Irish historical collective memory, but of course, the significance of the Rising has changed based on shifting political circumstances. In the early years, the Rising was used to further the cause of Irish independence through romanticized artwork, such as Walter Paget's "Scene in the General Post Office just before its evacuation," and pamphlets, such as the erroneously titled "Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook" (Wills 2009:115–6). Of course, Sinn Fein produced (and still produce) their own memorabilia as well, which helps cement their association with the republican struggle (Wills 2009:105). The executed leaders were martyrs and national heroes, and their faces began to show up on postcards, calendars, Mass cards, and more¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁶ The Church controlled schools and hospitals, and guided legislation banning contraception, divorce, and married women in some fields of the workforce (Allen 2016:113).

¹⁴⁷ During the 2016 commemorations, this trend was clearly revived—images of the leaders were everywhere in Dublin, from scarves to badges to chocolate bars. Whether this was in good nationalistic spirit or bad faith was open to interpretation, though some relatives were quite unimpressed with what was seen as a gaudy commercialization of their families' legacy.

Once the Irish Free State and then the Republic of Ireland were in existence¹⁴⁸, the Rising became an opportunity for the new political parties (mainly Cumann na nGaedheal and Fianna Fáil) to claim legitimacy through their connection to the founding of the modern nation, at the expense of the opposition party. Cumann na nGaedheal was responsible for the rebuilding of the GPO in 1929, and Fianna Fáil installed a commemorative statue of the Irish mythical hero Cúchulainn in the GPO front window in 1935 (anticipating the 20th anniversary the next year). As with most commemorations and histories, those in power use such narratives for their own agendas in the present, and until the 1960s, the story was that the rebels were national heroes who fought bravely and sacrificed themselves for the nation. However, under the surface of such nationalist pride were the painful memories of the Civil War, and the contentious politics of those who fought each other first in battle and then in the Dáil. Any anniversary of the Rising was thus a “site of contention” (Higgins 2013:14).

The 50th anniversary of the Rising became a site of contention not only between political parties, but also between the “old” generation who fought in the Rising, and the “new” generation of Irish people who grew up in their parents’ revolutionary shadows. This anniversary is significant because at the time, those who fought in the Rising were growing elderly, and the state wanted to emphasize Ireland’s place in a modern world. State actors were very self-aware of how they chose to portray Ireland to the world (they imagined an international audience for the commemoration, through television and print media), and worried that celebrations might be

¹⁴⁸ The Irish Free State existed from 1922, as part of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. It was a constitutional monarchy, and the British king was “King of Ireland.” During the 1930s, various links to the United Kingdom were removed, including the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. In 1937, De Valera (then Prime Minister/Taoiseach) drafted a new constitution renaming the country “Ireland” or Éire, though the King still theoretically had power over Ireland. This ended in 1949, when Ireland declared itself a Republic, and thus exited the British Commonwealth as a sovereign nation. The Republic of Ireland then joined the United Nations in 1955 and the European Economic Community (now the European Union) in 1973.

considered anti-English¹⁴⁹ (Higgins 2013:2). However, according to Higgins, they also felt “responsible for” and “entitled to” a celebratory commemoration in 1966 (2013:2). That included a military and people’s parade in the center of Dublin, television programming, unveiling of plaques, commission of special stamps, and a week of ceremonies around the country. Overall, this program is largely remembered favorably as an appropriate show of remembrance (though some claim it was overly nationalistic and partisan).

However, arguably the most memorable event of the 1966 commemoration season was not part of the official program—the IRA’s destruction of Nelson’s Pillar (a neoclassical column in front of the GPO to honor Admiral Horatio Nelson). Under the façade of national unity that the state promoted, memory of the Civil War and partition still divided factions across the island. Some have argued as well that the nationalism of the 1966 commemoration inspired the Troubles in the North, which began around 1969, but tensions were already there. As Wills states, “It became fashionable during the worst years of the Northern crisis—particularly in the United Kingdom—to target republican myth-making as the cause of it all” (2009:191).

The violent unrest in the North cast a shadow on the political landscape of the Republic as well (Wills 2009; Graff-McRae 2010). Throughout the 1970s-1990s, large, theatrical official commemorations and rhetoric of the Rising ceased. One informant, a prominent relative, recounted a ceremony during this period where an elderly veteran was 15 minutes late to a commemorative event inside the GPO, and found that he had missed the whole thing! The Provisional IRA (fighting in the North) saw themselves as the natural successors to the republicans of 1916, and the GPO was the backdrop to many republican displays and rallies in

¹⁴⁹ This idea of the establishment caring about what the British think is a very important theme for contemporary activists, and has also been considered by Heartfield and Rooney (2015).

support of their cause¹⁵⁰. Finally, in 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was signed, and the Troubles officially ended. There are still lingering tensions, but overall things are far better now for residents on both sides of the border.

¹⁵⁰ The GPO, in the middle of O'Connell Street (Ireland's widest boulevard) is now both a naturally strategic and historically meaningful place for demonstrations by activists from various organizations, from republican sympathizers to Free Palestine and women's rights groups.

Appendix B: Timelines

| Year | Month | Day | Irish History | Moore Street |
|---------|-------|-----|--|--|
| 1169 | | | Arrival of Anglo-Normans in Ireland | |
| 1541 | | | Henry VIII becomes “King of Ireland” | |
| 1641 | | | Anti-English uprising in Ulster; Catholics defeated | |
| 1689-90 | | | Jacobite wars in Ireland; Catholics defeated | |
| 1780s | | | | Archival evidence of a market quarter in the Moore Street area (likely a much older market by this time) |
| 1798 | | | United Irishmen Rebellion | |
| 1801 | | | Act of Union: Ireland becomes part of the United Kingdom | |
| 1803 | | | Robert Emmet’s Rebellion | |
| 1845-50 | | | Great Famine | |
| 1848 | | | Young Irelanders Rebellion | |
| 1867 | | | Fenian Uprising | |
| 1872-82 | | | Land War | |
| 1881 | | | Land Act | |

| | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----|---|--|
| 1886 | | | First Home Rule Bill introduced (and defeated) in the House of Commons | |
| 1893 | | | Second Home Rule Bill introduced, passed in House of Commons, defeated in House of Lords | |
| 1903 | | | Wyndham Land Act | |
| 1911 | | | Parliament Act removes veto power of House of Lords | |
| 1912 | | | Third Home Rule Bill introduced | |
| 1913 | January | 30 | Third Home Rule Bill passed by House of Commons, delayed by House of Lords | |
| | | 31 | Ulster Volunteer Force established | |
| | August- September | | Dublin Lockout | |
| | November | 19 | Irish Citizen Army founded | |
| | | 25 | Irish Volunteers founded | |
| 1914 | April | 2 | Cumman na mBan founded | |
| | May | 25 | Home Rule passed into law | |

| | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------|---|--|
| | June | 28 | Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated | |
| | July | 26 | Howth gun running incident | |
| | August | 4 | Britain declares war on Germany, entering WWI | |
| | September | 18 | Home Rule receives royal approval but suspended due to the war | |
| 1915 | August | 1 | Funeral of O'Donovan Rossa; Patrick Pearse gives stirring graveside oration | |
| 1916 | April | 24-29 | Easter Rising | |
| | | 24 | Irish Republic Proclaimed outside the GPO (noon) | |
| | | 28 | Rebels' evacuation to Moore Street | 16 Moore Street becomes new Headquarters of Irish Provisional Government |
| | | 28 | | The O'Rahilly's fatal charge through Moore Street |
| | | 29 | | Rebels' surrender from Moore Street |

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|-----------|--|--|
| | May | 3-12 | Executions of rebel leaders, Kilmainham Jail | |
| | August | 11 | Execution of Roger Casement, London | |
| 1918 | November | 11 | End of WWI | |
| | December | 14- 28 | General Election; Sinn Féin wins 73 seats | |
| 1919 | January | 21 | Formation of First Dáil in Dublin | |
| | January | 21 | Beginning of War of Independence; fighting in Tipperary | |
| | August | 20 | Irish Volunteers become Irish Republican Army (now “Old IRA”), swear allegiance to the Republic | |
| | November | 21 | "Bloody Sunday" in Dublin, 12 civilians killed | |
| | December | 6 | Anglo-Irish Treaty signed, London | |
| 1922 | January | 7 | Treaty approved by Dáil | |
| 1922-23 | | | Irish Civil War | |
| 1922 | August | 2 | Harry Boland killed | |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----|--|--|
| | | 22 | Michael Collins killed | |
| 1923 | May | 24 | End of Civil War; Free State wins | |
| | September | 10 | Irish Free State admitted to the League of Nations | |
| 1936 | June | 18 | IRA declared illegal in the Irish Free State | |
| 1937 | | | New Constitution of Ireland/Éire (weakening ties to Britain) | |
| 1939-1945 | | | World War II (known as “The Emergency” in neutral Ireland) | |
| 1949 | | | Ireland formally becomes the “Republic of Ireland,” no longer within British dominion | |
| 1960 | | | Kilmainham Jail Restoration Committee formed. (The jail is handed to the state Office of Public Works in 1986 and is now one of the country’s most popular tourist sites.) | |
| 1969-1998 | | | The “Troubles” (Northern Ireland) | |

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------|---|---|---|
| 1973 | January | 1 | Ireland enters the European Economic Community (European Union) | |
| 1978-79 | | | Struggle to save Wood Quay | |
| 1981 | | | | ILAC Centre opens |
| 1985 | | | | Moore Street traders stage public protests against government crackdown on street trading. 2 TDs arrested in solidarity with traders. |
| 1995-2008 | | | Celtic Tiger economic period | |
| 2002 | | | | Discovery of missing plaque by Shane Crilly; formation of original Save Moore Street campaign |
| 2005 | | | | Moore Street archaeological report produced by Shaffrey and Associates |
| 2007 | | | | 14-17 Moore Street declared a National Monument |
| 2008 | | | Global Financial Recession begins | |

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------|--|---|
| 2009 | | | | First “Arms Around Moore Street” event |
| 2010 | | | Austerity begins in Ireland; bank bailout | An Bord Pleanála approves Chartered Land’s development plan |
| 2014- Present | | | Large scale protests against new Water Charges in Ireland | |
| 2014 | | | | Save Moore Street on the Street formed |
| | November | 3 | | Land Swap deal rejected |
| 2015 | December | 14 | | High Court case (<i>Moore v. Minister...</i>) filed |
| 2016 | January | 7-11 | | Occupation of 14-17 Moore Street |
| | January | 11 | | High Court decision announced (victory for activists) |
| 2016 | March- April | | National and Local Easter Rising centenary events take place | |
| 2017 | December | | | Appeal of High Court heard |
| 2018 | February | | | Appeal decision announced (victory for state/developers) |

Appendix C: Quantification of Data

- Interviews:
 - Number of participants interviewed for longer than 15 minutes: 23
 - Average interview length ~an hour
 - Interviews under 15 minutes: 3 (two traders and an architect, plans for additional interviews with 2 of them)
- Video data:
 - Hours: 10.2
- Photographs
 - Photos in library taken by me: 1515
 - Photos accessible through Facebook or others: 1,000+ as the time of writing
- Field notes
 - Typed pages: 181 single-spaced
 - Approx. 2 large Moleskine notebooks full of handwritten jottings
- Participant Observation:
 - Rallies/Protests
 - Republic Day
 - March For Connolly
 - Save Moore Street 2016 Rally (July)
 - Right 2 Water
 - National Demonstration
 - Women's March
 - Apollo House Concert
 - Funeral(s)
 - Letter to Hammersons
 - Occupation 1-year anniversary
 - Street Ethnography/the stall: every Saturday for one year, including some "fun" events like concerts with street music, performances, etc.
 - Brown Envelope to Heather
 - Nightmare on Moore Street
 - Christmas Carols
 - 2-year anniversary cakes
 - Other
 - Fianna Fail mass
 - Sinn Fein movie night
 - Kerry Revolutionary Roadshow
 - Launch of Bond Scheme
 - Film Premiere
 - 1916 Clubs Debates (2)
 - RTE Reflecting the Rising
 - Easter Sunday Parade
 - Moore Street Wreath Laying
 - 1 Relatives Association Meeting
 - 1 SMS 2016 Meeting
 - 1 1916 Performing Arts Club Meeting

- Museums, archives, etc.
 - Major museums visited:
 - National Museum Collins Barracks (Decorative Arts and History)
 - National Museum Kildare Street (Archaeology)
 - Kilmainham Jail
 - Revolution 1916 (SF Ambassador Theater)
 - GPO Witness History
 - Richmond Barracks
 - National Library
 - National Archives (They had a little museum exhibit (Citizens in Conflict) and I went to the archives as well)
 - National 1798 Rebellion Centre
 - 2 Famine Ships (New Ross and Jeannie Johnston)
 - Tours: with Cathal, 1916 Rebellion Walking Tour (both recorded, one allowed), Michael Collins, Revolutionary Women, Revolutionary Ramble, SF Tour (not recorded)
 - Glasnevin tour with NGA rep (Bob)
 - Arbor Hill Tour with Relatives
 - Interviews with museum professionals: 2 (Colin and Muireann)
 - Archival Sources
 - PLICS (Property Losses Index—insurance claims after 1916)
 - Bureau of Military History Witness Statements
 - RTE photographic archives
 - Revolution Papers (recreations of newspapers from 1913-1923)
 - Census Records, esp. 1911
- Other documents/data sources
 - Facebook pages
 - Save Moore Street from Demolition
 - Save Moore Street 2016
 - Moore Street Memories
 - Moore Street Battlefield National Monument History
 - Save 16 Moore Street Dublin
 - Easter Rising Stories (and YouTube channel) [Steven]
 - Different View TV (Moore Street Conversations) [Samuel]
 - Moore Street (general Facebook page)
 - Cumman Gaolta 1916/1916 Relatives Association
 - Cathal's blog, *Rebel Breeze* and his Facebook page
 - 1916 Then and Now Facebook Page
 - High Court Judgement (written) & Appeal (in attendance, and written)
 - Dublin City Development Plan (2016-2022)
 - Minister's forum documents (visions, minutes, reports, Cathal's response)
 - Art and Performance
 - George's 2 plays
 - Loose Ends (2016)
 - Moore Street Lending Library (2005)

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