









## SHELTER BREAD & FREEDOM

*Que préfères-tu, celui qui veut te priver de pain au nom de la liberté ou celui qui veut t'enlever ta liberté pour assurer ton pain?*

—Albert Camus (1953)

The pandemic radicalised us. As if overnight, we became historical subjects. Aware of our times relative to a past whose lessons eluded us and a future destined to judge us.

Technology was our boon, and our limitation. Photography was all the rage. Cameras everywhere. On us, always. Images revealed our world to those we'd never meet. Not because we were in different places, but because we are in different times.

A 1904 photograph of a group of school-age girls seated around a table in the middle of a forest depicts a *Waldschule*, or 'forest school,' established in Germany at the turn of the century to educate sick children. Posed, poised, the girls are reading and studying. Radical pedagogies. Remote learning. It is the advent of photography. Two 'world' wars are on the horizon. *Who knew?*

### HISTORY.COM

The shelter in the Phoenix Park is a place I've driven past hundreds of times, but I recall my first encounter with it was walking and spotting it hiding in the pine trees located at the north end of the People's Flower Garden, sometimes called the People's Park. This in itself was curious to me. As an American, I was enchanted by the idea of a Victorian era when parks were designated 'for the people.' I liked the proletariat tone implied by the name, though I was way off. The association isn't accurate. When I suggested to an acquaintance that I might do field recordings there in the evenings, he warned me about visiting after dark. The park isn't safe then, I was told. Be careful.

Later I learned that this part of the park and to the west by the Magazine Fort, is known for cruising and public sex. A pleasure sphere that exceeds the park itself. In

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a chat room Love2cruise asks: Anyone know glory holes around Dublin? Jhonnyy41624 wonders: Anyone around on mornings about 8.00am? Brooke is feeling horny: is there cruising anymore in the Phoenix Park and before judge and jury comes on and starts telling me I'm mad to even consider cruising I'm aware of all that but I do get a buzz about parking up and meeting strangers and having a bit of fun. 😊 BigBoi wants to know: is cruising no longer acceptable in the gay world? Is it a reflection of gay political correctness? Websites like squirt and gaydar and here seem to have killed off the casual gay cruise. 😞 Beanjuce96 answers: Ask Emmet Stagg, he knows the good spots. 😊 be careful. be safe. 🙄 Love2cruise replies: Thanks guys. Tried the car park at military road but nothing there. Guess internet killed the cruising scene.

A photograph of the People's Flower Garden at the turn of the 20th century, shows men in top hats with walking sticks seated on benches along the park's perimeter. Out for the day. In the background a statue is in place, where today there is an empty plinth. It was blown up in the 1950s; a gesture that echoed the murders in 1882 by members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Under British rule the park had always been administrated by the Chief Secretary of Dublin.

Years ago, Colm Tóibín, the author, sat across from me at dinner after an opening, and I found myself realising I'd never read his work. I was sure he'd not seen mine. We relied on others for conversation until we reached the part of the dinner when the meal is over and the wine isn't. Someone received a text and someone else joked that it was a message on Tinder. Tóibín leaned in and explained the protocols of using the app to arrange casual sex during the day. I resolved to read at least one of his books.

### THE MASTER

By January 2021, the tyranny of an education system based on containment, with no radical recourse, no imaginative solution, was upon us. Remote learning left children and students bereft and isolated without the regular, intimate, collective experience of learning together. A significant part of what it means to teach, research and gather with students includes being in each other's company. Over the last three years I'd structured my teaching as space to share, laugh, read, write and talk. Lots of talk. We grew potatoes and learned to crochet, we decolonised, rebelled and pedagogged. Then COVID-19 hit.

I commissioned Grace O'Boyle and Donna Rose, two researchers whom I've worked with on projects with students over the last few years, to carry out a period of research on the park shelter. Something I'd always found curious is that the structure seems to have no place in Dublin's nomenclature. *What is it called?* I'm still not sure.

The park shelter was built in 1956 at a time when the city was morphing, though it seems Raymond McGrath, the architect who designed it, was disinterested in social transformation. Born in Australia, McGrath lived in London before emigrating to Ireland in 1940 for the position of Principal Architect at the Office of Public Works. After the war, McGrath resisted a tendency among colleagues in Europe to rebuild capitol cities as architectural flagships. Instead, he affectionately rendered drawings of Dublin city, "in all its magnificent and shoddy detail."

During his time at OPW, McGrath proposed aspiring but mostly unrealised

public projects, including an elaborate John F. Kennedy Memorial Hall at Beggar's Bush. His plans were often stilted by the type of myopic political vision that makes ambitious, long-term planning impossible. New governments reneged on promises made by their predecessors. McGrath redirected his focus accordingly and began working on the interiors of existing structures. He refurnished embassies and state houses, and designed vast traditional carpets using Donegal's textile mills for the production, ostensibly keeping them afloat.

He never married.

McGrath's proposal for the park shelter came sixteen years after he emigrated to Dublin. A Dáil debate at the time offers a sketchy rationale: inadequate changing facilities in the park for sports teams and a lack of protection for school children visiting the park from Ireland's inclement weather. The fact that the proposed location, far from playing fields, and its open design foiled these actual uses is not mentioned. The location alone only a senior civic architect could pull-off. To place a new building within the historical boundary of the Victorian garden, with no apparent meaning as a monument or landmark is a master stroke by McGrath, who wanted to try a new technique based on Scandinavian ideas. It has no precedence or place in a local vernacular. Strangely, these qualities, along with McGrath's own biography as the foreign born son of Irish immigrants, makes the shelter a uniquely Irish example of modern architecture.

### **PEDAGOGY IN REVERSE**

On a clear Sunday in March I visit the park shelter. It is unusually warm and people are eager to be outdoors despite the lock-down. A woman with a stroller sits down on the odd bench McGrath designed to run along the structure's inside walls. She adjusts her hijab and lifts a child onto her lap. Beside her a congress of teens crowd into the edges of the shelter's curved roof, passing their phones between them. A man of about forty walks past, beer in hand. He settles near the pines that frame the shelter. It is a scene enacted for me only. A play. The shelter is a stage, oriented outward to an audience. The people.

I look to past students, recent graduates, to help me make a set of banners, scaled to the dimensions of the shelter's back wall. The centre banner is a re-photographed image from 1904 of the girls in the forest. They showed me what to do. Aoife McLaughlin prepared the patterns and sewed curved hems indicating the shelter's roofline. Cliona McLoughlin dyed the finished pieces in organic madder, logwood and tea using Shibori techniques and fraying the edges. Later, Nasser Aidara and I will bring the panels along with a group of readers to the park to what I'm now calling the People's Shelter. I've asked each reader to choose a text written in their native language to read aloud. Languages spoken in Dublin every day by people who live here. Nothing will be translated. Those gathered will hear the words and witness the readings, without necessarily understanding what is being said. Sometimes it's okay to not know and to listen all the same.

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The 40s and 50s were a weird time for Irish statuary.

During wartime, they risked explosion from falling Luftwaffe bombs. The few monuments that existed in the Phoenix Park managed a lucky escape in 1941 from a bomb that fell near the Dog Pond, also known as the Citadel Pond. Although there were no casualties (as there were in other Dublin locations), the bomb did cause a nearby house in which Joseph McNally lived with his Alsatian dog and eleven-year-old daughter, Winifred, to collapse. Miraculously, all experienced only minor injuries.

By the early 1950s, the threat of war had subsided, and it seemed the most significant risk to Irish statuary was its own populace. In 1953, An Tóstal (meaning The Gathering) took place as part of a series of festivals inspired by the 1951 Festival of Britain. The festival's original purpose was a celebration of Irish culture, with an emphasis upon drawing tourists into the country during the Easter off-season. It was marked by a series of regional parades, arts and sporting events. Many towns began a clean-up plan, thus starting off the National Tidy Town Awards.

The event saw lots of ornaments and public art being installed throughout Dublin, including the The Bowl of Light, which was intended to be a permanent feature of O'Connell Street. The bowl had been erected behind hoardings, resulting in great anticipation amongst the public.<sup>1</sup> In the region of 3,000 people gathered on Saturday, April 3rd 1953, to see the unveiling of the copper bowl with a diameter of 4 feet and containing about a foot depth of water. Coloured plastic 'flames', which could revolve, were set in the bowl and illuminated from the inside at night. How modern!

Despite widespread bemusement at The Bowl of Light, it didn't last long. On April 19th, only weeks after its unveiling, and much to the delight of a watching group of American tourists, the 'flames' from the bowl were chucked into the River Liffey by a young Trinity College student who'd had a few too many pints. Bye-bye bowl.

Meanwhile, in the Phoenix Park, the Gough Monument, originally designed

by sculptor John Henry Foley and installed in 1880, was decapitated with a hacksaw in 1945. Over three months later, the severed head was found, at low tide, embedded in mud in the River Liffey. The statue was blown up in 1957 and was later restored and re-erected on the grounds of Chillingham Castle, England, in 1990.

The Phoenix Park had a history of being a target for politically motivated explosions. One possible reason for this may be because the military dominated its use in the 18th century, when it was the residence of the Viceroy, the representative of the monarchy in Ireland. As proposed by Dublin historian Gerry Cooley, it was “the symbol of British power.”<sup>2</sup>

This is why it makes sense that the Carlisle Monument (another John Henry Foley piece) was bombed in 1958. It was a classically styled pedestal supporting a bronze memorial statue of George William Frederick Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle, erected c.1870. Carlisle was Chief Secretary and twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and had played a significant role in creating the People’s Garden as a place for the “recreation and instruction of the poor of Dublin”.<sup>3</sup> After the explosion, the bronze was moved to Castle Howard in Yorkshire, with the empty pedestal still remaining where the monument once stood in the People’s Park, Phoenix Park.

Raymond McGrath’s shelter was installed into the People’s Park that same year. By this time, the 1940s wartime chaos had passed, and attacks on the public ornaments of both Phoenix Park and Dublin in general were waning. But the 50s were about to enter into a different kind of boom times.

### THE PEOPLE’S PARK

The grounds where the People’s Park is located, and those of the larger Phoenix Park, were once occupied by the Knights Hospitaller, a medieval Catholic order, who established an abbey where IMMA now stands. The land was seized by Henry VIII of England in the mid-16th century, and its ownership reverted to the King’s representatives in Ireland. In 1662, the Duke of Ormonde fenced off the land, and it was used as a hunting ground for wealthy British aristocracy and their visitors. The herd of wild fallow deer that remain in the park today are direct descendants of those hunted by the elite.

The park, opened to the public in 1747, by the mid-19th century was in a bad state. Architect landscaper Decimus Burton developed a plan which included new gate lodges, strategic foliage planting, the restoration of the boundary wall, and the creation of roads. In the 1840s, Promenade Grounds were established where the People’s Park is now located.

The term promenade is derived from the French *promener* (to walk). Usually, it denotes a purpose-built public leisure space within a larger urban environment. Promenades are typically separated by material boundaries which were often ornamental, such as fences, gates, floral arrangements, trees, shrubs, and grass. These spaces were often fashionable recreational places to see and be seen, particularly for wealthier women drawn to their safety and distance from the city’s busy streets. As urban spaces continued to develop in the latter 1800s, green promenade spaces became increasingly referred to in relation to their association with leisure and entertainment, such as public parks or pleasure grounds.

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The Phoenix Park Promenade Grounds were fully opened to the public in 1864 and were eventually renamed the People's Garden with an aim to democratise the space. This move may have followed the transfer of management of the Phoenix Park to the Office of Public Works (OPW) in 1860, for whom Raymond McGrath would later become Chief Architect. The early success of this democratisation is hard to say, but possibly of interest is this excerpt from the 1892 publication *Young Folks Pictorial Tour of the World*:

The Phoenix Park, covering 1,700 acres in all, is a magnificent demesne; the part not occupied by the grounds of the Vice-regal Lodge, by Zoological Gardens, by barracks, and by various public enclosures, comprises above 1,300 acres. Besides the open park, the "People's Garden" is free to the public and is much frequented by the middle classes; but for the crowded poor of Dublin the Phoenix Park is of little use. Except on rare occasions the masses of people do not find their way there. There is a great lack of open spaces, not to speak of playgrounds or spaces for recreation, in the poor parts of the city. There is no city of the size, in fact, so deficient in open spaces.

As we are in the midst of our first 'Outdoor Summer', outdoor shelters are prime social real estate, particularly for those who do not have the luxury of a personal garden. Maybe now McGrath's shelter will find more use amongst Dublin's coffee strollers and day drinkers.

Still, to me anyway, the shelter looks and feels a bit odd in situ.

Sitting inside what was originally a Victorian pleasure ground for the leisure class is a very modern structure, informed by very modern ideas. The design is most likely influenced by Scandinavian models, particularly Sweden, as observed by architectural historian Ellen Rowley. Rowley reasons that Irish architectural culture throughout the post-war period of the 50s included a sort of 'soft' modernism, with an emphasis on psychology, movement, customisation, a respect for nature, and the embodied experience of architecture and space. This kind of architectural approach was often applied to buildings big and small and architectural accessories and civic furniture such as bus shelters, lamps, and garages.

The design of these structures ran parallel with the design of social housing, such as that in Ballyfermot in the mid-50s, with Swedish social housing acting as a 'cultural yardstick' (as stated by Gerald McNicholl, RIAI President from 1956-57). The period from the early 1930s to the mid-1950s is referred to by Professor at the School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice at UCD, Michelle Norris, as the 'Golden Age' of social housing in the Republic of Ireland, a time when subsidies for providing social housing to replace urban slums were at an all-time high.

However, as Norris has described, at the time of the shelter's construction, "the influence of the socio-political pressures which has constrained the growth of the wider Irish welfare state came to bear on the model used to fund social housing and precipitated the end of its golden age."<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that McGrath ever designed or was involved in the design for social housing, though it is unlikely that he was unaware of the increasing dialogue in relation to it.

McGrath's shelter kind of looks like a changing room or a large bus stop. This was possibly no accident, seeing as its construction may have followed a 1956 Dáil



Éireann debate discussing public amenities in which immediate action in ‘providing shelters, toilet facilities, and up-to-date pavilions at the Phoenix Park for the many thousands who use the park for football, hurling and other sporting activities’ was suggested. And like its elder sibling ‘social housing’, ‘public furniture’ too can be community building, but still there is often a certain temporary, transient, or liminal vibe to it.

## SHOUTING

Early on in the research process, I wanted to find evidence of the shelter being used in protest. I trawled through Google Images, Flickr, even Facebook tags, but couldn’t find any evidence of protest even more generally in the People’s Park. Perhaps as a hangover to its days spent as a Victorian promenade, a place to perform respectability and to meet or be seen by others, the People’s Park still maintains an air of haughtiness. It is possibly one of the most-watched, most policed areas of the park, and one of the few spaces that actually closes in the evening. Much of the time the shelter is inaccessible to those seeking shelter when they most need it, after dark, with homeless sleepers often moved at closing time. I think that the shelter’s location in this space has somewhat disrupted its potential as a site of organised disruption (well, until now).

Going back to the term ‘shelter’ as widely understood to mean a place of temporary protection: its earliest noted use was in the 1580s, as a ‘structure affording protection’, possibly derived from the Middle English ‘sheltron’, meaning a roof or wall made by locked shields, and from Old English ‘scyldtruma’, meaning ‘shield’.

I wonder if McGrath was thinking about etymology when deciding what to call his creation? Or was the word ‘shelter’ just in the air? It seems an attractive notion for a country still processing the displacement of war, and an architect still digesting his time spent illustrating aircraft construction and London bomb damage.<sup>5</sup>

Actually, the Second World War had stalled architectural development in the UK and may have been a motivating factor for McGrath’s move to Ireland and his taking up of a position as principal architect for the OPW in 1948 in the first place. So, the shelter might not be here if not for the war.

This is speculation, of course.

Still, all of these thoughts born from the research of McGrath and his shelter, and of the People’s Park, has formed a web of loose threads and ideas in my head – about war and precarity, social housing, ownership, statelessness, homelessness, shelterlessness, and the lived experience of all of these human-made phenomena.

Funnily enough, the council flats I lived in as a child were originally built in the 50s to house officers stationed at an adjoining barracks.

## HOME

*Shelter is provided by the horizon’s ability to turn the threatening world of the ‘outside’ into a reassuring picture. Before vision, the horizon is a boundary, an enclosure, an architecture.*<sup>6</sup>

It would be disingenuous of me not to state my position on this. I spent much of my childhood living in council flats, that at varying points of mine and my mam’s residence

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there had no central heating, leading to freezing cold bath times and sleeping in woolly hats, dampness so bad that it led to mushrooms growing out of my bedroom ceiling, and a major rat problem (although a younger me thought they were cute and didn't see the problem). At the same time, there was never a shortage of kids to play with (a valued resource as an only child), a real sense of historical depth to the area, and despite a general feeling of temporality when it came to my shelter/home itself, there was a strong sense of community.

Honestly, I don't remember this time as feeling bad; it was all I knew. All I do remember is listening to my mother and other residents on the radio campaigning for housing justice. Residents like Majella, who is on my mind a lot since I learned of her recent, and very premature, death.

I have seen the impact of our attitudes to home/shelter on the bodies and minds of those who endure them, increasingly now as our most recent housing crisis just drags on and on. And I can't seem to think about the concept of 'shelter' in any other terms; it just goes straight to the emotional jugular.

After years of campaigning, attempts at shaming, tears and energy given by my mother and other residents, we were moved out of the council flat. The flat days have since felt like a distant memory, surfacing at brief times in my adult life, moments that force me to stop and reflect on my old home and my feelings about shelter, safety, and the public ownership of space. This research project was one of those moments, and I realised that the boundaries between shelter and home have become blurred and enmeshed.

Of course, the shelter was probably not intended to ever become a home. It was designed by Raymond McGrath, and we don't know the names of the people who built it. I wonder how he felt about that? What was his relationship to the concept of shelter, of home? Did the displacement of war impact that? Did he think shelter and safety and security were obligations of the State? Was it a vanity piece for McGrath? Did he intend for it really to embody his ethics in practice? Was it a statement, a performance, or an experiment? I think it's important to consider these things, as well as our own experiences, when looking at the shelter.

Maybe McGrath's shelter can be reimaged.

Or maybe we need to blow up some more statues?

<sup>1</sup> Donal Fallon, "O'Connell Bridge and the 'The Bowl of Light'" Blog entry, 19/03/2012. Available from: <https://comeheretome.com/2012/03/19/oconnell-bridge-and-the-the-bowl-of-light/>

<sup>2</sup> Emma Jane Hade, "Grenade made safe in Phoenix Park 'may have been meant for Magazine Fort attack'" Independent, 06 April 2015.

<sup>3</sup> National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, n.d. Internet survey data. Available from: <https://www.buildingsofireland.ie/buildings-search/building/50060077/carlisle-monument-peoples-garden-phoenix-park-chapelizod-dublin-8-dublin> (31/08/2021).

<sup>4</sup> Michelle Norris, "Financing the Golden Age of Irish Social Housing, 1932-1956 (and the dark ages which followed)" Geary WP2019/01, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of World War II, McGrath was commissioned to produce twelve drawings of aircraft factories and some drawings of bomb damage in London. A number of McGrath's aircraft paintings were included in the Britain at War exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1941.

<sup>6</sup> Beatriz Colomina, "Battle Lines: E.1027". *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts*, 2019.



## A FOREBODING SYMBOL

At first glance, Raymond McGrath's shelter is a marker of the arrival of modernist architecture in Ireland. The Scandinavian inspired structure, stationed within a nine hectare enclosed section of Dublin's Phoenix Park known as the People's Flower Garden, is pastiche of 'soft' concrete forms that countered the angular Brutalist architecture emerging in the UK. Ireland had upheld the Scandinavian example since the earliest days of the Free State; Sweden and Ireland had remained neutral during the war and Sweden's upstanding welfare state had risen to "the top of educated middle-class Ireland's aspiration pile," according to architectural historian Ellen Rowley.

The term welfare state refers to a type of governing in which the national government plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social wellbeing of its citizens. A welfare state is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions of a good life. Social security, federally mandated unemployment programmes, and welfare payments to people unable to work are examples of the welfare state.

The word *sheltered* dates to the 1590s, meaning screened or protected. By 1888 the meaning included being protected from the usual hardships of life.

As I began to research 1950s Ireland, I started to question, why did we abandon this system? Surely the government's foremost concern is its people and their wellbeing? Dredged up from the nation's collective unconscious, accessed and manifested into material by McGrath, the shelter was not just a Scandi-inspired architectural experiment, but rather it was the symbol of a people's necessity *to be sheltered* at a time when welfare was less important than individual wealth.

The park shelter was built in 1956, a somewhat unremarkable time in Irish history. However, a profound economic shift was on the horizon that would lead to societal, cultural and political changes. In the post-World War Two era, Western coun-

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tries such as the United States, Britain, and France experienced a boom in economic growth, whilst Ireland remained one of Europe's poorest countries. Many historians attribute this economic disparity to misguided protectionist policies, which led to a stagnant economy, which in turn led to high unemployment and mass emigration. The 'misguided policies' were inevitable. The Irish were living within a postcolonial matrix that struggled with an unhealthy dependency on the British market for exports. This, combined with the wake of cultural and subsequently, spiritual anguish in the years following Ireland's independence from the British Empire in 1922, meant that the Free State was in no position to uphold a welfare system akin to that of Sweden. We had a lack of resources, guidance and infrastructure to support such a programme.

With the country paralysed by poverty, the government needed to change its economic strategy towards modernisation. In 1958, two years after the construction of McGrath's sculpture, the first Programme for Economic Expansion (1958-1968) was announced. This meant a strategic shift away from protectionism and toward internationalisation. The document, first published in 1957 under the plain-speaking title, Economic Development, was heavily informed by the research of the secretary of the Department of Finance, Dr. T.K. Whitaker, who believed that in order for Ireland's economy to prosper, policies such as taxing imports to protect domestic producers should be abolished and free market policies should take their place. In 1960, former Taoiseach Sean Lemass signed the General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs (GATT), which formally moved Ireland into the free market.

This was the abandonment of the Irish welfare state.

Foreign investment was now being heavily encouraged and the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) was tasked with attracting multinational companies to base themselves in Ireland. The Fianna Fáil government of the time made the island of Ireland the most hospitable place on earth to invest in, with low corporate tax, millions of pounds in grants offered by the state, and a nation of people desperate to work. The campaign set out in the 1950s by the IDA would pave the way for companies such as Apple, Amazon, Facebook and Google to set up headquarters in Ireland in the coming decades. These companies have been accused of avoiding billions in corporate tax and receiving special treatment by the Irish state. Ireland is recognised as a tax haven by multiple financial reports in the US and EU.

The emphasis on economic growth meant an emphasis on materialism. This movement emerged in the late 1960s and was a side effect of the consumer boom. In today's context, when thinking of how materialism has manifested, consider fast-fashion, the beauty industry, targeted online advertising that utilises our data, the pursuit of wealth as property and assets, and the medicalisation of social issues as individualised symptoms with physical manifestations.

Although Whitaker's programme for economic development in Ireland may have been intended to deliver sustainable and inclusive societies, his vision for economic expansion did not foresee a global economic bust in 2008, which would destroy the livelihoods of working and lower-middle class communities across Ireland. The impacts of austerity measures, €100 billion in bailouts from the EU and the collapse of



the domestic financial system caused by an uncontrolled real estate bubble are fresh in the memory of our society.

It feels like it is happening again.

Now in 2021, we are experiencing another property market crisis in Ireland, which has exacerbated a housing crisis that began during the crash. There are approximately 8,000 registered homeless people living in our state. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and the Green Party are in power. It is clear that the extremes of political protectionism following the Second World War and economic expansion leading up to the 2008 recession left us without of a concept of shelter as a basic provision for the people of Ireland.

When I began research on McGrath's park shelter, it soon became evident how little information about the structure existed. Details such as McGrath's rationale for its design or his choice to situate it in the People's Garden of the Phoenix Park were missing; newspaper archives proved futile. The shelter seemed to reside completely disengaged from Irish life for the past 65 years.

One could speculate that the shelter was born in response to a brief debate in Dáil Éireann in February 1956, which mentioned a lack of public amenities in the park such as "toilets, public shelters and up to date pavilions". Whatever the impetus, political or practical, McGrath's shelter is not random. It is a foreboding symbol, conceived and manifested within the Irish socio-economic landscape. Its emptiness, its disuse and uncelebrated status in the city echoes other past, present and future bodies abandoned by the state.

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