

K. Hickey

Catherine Flynn

From: Bord
Sent: Wednesday 19 October 2022 15:40
To: Appeals2
Subject: FW: Ref. 314501
Attachments: 20221019-ABP-314501.pdf

From: Katlyne Armstrong <katlyne.armstrong@antaisce.org>
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2022 3:22 PM
To: Bord <bord@pleanala.ie>
Subject: Ref. 314501

A Chara,

Please find attached a submission from An Taisce in relation to Ref. 314501.

Kind Regards

--

Katlyne Armstrong
Advocacy Assistant
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Company Reg. No. 12469 | Charity Ref. No. CHY4741 | Charity Regulator No. 20006358
An Taisce is a membership-based charity
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An Taisce's normal business hours are Monday to Thursday. Please note that I typically work Monday and Wednesday.

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20221019-ABP-314501

An Bord Pleanála
64 Marlborough Street
Dublin 1

Sent by email to: bord@pleanala.ie

19th October 2022

REF.: 314501
APP: Monaghan County Council
FOR: South Dublin Street and Backlands Regeneration Project. The proposed development covers an area of approximately 2.72 hectares and comprises urban regeneration and public realm proposals.
SITE: Properties at 7- 13 Dublin Street, the rear of 1-9 The Diamond and 1-26 Dublin Street, the Courthouse car park, Lower Courthouse car park, Castle Road, and N54 Macartan (Broad) Road, Monaghan town

A Chara,

An Taisce wishes to make the following observation in relation to the Environmental Impact Assessment Report (EIAR).

The EIAR systemically fails to properly identify or mitigate the multiple adverse impacts of this proposal.

Alternatives

Section 2.6.3, Alternative Designs and Layouts fails to consider alternative design options for the removal of the four buildings on Dublin Street. No. 10 has a 19th Century carriage arch and, therefore, the provision of pedestrian and cycle access does not require the removal of any buildings and vehicle access can be accommodated from the rear.

Urban Transport Impact

Chapter 9, Traffic and Transportation is not for purpose. It seeks to justify the demolition of four buildings to build a new road into the car park area, which is already accessible from Macartan Road. The need for this new vehicle movement junction / road off of Dublin Street into the car park is not justified within urban planning, transport planning, economic impact, landscape or public Realm grounds as a pedestrian and cycling link can be provided without demolition of buildings.

The EIAR makes a claim on modal shift, which is unjustified,

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Directors: Philip Kearney (Chair), Trish O'Connell (Vice-Chair),
Stuart McCaul (Secretary), Aolfe O'Gorman (Treasurer), Hugh O'Reilly, John Sweeney, Olivia Rogers, Rónán O'Brien

"The enhancements proposed to the public realm, cycle infrastructure, and pedestrian links will also encourage a modal shift away from the car and provide greater travel choices, in line with Government policies on sustainable travel. The Council is working towards improving active travel measures throughout the town and is in discussions with the National Transport Authority on further measures to facilitate and promote walking, cycling and public transport throughout the town and wider County."

The actual effect of this proposal increases vehicle movement within the town centre. The proposal is not accounted for by any parallel scheme or initiative to reduce private car use in and around the town or to provide safe protected cycling route.

The improvement to pedestrian circulation and accessibility into and out of the site does not require the demolition of buildings. The justification for the need of a new road in this location has not been provided.

Under 9.5.3.1.6.2, the EIAR stated that,

"The modelling results presented in Table 9.5 demonstrate that the N54 Macartan Road / Farney Road site access junction operates well within capacity at present."

This confirms the case that there is no vehicle transport need to create a new access road off of Dublin Street to access the rear area for development.

Landscape and Visual Impact on Historic Townscape

Chapter 14, Townscape and Visual does not properly assess the impact on the visual receptors in Dublin Street. The individual and combined magnitude of impacts should properly be described as "high" or "major."

The proposed demolition is to create a new road / vehicle entrance into the car park. The EIAR unjustifiably describes the proposed development as creating a "civic space." Monaghan has fine existing civic spaces, particularly the demesne and the setting of the Court House and the Market House.

What is proposed would leave a gash in the street and fail to create a space of unified character or enclosure.

There is no basis to the claim that the proposal would provide a positive catalyst for future regeneration initiatives for Dublin Street. The increase in vehicles generated by the proposed new vehicular access would have a negative impact especially for pedestrians on Dublin Street.

Cultural and Architectural Heritage

The particular significance of 10 Dublin Street as the birth place of Charles Gavan Duffy, including this building's listing on the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage is not

properly addressed. Duffy was a figure of national significance in the 19th Century and went on to play a role in the history of Australia (see Appendix).

Section 3.3.3, Community and Stakeholder Response of the EIAR fails to address that of the 48 consultation submissions, 37 raised concerns about the demolition of 10 Dublin Street.

Section 14.10, Conclusion is contradictory in stating that,

"Part of Dublin Street is defined an Architectural Conservation Area due to its historic streetscape quality."

However, it then goes on to state,

"The proposed public realm improvements will have a beneficial impact on the character of the designated ACA."

The development proposal which includes demolishing four 19th Century, or potentially earlier, buildings and creating a new road is entirely antithetical to the character of the ACA.

Section 15.3.3, Architectural Heritage is supported by the May 2020 consultants CONSARC *Architectural Heritage Impact Assessment South Dublin Street & Backlands Regeneration Scheme, Monaghan Gavan Duffy Place Heritage Report*. This includes the following,

THE IMPACT OF THE DESIGN OF THE PROPOSED STRUCTURE ON THE ACA

"The proposed public realm scheme and creation of Gavan Duffy Place is predicted to enhance the special character of the ACA more than the retention of the existing through the quality of the design and the positive introduction of public artwork and social history information to tell the story of Gavan Duffy."

This claim, in justifying the demolition of an historic birthplace to be reflected in some sort of information panel display and artwork, is entirely lacking in credibility.

The Consarc report also states, *in Section 5.0 Conclusions*,

"5.3 The proposal to demolish the historic structure of Dublin street within the ACA of Dublin street is based on a thorough investigation of the site and the existing buildings within it."

And again, the Consarc report states,

"5.6 The erosion of character does not provide sufficient grounds for demolition, only where the replacement is of more benefit than their retention. The replacement proposal of creating Gavan Duffy place and new access to the Backlands areas of the South Dublin Street will in this case be of more benefit than the retention of the existing buildings."

As this report was issued in May 2020, it therefore predated the current application. The statement was produced without any townscape or visual impact assessment or detail plans and therefore must be dismissed as non-credible. By extension, Section 15.3.3 of the EIAR report on Architectural Heritage must be dismissed.

Climate Change

If the National Climate Action Plan is to achieve its targets, this requires a major reduction in car use, particularly in and around urban areas.

The demolition of a historic birthplace and building of townscape architectural and functional value for the creation of a new vehicular road is incompatible with the Climate Action Plan and, therefore, should not be recommended for approval.

See the Appendix attached in relation to a pre-application consultation and Charles Gavin Duffy.

Please acknowledge our submission and advise us of any decision made.

Yours sincerely,

Ian Lumley
Head of Advocacy
An Taisce – The National Trust for Ireland

Appendix

An Bord Pleanála

3rd March 2021

RE CO MONAGHAN

EIA SCOPING FOR PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT AT DUBLIN ST MONAGHAN INCLUDING PROPOSED DEMOLITION OF 1816 CHARLES GAVIN DUFFY BIRTHPLACE AT NO 10 DUBLIN ST

Thank you for notice on EIA scoping on the above and request for raising of relevant considerations.

There is major EIA sensitivity issue in relation to Cultural Heritage as the proposed development involves the demolition of the 1816 birthplace of Charles Gavin Duffy. With Thomas Davis, William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher and John Mitchell he was one of the main leaders in the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s and co-founder with Davis and first editor of the Nation newspaper.

He went on to be a significant figure in the history of Australia becoming premier of Victoria where he played a major role in land reform.

He died in France and his body was brought back for burial in Glasnevin cemetery beside that of Daniel O'Connell in 1903.

Attached is his Wikipedia entry.

Ian Lumley

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Charles Gavan Duffy

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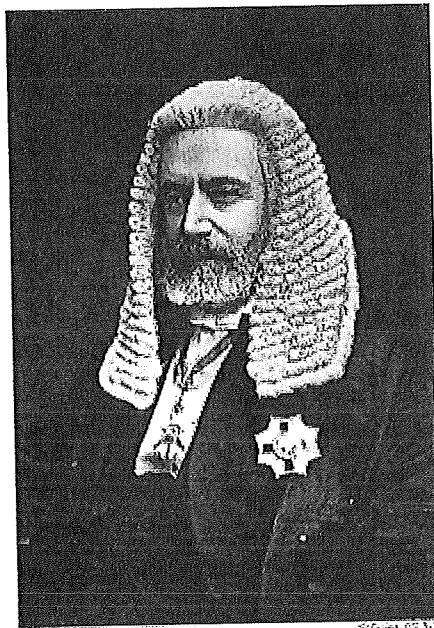
For the Canadian judge and politician, see [C. Gavan Duffy](#).

For his grandson, a judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria, see [Charles Leonard Gavan Duffy](#).

The Right Honourable

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy

KCMG, PC



W. Gavan Duffy
Jan. 5, 1880.

Duffy in 1880

8th Premier of Victoria

<p>In office</p> <p>19 June 1871 – 10 June 1872</p>	
Monarch	<u>Queen Victoria</u>
Preceded by	<u>Sir James McCulloch</u>
Succeeded by	<u>James Francis</u>
<p>Personal details</p>	
Born	<p>12 April 1816</p> <p><u>Monaghan Town</u>, County Monaghan, Ireland</p>
Died	<p>9 February 1903 (aged 86)</p> <p><u>Nice</u>, France</p>
Nationality	Irish, Australian
Spouse(s)	Emily McLaughlin, Susan Hughes, Louise Hall
Profession	Politician

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, KCMG, PC (12 April 1816 – 9 February 1903), was an Irish nationalist, journalist, poet and politician; a Young Irelander who, following emigration to Australia, was to become the 8th Premier of Victoria and one of the commanding figures in Victorian political history.

The suburb of Duffy in the Australian Capital Territory is named after him.

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Ireland[edit]

Early life and career[edit]

Duffy was born at No. 10 Dublin Street in Monaghan Town, County Monaghan, Ireland, the son of a Catholic shopkeeper.^{[1][2]} He was educated in Belfast at St Malachy's College and in the collegiate department of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution (RBAI, usually known as 'Inst'), where he studied logic, rhetoric and *belles-lettres*.

One day when Duffy was aged 18, Charles Hamilton Teeling, a United Irish veteran of the 1798 rising, walked into his mother's house (his father had died when he was 10). Teeling was establishing a journal in Belfast and asked Duffy to accompany him on a round of calls to promote it in Monaghan. Inspired by Teeling's recollections of '98, Duffy began contributing to the journal, *The Northern Herald*.^[3]

In Belfast, Duffy went on to edit the *The Vindicator*, an O'Connellite journal launched by Thomas O'Hagan (later the first Catholic to become Lord Chancellor of Ireland in centuries). At the same time, he began studying law at the King's Inns in Dublin.

Duffy was admitted to the Irish Bar in 1845. But before then he established himself in literary circles as the editor of *Ballad Poetry of Ireland*^[4] (1843),^[5] and in political circles as editor of a new Dublin weekly, *The Nation*.

The Nation[edit]

In 1842, Duffy co-founded *The Nation* with Thomas Osborne Davis, and John Blake Dillon.^[6] Contributors were notable for including nationally minded Protestants: in addition to Davis, Jane Wilde, Margaret Callan, John Mitchel, John Edward Pigot and William Smith O'Brien. All were members or supporters of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association, dedicated to a restoration of an Irish parliament through a reversal of the 1800 Acts of Union.

When he had first followed O'Connell, Duffy concedes that he had "burned with the desire to set up again the Celtic race and the catholic church".^[1] But in *The Nation* (which repeatedly invoked memory of the United Irishmen) Duffy committed himself to a "nationality" that would embrace as easily "the stranger who is within our gates" as "the Irishman of a hundred generations."^[2] This expansive, ecumenical, view of the opinion-forming tasks of the paper brought him into conflict with the clericalism of the broader movement.

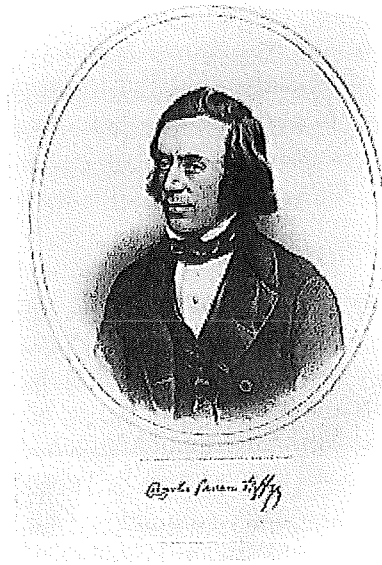
At issue with O'Connell^[edit]

O'Connell's paper, *The Pilot*, did not hesitate to identify religion as The "positive and unmistakable" mark of distinction between Irish and English.^[3] As leader of the Catholic Association, O'Connell had fought to secure not only Catholic entry to Parliament but also the prerogatives and independence of the Catholic Church. It was, he maintained, "a national Church" and should the people "rally" to him, they would "have a nation for that Church".^[4] O'Connell, at least privately, was of the view that "Protestantism would not survive the Repeal ten years". He assured Dr Paul Cullen (the future Cardinal and Catholic Primate of Ireland) that once an Irish parliament had swept aside Ascendancy privilege, "the great mass of the Protestant community would with little delay melt into the overwhelming majority of the Irish nation".^[5]

In 1845, the Dublin Castle administration proposed to educate Catholics and Protestants together in a non-denominational system of higher education. *The Nation* welcomed the proposition, but O'Connell, claiming that there had been "unanimous and unequivocal condemnation" from the bishops", opposed. Disregarding Thomas Davis's plea that "reasons for separate education are reasons for [a] separate life", and declaring himself content to take a stand "for Old Ireland", O'Connell rejected the "godless" colleges.^{[12][13]}

For Duffy there was a further, less liberal basis, for his disaffection: O'Connell's repeated denunciations of a "vile union" in the United States "of republicanism and slavery", and his appeal to Irish Americans to join in the abolitionist struggle.^[14] Duffy believed the time was not right "for gratuitous interference in American affairs". Not least because of the desire for American support and funding, it was a common view.^[15]

Young Ireland^[edit]



Charles Gavan Duffy circa 1845

Main articles: Young Irelander Rebellion of 1848, Young Ireland, and The Nation (Irish newspaper)

Following Davis's sudden death in 1845, Duffy appointed Mitchel deputy editor. Against the background of increasingly violent peasant resistance to evictions and of the onset of famine, Mitchell brought a more militant tone. When the conservative *Standard* observed that the new Irish railways could be used to transport troops to quickly curb agrarian unrest, Mitchell responded that the tracks could be turned into pikes and trains ambushed. O'Connell publicly distanced himself from *The Nation*—it appeared to some setting Duffy, as the editor, up for prosecution.^[6] When the courts failed to convict, O'Connell pressed the issue, seemingly intent on effecting a break with those he referred to disdainfully as "Young Irelanders"—a reference to Giuseppe Mazzini's anti-clerical and insurrectionist Young Italy.

In 1847 the Repeal Association tabled resolutions declaring that under no circumstances was a nation justified in asserting its liberties by force of arms. The Young Irelanders had not advocated physical force,^[7] but in response to the "Peace Resolutions" Meagher argued that if Repeal could not be carried by moral persuasion and peaceful means, a resort to arms would be a no less honourable course.^[8] O'Connell's son John forced the decision: the resolution was carried on the threat of the O'Connells themselves quitting the Association.

Duffy and the other Young Ireland dissidents associated with his paper withdrew and formed themselves as the Irish Confederation.

In the desperate circumstances of the Great Famine and in the face of martial-law measures that, following O'Connell's death, a number of Repeal Association MPs had approved in Westminster, Duffy conceded the case taking "the no less honourable course". With Mitchell he was arrested, leaving it to Meagher, O'Brien and Dillon to raise the standard of revolt—a republican tricolour with which Meagher had returned from revolutionary Paris, its colours intended to symbolise the reconciliation of Catholic (green) and Protestant (orange).

But with the rural priesthood against them and the body of their support confined to the garrisoned towns, their efforts issued in a small demonstration that broke up after its first armed encounter, the Battle of Ballingarry. Their death sentences for treason commuted, the leaders were transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). Duffy alone escaped. Defended by Isaac Butt he was freed after his fifth trial.

On his release, Duffy toured famine-stricken Ireland with the renowned Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle. Duffy had invited Carlyle, a staunch Calvinist and Unionist, in the vain hope that he might help sway establishment opinion in favour of humane and practical relief. Increasingly he was convinced that agrarian reform was the nation's existential issue and one that could form the basis for a non-sectarian national movement. In 1842 he had already allied himself with James Godkin^[19] who had abandoned a bible mission to campaign for the rights of the Catholic tenants he had been tasked with herding into the Protestant fold.^[20]

The League of North and South^[edit]

Uniting activists across the sectarian and constitutional divide, in 1852 the Irish Tenant Right League helped return Duffy (for New Ross) and 49 other tenant-rights MPs to Westminster.^[21] In November 1852, Lord Derby's short-lived Conservative government introduced a land bill to compensate Irish tenants on eviction for improvements they had made to the land. The bill passed in the House of Commons in 1853 and 1854, but failed win consent of the landed grandees in the House of Lords.^[22]

What Duffy optimistically hailed as the "League of North and South" unravelled. In the Catholic South, Archbishop Cullen approved the Catholic MPs breaking their pledge of independent opposition and accepting positions in a new Whig administration.^{[23][24]} In the Protestant North William Sharman Crawford and other League candidates had their meetings broken up by Orange "bludgeon men".^[25]

In 1855 the cause of the Irish tenants, and indeed of Ireland generally, seemed to Duffy more hopeless than ever. Broken in health and spirit, he published in 1855 a farewell address to his constituency, declaring that he had resolved to retire from parliament, as it was no longer possible to accomplish the task for which he had solicited their votes.^[26]

An "Irish Mazzini"^[edit]

To the cause of tenant rights Cullen was sympathetic,^[27] but of Duffy he was deeply suspicious. Following O'Connell he described Duffy as an "Irish Mazzini"—condemnation from a man who had witnessed the Church's humiliation under Mazzini's Roman Republic in 1849. Duffy in turn accused the Church under Cullen of pursuing a "Roman policy" in Ireland "hostile to its nationality."^[28]

Until O'Connell's death, Duffy suggested that Rome had "believed in the possibility of an Independent Catholic State" in Ireland, but that since O'Connell's death could "only see the possibility of a Red Republic". The Curia had, as a result, returned to "her design of treating Ireland as an entrenched camp of Catholicity in the heart of the British Empire, capable of leavening the whole." Ireland for this purpose had to be "thoroughly imperialised, loyalised, welded into England."^[29]

Cullen has been described as the man who "borrowed the British Empire." Under his leadership the Irish church developed an "Hiberno-Roman" mission that was ultimately extended through Britain to the entire English-speaking world.^[29] But Cullen's biographers would argue that Duffy travestied Cullen and his church's complex and nuanced relationship to Irish nationalism.^[30]—perhaps as much as Cullen caricatured Duffy's separatism.

Marriage^[edit]

In 1842, he married Emily McLaughlin, who died in 1845. He married Susan Hughes in 1846, with whom he had six children.^[22]

Australia^[edit]

Emigration and new political career^[edit]

The cause of the Irish tenants, and indeed of Ireland generally, seemed to Duffy more hopeless than ever. Broken in health and spirit, he published in 1855 a farewell address to his constituency, declaring that he had resolved to retire from parliament, as it was no longer possible to accomplish the task for which he had solicited their votes. In 1856 he emigrated with his family to Australia.^[26] After being feted in Sydney and Melbourne, he settled in the newly formed Colony of Victoria.^[31] Duffy was followed to Melbourne by Margaret Callan. Her daughter was later to marry Duffy's eldest son by his first marriage, John Gavan Duffy.

Duffy initially practised law in Melbourne, but a public appeal was soon held to enable him to buy the freehold property necessary to stand for the colonial Parliament. He was immediately elected to the Legislative Assembly for Villiers and Heytesbury in the Western District in 1856. A Melbourne Punch cartoon depicted Duffy entering Parliament as a bog Irishman carrying a shillelagh atop the parliamentary benches (*Punch*, 4 December 1856, p. 141).^[32] He later represented Dalhousie and then North Gippsland.

Duffy's Land Act^[edit]

Duffy stood on a platform of land reform. With the collapse of the Victorian Government's Haines Ministry, during 1857, another Irish Catholic, John O'Shanassy, unexpectedly became Premier. Duffy was his deputy as well as Commissioner for Public Works, President of the Board of Land and Works, and Commissioner for Crown Lands and Survey. Irish Catholics serving as Cabinet Ministers was hitherto unknown in the British Empire and the Melbourne's Protestant establishment was ill-prepared "to countenance so startling a novelty".^[33]

Duffy's Land Act was passed in 1862. Like the Nicholson Act of 1860 which it modified, the Duffy Act provided, in specified areas, for new and extended pastoral licences. It was an effort to break the land-holding monopoly of the so-called "squatter" class. However, the bill had been amended into ineffectiveness by the Legislative Council so that it was easy for the Squatters to employ dummies and extend their control. Duffy's attempts to correct the legislation were defeated. Historian Don Garden commented that "Unfortunately Duffy's dreams were on a higher plane than his practical skills as a legislator and the morals of those opposed to him."^[34]

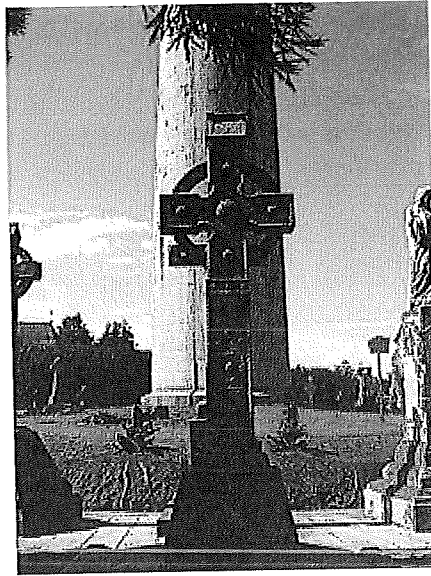
In 1858–59, *Melbourne Punch* cartoons linked Duffy and O'Shanassy with images of the [French Revolution](#) to undermine their Ministry. One famous *Punch* image, "Citizens John and Charles", depicted the pair as French revolutionaries holding the skull and cross bone flag of the so-called *Victorian Republic*.^[21] The O'Shanassy Ministry was defeated at the 1859 election and a new government formed.

Premier of Victoria[\[edit\]](#)

In 1871 Duffy led the opposition to Premier [Sir James McCulloch](#)'s plan to introduce a [land tax](#), on the grounds that it unfairly penalised small farmers. When McCulloch's government was defeated on this issue, Duffy became Premier and Chief Secretary (June 1871 to June 1872). Victoria's finances were in a poor state and he was forced to introduce a [tariff](#) bill to provide government revenue, despite his adherence to British [free trade](#) principles.

An [Irish Catholic](#) Premier was very unpopular with the Protestant majority in the colony, and Duffy was accused of favouring Catholics in government appointments, an example being the appointment of [John Cashel Hoey](#), who had been his successor as editor of *The Nation*, to a position in London. In June 1872 his government was defeated in the Assembly on a confidence motion allegedly motivated by sectarianism. He was succeeded as premier by the conservative [James Francis](#) and later resigned the leadership of the liberal party in favour of [Graham Berry](#).^[22]

Speakership and retirement[\[edit\]](#)



Grave of Charles Gavan Duffy, Glasnevin, Dublin.

When Berry became Premier in 1877 he made Duffy [Speaker of the Legislative Assembly](#), a post he held without much enthusiasm until 1880. Thereafter he quit politics and retired to southern France where he wrote his memoirs: *The League of North and South, 1850–54* (1886) and *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (1898).

In exile in France, Duffy was an enthusiastic supporter of the [Melbourne Celtic Club](#), which aimed to promote [Irish Home Rule](#) and Irish culture.^[36] His sons also became members of the club.

In recognition of his services to Victoria, he was knighted in 1873 and made [KCMG](#) in 1877. He married for a third time in Paris in 1881, to Louise Hall, and they had four more children.^[22]

Notable children^[edit]


- [John Gavan Duffy](#) was a Victorian politician between 1874 and 1904.
- [Sir Frank Gavan Duffy](#), was Chief Justice of the [High Court of Australia](#) 1931–35.^[27]
- [Louise Gavan Duffy](#) (1884-1969) was the joint secretary of the nationalist women's organization, [Cumann na mBan](#), and was an Irish republican present at the 1916 [Easter Rising](#) and an [Irish language](#) enthusiast who founded an Irish language school, [Scoil Bhride](#) (St Bridget)'s Girls School in [Earlsfort Terrace](#), Dublin.^[28]
- [George Gavan Duffy](#), was an Irish politician and a signatory to the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921. From 1936 onward he was a justice on the [Irish High Court](#), becoming its president from 1946 until his death in 1951. One year before his death, he heard the *Tilson Case*, in which he applied the *ne temere* decree to the letter as de Valera's 1937 Irish Constitution gave the [Roman Catholic Church in Ireland](#) a "special position".^[29]

Additionally, a grandson, Charles Leonard Gavan Duffy, was a judge on the Supreme Court of Victoria, Australia.^[40]

Death^[edit]

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy died in Nice, France in 1903, aged 86.^[23]



Works^[edit]

 Texts on Wikisource:

- *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (1898)^[41]

Notes^[edit]

- [↑] *"Birthplace of Charles Gavin Duffy, Dublin Street, ROOSKY, Monaghan, MONAGHAN". *Buildings of Ireland*.*
- [↑] *The Northern Standard*, *Monaghan*, p. 1, Thursday, 14 January 2021.
- [↑] *Ó Cathaoir., Breandán (7 February 2003). "An Irishman's Diary". *The Irish Times*. Retrieved 27 August 2020.*
- [↑] *Duffy, Charles Gavan (21 February 1845). "The ballad poetry of Ireland". Dublin.*
- [↑] *Duffy, Charles Gavan (1845). *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*. Dublin: J. Duffy.*
- [↑] *Young Ireland*, T.F. O'Sullivan, The Kerryman Ltd. 1945, p. 6
- [↑] *Moody*, p 38.
- [↑] *Bardon, Jonathan (2008). *A History of Ireland in 250 Episodes*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan. p. 367.*
- [↑] *Beckett, J.C. (1966). *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923*. London: Faber & Faber. p. 332. ISBN 0571092675.*
- [↑] *Quoted in Boyce, D. George. (1995). *Nationalism in Ireland*(Third ed.). London: Routledge. p. 146. ISBN 9780415127769.*
- [↑] *O'Connell to Cullen, 9 May 1842. Maurice O'Connell (ed.) *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*. Shannon: Irish University Press, 8 vols.), vol. vii, p. 158*
- [↑] *Macken, Ultan (2008). *The Story of Daniel O'Connell*. Cork: Mercier Press. p. 120. ISBN 9781856355964.*
- [↑] *Mulvey, Helen (2003). *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study*. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press. p. 180. ISBN 0813213037.*
- [↑] *Jenkins, Lee (Autumn 1999). "Beyond the Pale: Frederick Douglass in Cork" (PDF). *The Irish Review* (24): 92.*
- [↑] *Kinealy, Christine. "The Irish Abolitionist: Daniel O'Connell". *irishamerica.com*. Irish America. Retrieved 24 August 2020.*
- [↑] *McCullagh, John. "Irish Confederation formed". *newryjournal.co.uk*. Newry Journal. Retrieved 27 August 2020.*
- [↑] *Doheny, Michael (1951). *The Felon's Track*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. p. 105*
- [↑] *O'Sullivan, T. F. (1945). *Young Ireland*. The Kerryman Ltd. pp. 195-6*
- [↑] *Smith, G.B., 'Godkin, James (1806–1879)', rev. C. A. Creffield, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004)*
- [↑] *Smith, G.B., 'Godkin, James (1806–1879)', rev. C. A. Creffield, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004)*
- [↑] *Duffy, Charles Gavan (1886). *The League of North and South*. London: Chapman & Hall.*
- [↑] *Jump up to: ~~§~~ ~~h~~ ~~e~~ ~~d~~ ~~e~~ Anton, Brigitte; O'Brien, R. B. (2008). "Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.*

23. ^ McCaffrey, Lawrence (1976). *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America*. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press. p. 145. ISBN 9780813208961.
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