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# Borough Politics in O'Connellite Ireland: The Youghal Poll Books of 1835 and 1837

By ANN BARRY and K. THEODORE HOPPEN

In order to understand the nature of political behaviour in nineteenth-century Ireland it is necessary to penetrate behind the often encumbering externals of national trends and general patterns. Poll books (rarer in Ireland than in Britain)<sup>1</sup> provide a unique means of laying bare the bones of a certain type of politics: elections and electioneering. The two\* poll books printed below relate to the contests held for the borough of Youghal at the general elections of January 1835 and August 1837.<sup>2</sup> In the former the Liberal/Repealer, John O'Connell, defeated the Tory, Thomas Berry Cusack Smith, by 137 votes to 130; in the latter the Liberal/Whig, Frederick John Howard, was victorious over the Tory, William Nicol, by 158 to 150. The information provided by poll books (in this case chiefly relating to the occupations of voters) can, however, only achieve its proper historical impact if placed firmly within the context of local society and local politics.

The Act of Union preserved Youghal as a parliamentary borough and enacted that it should return one member to the United Kingdom parliament. By 1800 the representation of the town lay in the hands of the earls of Shannon, who had managed to acquire control about the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Shannon dominated the corporation and the freemen who nominally constituted the electorate, even though he owned little or no land within the town itself. The largest local proprietor was in fact the duke of Devonshire, whose Cork estates alone were estimated in 1811 to produce over £20,000 a year.<sup>4</sup> As time went on Devonshire became irritated by his lack of influence and the succession of the sixth duke in 1811 exacerbated matters. It was discovered that the corporation had built extensively upon reclaimed land to which Devonshire was able to prove title. After a long legal wrangle, an agreement was reached in 1822 that, in return for his withdrawal of dispossession orders and the granting of reasonable leases, the patronage of the borough was to be transferred to Devonshire. In September the duke visited the town to seal the new arrangements.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of those *Ulster* poll books which have survived, see B.M. Walker, 'Irish election poll books, 1832-72, part I', *Irish booklore*, iii (1976), 9-13.

\* The first of the books appears in this issue, the second will appear in the Jan-June 1979 issue of the *Journal—Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> The matter printed here is a transcription of manuscript poll books (probably compiled for the returning officers) among the Youghal Corporation Records, at present temporarily with the Cork Archives Council (see Ann Barry, 'Youghal Corporation Records', *Irish archives bulletin*, iv (1974), 31-3). One important omission in these poll books will be readily apparent — they include details only of those who actually voted, and thus (with a few exceptions) give no information about those voters who (for whatever reason) did not participate in the election.

<sup>3</sup> For a not unbiased history of the matter, see Thomas Knowlton to duke of Devonshire, Lismore, 28 Sept. 1812, Devonshire Papers (at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire). See also A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Newtown Act of 1748: revision and reconstruction', *Irish historical studies*, xviii (1973), 335-6.

<sup>4</sup> E. Wakefield, *An account of Ireland, statistical and political*, 2 vols. (London, 1812), i, 250.

'We were met', he noted, 'in great form by the corporation and multitudes of people and drawn all round the town. We dined at my acquired property the Mall House, the dinner was very handsome, given by the corporation. They had before brought me the freedom of the town and a beautiful gold box'. Fifty of Devonshire's 'friends' were then admitted as freemen — a visible embodiment of the new order.<sup>5</sup>

For the next ten years Devonshire nominated both the borough officers and the member of parliament. Only the general election of 1830 saw an attempt at opposition, but even that 'proved a very feeble one'.<sup>6</sup> And thus the duke's nominee, the Whig George Ponsonby, sat from 1826 to 1832 and cast his votes 'in favour of every liberal and good measure'.<sup>7</sup>

The Irish Reform Act of 1832 (1 & 2 Will. IV c.88) ended such cosy arrangements. Henceforth the electorate was no longer to consist exclusively of freemen but largely of those who occupied houses worth at least ten pounds a year. The rights of existing voters were preserved for their lifetimes, but the creation of new freemen was to be greatly restricted. Clearly Earl Grey's Whig administration was anxious to discover how many voters its reform proposals would enfranchise in Ireland. The chief secretary (E.G. Stanley, later fourteenth earl of Derby) therefore appointed commissioners to visit the respective boroughs and to delineate boundaries, this being now necessary because the ten-pound householders were required to be resident within the borough and the surviving freemen within seven miles of the town, whereas before 1832 the geographical location of voters had been quite irrelevant. The chief commissioner (Captain George Gipps R.E.) was told to draw boundaries tightly around the built-up area so as to take as 'little as possible out of the county constituency' of Cork, while still producing a borough electorate of not less than 200. Gipps's detailed proposals however offended some local opinion as involving too restrictive and small an area. As a result, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed and recommended slight extensions in the north to take in the land around Eustace's Folly, in the west to include the barracks, and in the south to comprehend part of the new Cork road.<sup>8</sup> The final limits were about two miles from north to south and not more than half a mile from east to west where the town was in any case confined between the harbour and the hill of Knockaverry. Elections were now much

<sup>5</sup> *First report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the municipal corporations in Ireland: Appendix to the first report... Part I Southern, midland, western, and south-eastern circuits*, H[ouse of] C[ommons Paper] 1835 [27], xxvii, 298; Devonshire's diary for 11 Sept. 1822, Devonshire Papers. On the long legal dispute before 1822, see the series of letters between Shannon and various Youghal residents during the years 1812-22 in Shannon Papers, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland D2707/A3/2.

<sup>6</sup> *Copy of instructions given by the chief secretary for Ireland with reference to the cities and boroughs in Ireland sending representatives to parliament; likewise, copy of any letter or report received by the chief secretary, in answer to such instructions* H.C. 1831-2 (519), xliii, 146.

<sup>7</sup> F.B. Hamilton, *The picture of parliament, containing a biographical dictionary of the Irish members* (London, 1831), p. 78. He voted for the third reading of the English Reform Bill (*Hansard*, 3rd Series, xi, 783) and for the second reading of the Irish Reform Bill (*ibid.*, xiii, 175).

<sup>8</sup> *Copy of instructions given by the chief secretary, H.C. 1831-2 (519), xliii, p. ii.* See Gipps's boundaries (with map) in *ibid.*, after p. 150. The more extensive boundary is described in *Report and minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on the limits of the boroughs of Dungarvan, Youghal, and Mallow*, H.C. 1831-2 (631, 635), v, 3-24 and in the Boundary Act itself (2 & 3 Will. IV c.89), a map of this larger boundary being included in W.E. Hudson, *A treatise of the elective franchise and the registration of electors in Ireland under the Reform Act... to which is annexed thirty-three maps* (Dublin, 1832), a copy of which survives in Trinity College Dublin Library, Shelfmark Gall. 13.N.25.

more closely related to place, and the social and political characteristics of the town were now among the unambiguous determinants of electoral success.

The census of 1831 (a by-no-means invariably accurate assessment) recorded a total borough population of 9608. Of these 2046 were males aged twenty and over from whom alone the ten-pound householders could be chosen.<sup>9</sup> Gipps had estimated that the town contained some 479 properties worth at least ten pounds, and that, deducting unoccupied houses, female and other disqualified occupiers etc., Youghal would be left with an electorate of just over 400.<sup>10</sup> In the event only 297 voters were registered at the sessions held in the Autumn of 1832, a discrepancy caused partly by Gipps's invariably over-optimistic forecasts and partly by the complexities and confusions of the registration and valuation systems established by the Irish Reform Act.<sup>11</sup> Gipps's findings (if treated with due caution) do however reveal significant detail about the nature of Youghal and its inhabitants. The 479 houses in question included thirty-two storehouses, so that the remaining 457 constituted 37.8 per cent of the town's total inhabited housing stock recorded in the census. This is a remarkably high proportion and suggests that almost two in every five occupiers would (if possessing the other franchise requirements of sex, age, a certain period of residence and the payment of local taxes) have been qualified for the vote. Most of these houses were, however, near the lower end of the range required for the franchise and only seventy-three were calculated by Gipps as worth thirty pounds and above. These proportions remained constant throughout the next decade. By January 1842 the town had been assessed for the poor law (introduced in 1838) and it was then found that of the 452 properties valued at ten pounds and over only seventy-seven were worth at least thirty pounds.<sup>12</sup>

Youghal's housing did however compare favourably with that of other towns in Munster. The census of 1841 classified dwellings into four categories. Employing the figure produced by dividing the proportion of families in houses of the first and second classes by the average number of families per inhabited house, one can produce a useful index of relative housing standards. The results for the parliamentary boroughs in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary are as follows.<sup>13</sup>

Bandon	53.0	Clonmel	39.9
Youghal	48.7	Dungarvan	39.3
Waterford	46.2	Mallow	33.1
Kinsale	45.5	Cashel	30.3
Cork	43.8		

<sup>9</sup> *Abstract of the returns made in pursuance of the acts for taking a census of the population of Ireland 1831*, H.C. 1833 (634), xxxix, 214-15. These (and subsequent) figures are for the town section of the Church of Ireland parish of St Mary's, the 'rural' portion of which included a further 1719 persons. (The boundaries used by the census officials were not exactly those delineated by Gipps or in the Boundary Act of 1832, but Gipps thought them near enough for practical purposes). Information as to age is available only for those of twenty (not twenty-one) and over.

<sup>10</sup> This included the eighty-seven surviving freeman voters, seventy-four of whom also occupied ten-pound houses.

<sup>11</sup> See *Hansard*, xxxii, 263.

<sup>12</sup> See the printed 'Statement of the number of parliamentary electors on the registries of Ireland, in January 1842 . . . also, a statement of the number of tenements in Ireland, valued for the poor rates' marked 'Confidential' in the Papers of the 14th earl of Derby, 28/3. (We are grateful to Lord Blake for allowing access to this collection). The population of Youghal Borough increased from an estimated 9608 in 1831 to 9939 in 1841.

<sup>13</sup> These figures have been calculated by Dr Hugh Mason (to whom we are very grateful for permission to use his valuable work) in his 'The development of the urban pattern in Ireland

In the houses of lesser value lived the majority of inhabitants, voteless, yet often involved in electoral matters as canvassers, boycotters of shops, rioters or spectators, for although the 'political community' was divided between those with and those without the franchise, this division marked a point on a continuum rather than an impassable border between power and impotence. At one end were the inmates of the 'large and bad suburbs' where in the mid-1830s lived those for whom poverty allowed no relief from the business of avoiding hunger and starvation: the wretched fishermen, the ninety widows with a hundred children reduced to constant begging, the 'many' labourers, who, 'when a long time out of employment, are obliged to have recourse to the same means of support'.<sup>14</sup> And it was estimated in 1831 that the town alone contained 659 general and fifty-six agricultural labourers who thus together formed over 16 per cent of the total male population.<sup>15</sup> Some obtained casual employment in shipping, carrying or in other hard manual pursuits, but most were 'generally idle half the year'. The local curate estimated that the 'average earnings of the average family' — husband, wife and four children of working age — was about eight pounds a year. On this, a diet of dry potatoes was all that could be obtained.<sup>16</sup> The daily (generally money) wages paid in the town to those fortunate to be in work varied between 10d and 12d, which, though low, was higher than the 7d to 8d paid to agricultural labourers.<sup>17</sup> In 1835 a man with 6d a day to spend on food could in Cork have afforded about 2lbs of bread, 4 pints of milk, 5lbs of potatoes and two-thirds of a pound of oatmeal.<sup>18</sup> But the widespread lack of regular work makes nonsense of such averages. For many the road to terrible distress was marked first by the pawnshop and then by begging. Although the presence of the six or seven pawnbrokers dealing with the 'lowest class' was thought by the Anglican rector 'a very great evil' encouraging 'indolence and theft',<sup>19</sup> there can be no doubt that much use was made of their services. Three of them indeed had the vote in 1835 when they

1841-1881', 3 vols. (University of Wales, Ph.D. thesis, 1969), iii, 602-37. The 1841 census provides the earliest useful information, and reported 1283 inhabited houses in Youghal town: 29 in the 4th class (one-roomed mud cabins), 319 in the 3rd (mud cabins with 2/4 rooms and windows), 714 in the 2nd (houses in a 'small street having from 5 to 9 rooms and windows'), and 221 in the 1st (superior). See *Report of the commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland, for the year 1841*, H.C. 1843 [504], xxiv, 184 and xiv.

<sup>14</sup> H.D. Inglis, *A Journey throughout Ireland, during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn of 1834*, 5th ed. (London, 1838), p. 100; also the information given by Rev. J. Russell C.C. in *First report from His Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, with Appendix (A) and Supplement*, H.C. 1835 (369), xxxiii, Part I, 1015-16 (Supplement). Much of the information of Russell and others relates to the whole (Church of Ireland) parish of St Mary's

<sup>15</sup> *Census of 1831*, H.C. 1833 (634), xxxix, 214-15.

<sup>16</sup> Evidence of Rev. J. Russell C.C. in *Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (C)* H.C. 1836 [35], xxx 198. Other local informants estimated between nine and twelve pounds a year (*Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (D)*, H.C. 1836 [36], xxxi, 311).

<sup>17</sup> Evidence of Rev. Henry Swanzy (Church of Ireland) in *Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (D)*, H.C. 1836 [36], xxxi, 311. A.L. Bowley ('The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years (Part III): Agricultural wages — Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, lxii (1899), 395-404) gives four shillings a week as an average figure for agricultural wages. in Co Cork (all figures 'without diet'), which had hardly risen in money terms since 1800.

<sup>18</sup> John O'Brien, 'Agricultural prices and living costs in pre-famine Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxxii (1977), 1-10. O'Brien has constructed a tentative 'subsistence cost of living index for Cork, 1825-44', in which 1825 = 100; 1835 = 65; 1837 = 81.

<sup>19</sup> *Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (D)*, H.C. 1836 [36], xxxi, 311 and *Appendix (E)*, H.C. 1836 [37], xxxii, 307.

unanimously supported John O'Connell. But despite such widespread poverty, a few labourers did manage to get the franchise in the 1830s (see poll books), largely, it may be supposed, because of peculiarities in the Irish system of voter registration.

A much larger group among the electorate was that consisting of those involved in the various craft trades of the period. Youghal had few if any manufactures of note at this time. Its earlier brickmaking and woollen industries had virtually collapsed, and now only a modest crockery production was maintained.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, artisans, when in work, were at least able to afford better housing and food (which might include bread, milk, tea and meat) than labourers, and at best could aspire to number themselves among the depositors at the Youghal Savings Bank, to occupation of a ten-pound house, and to the vote. Artisans merged into shopkeeping retailers. Both groups provided a substantial number of voters and both occupied a particularly exposed economic and social position poised as they often were between those of their customers who supported one candidate and those whose allegiance lay with the other.<sup>21</sup> And such divisions were in themselves merely the accentuated manifestation of constant and abiding sectional loyalties within the town as a whole.

After the election of 1835 a printed poster appeared headed 'Stop & Read The Names of the honest and Independent Electors of Youghal, who Voted for O'Connell, and against the Bloody Tythes!!!' listing the names of the 137 men who had supported the victorious Liberal/Repealer.<sup>22</sup> This was clearly connected with attempts to enforce a policy of 'exclusive dealing' or the boycotting of shopkeepers politically out of sympathy with certain groups among their customers. A meeting was held in the Catholic chapel to encourage such practices.<sup>23</sup> One Tory shopkeeper had a load of herrings scattered on the road by an angry mob after the election. Dominick Ronayne (described in the 1835 poll book as 'gentleman') was particularly active in organizing opposition to Tory retailers, on one occasion entering a flour and spirits shop with a large crowd and persuading the customers present to hand back their purchases. 'The persons who got up and conducted this system of outrage, employed', it was reported to Dublin Castle, 'men of the most abandoned habits and wretched circumstances to be found in the town to beset the shops. . . . These men were selected from this class as they were known to disregard the chances of punishment and to be ready for a small reward to commit acts of violence and outrage which other persons would shrink from'.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See A. R. Orme, 'Youghal, County Cork — growth, decay, resurgence', *Irish geography*, v (1964-8), 121-49; also evidence of Rev. J. Russell C.C. in *Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (C)*, H.C. 1836 [35], xxx, 198. Two ware manufacturers (Drury and Sidley) had the vote in 1835, though only Sidley survived to poll in 1837.

<sup>21</sup> *Poor Inquiry (Ireland) Appendix (C)*, H.C. 1836 [35], xxx, 198 and *Appendix (E)*, H.C. 1836 [37], xxxii, 307. For examples of pressure put on shopkeepers etc. elsewhere in Ireland, see K.T. Hoppen, 'Landlords, society and electoral politics in mid-nineteenth century Ireland', *Past and present*, No 75 (May 1977), 62-93.

<sup>22</sup> See report of W. Miller, 2 Feb. 1835, S[tate] P[aper] O[ffice, Dublin], O[utrage] P[apers], 1835/166 (Box 47), copy of poster attached.

<sup>23</sup> *Cork Constitution*, 17 Feb. 1835. The meeting was held there after the mayor had refused the use of the Mall House despite a requisition signed by 3 coal retailers, 2 bakers, 3 butchers, 10 publicans, a corn factor, a tobacconist, a lime burner, a pawnbroker, 6 small shopkeepers, a pig buyer, a smith, a slater, a painter, a tailor, and 2 priests. No less than 1500 attended, mostly, according to the unsympathetic *Constitution*, small farmers, fishermen and 'unwashed artisans'.

<sup>24</sup> Murdock Greene to the under-secretary (Sir William Gossett), 6 mar. 1835, S.P.O. O.P., 1835/166 (Box 47). See also (in *ibid.*) the letters of Charles Nangle of Middleton, 16 Feb. 1835 and of Thomas Gimlett, 30 Mar. 1835.

The Tories were not slow to respond. Even before the chapel meeting they had gathered in the Mall House to defend traders who had voted for Smith and to form a Protestant Protection Society. Stirring calls were issued for all Tories to travel by Richardson's coach, for, as John Barrow discovered on visiting Youghal later that year, even the coaches were 'politically opposed to each other. One is called "Conservative", the other speaks for itself — the "Repealer"'.<sup>25</sup> Certain sorts of shop-keeper were particularly open to pressure from wealthier customers, and a Baptist bookseller, who had desperately refused to vote at all, claimed that the Tory committee had threatened to ruin his business. Shortly after the election, retribution for his refusal to endorse Protestant solidarity arrived in the shape of the following note.

Mrs . . . . . sends Mr Hamilton the amount of her account; if he has got Paxton [a magazine] for December, she, of course, will take it, but in future she will get that and Rennie's and any other things she may want in his line from Mr Barry Drew in Cork.

Hamilton and Ward the watchmakers (who had actually voted for O'Connell) never recovered their Tory customers, even though, as the former bitterly commented, there were Quaker traders who had remained aloof and yet the Tories had 'made no attempt upon them, because their business was principally among the country people, and they knew it was useless'.<sup>26</sup>

Influence and pressure of this kind, common in the smaller reformed boroughs, were often reinforced by open bribery. John O'Connell claimed that at his election poor artisans were offered enormous sums merely to leave Youghal and not vote on his behalf, but that they all refused; and in 1837 the Liberal press made its customary references to the widespread use of 'Tory gold'.<sup>27</sup> The O'Connell clan as a whole was indeed understandably worried about the expense of such contests in which so many of them were engaged: 'those boroughs are vile places, and I pity any man who has to do with them. That dirty little town of Youghal was more expensive to me than the county of Meath. . . . As William Ford [an O'Connellite attorney] says, "In the towns it's the ready money down"'.<sup>28</sup>

Kicks and kindnesses in the shape of threats and bribes formed of course only one element in the complex web of relationships, debts, friendships and identifications amidst which individuals worked out their political allegiances. A key constituent here was religion, for denominational affiliation defined (together with occupation and status) a man's place within his own local world. The Ireland of the 1830s was

<sup>25</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, 14 Feb. 1835; *Cork Constitution*, 7 Feb. 1835; J. Barrow, *A tour round Ireland, through the sea-coast counties, in the Autumn of 1835* (London, 1836), p. 340. Barrow found that while on the 'Conservative' vehicle he was frequently surrounded by a crowd of men, women and children 'hooting and yelling at us'.

<sup>26</sup> Evidence of George and John Hamilton in *Report from the select committee on bribery at elections; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index*, H.C. 1835 (547), viii, 516-19. The pressure from the 'popular' party was, they said, directed mostly at grocers and spirit dealers.

<sup>27</sup> John O'Connell, *Recollections and experiences during a parliamentary career from 1833 to 1848*, 2 vols. (London, 1849), i, 150; *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 Aug. 1837.

<sup>28</sup> Morgan O'Connell to P.V. Fitzpatrick, 15 Apr. 1835, in *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell, The Liberator*, ed. W.J. Fitzpatrick, 2 vols. (London, 1888), ii, 14. A decade or so later, however, Devonshire's agent estimated that a contested election at Youghal would cost between £1500 and £2000 — not an especially high sum (F.E. to W. Currey, 16 May 1849, N[ational] L[ibrary of] I[reland] Lismore Papers MS 7183/2, ff. 97-8).

experiencing an awakening of enthusiasm among Catholics newly invigorated by the campaign for emancipation. Many Protestants, partly in reaction to this and partly for other reasons, were also sharpening their sectarian ideology and welcoming the activities and promises of those evangelicals most closely involved with the 'Second Reformation'. In Youghal the forces concerned were delineated by the Commissioners of Public Instruction, who estimated that in 1834 the parish of St Mary's (which was of course somewhat larger than the town itself) included 9670 Catholics, 1810 Anglicans and 100 dissenters, a Catholic/Protestant ratio of about five to one. Although this was about average for Ireland as a whole, it showed clearly that Youghal had a proportionately much higher Protestant population than did the surrounding countryside.<sup>29</sup> Anglicanism claimed an average Sunday attendance at three services of 780; Catholicism one of 6000 at three Sunday masses.<sup>30</sup> These Catholic figures (showing that 62 per cent of church members fulfilled their weekly obligations) are considerably higher than the 26 to 30 per cent found in the rural parishes of Ardmore, Clashmore and Ring in that part of Waterford just across the water from Youghal harbour, though lower than those of larger towns such as Kilkenny (over 90 per cent) and Waterford (79 to 85 per cent). The case of Youghal therefore adds modest support to the suggestion that urban attendance at mass was generally higher than in the countryside of pre-Famine Ireland.<sup>31</sup>

Unfortunately there is no precise denominational breakdown of the electorate itself. However, it is known that the sixty or so freemen who retained their parliamentary votes after 1832 included at very most three Catholics, so that this group of electors greatly swelled the proportion of Protestants possessing the franchise. Indeed in 1835, of the 267 electors who went to the poll, fifty-five were freemen, all but one of whom voted for the Tory candidate.<sup>32</sup> The exact size of the electorate (as opposed to the numbers actually voting) is in any case more difficult to ascertain than might be supposed. Probably the most reliable figures are those for early 1833 (207 electors), immediately after the first reformed registration, and those for early 1841 which reflect the position subsequent to the octennial revision of 1840 (512 electors).<sup>33</sup> If, as seems reasonable, the effective electorate in 1835 and 1837 was somewhere

<sup>29</sup> *First report of the commissioners of public instruction, Ireland*, H.C. 1835 [45], xxxiii, 616-17. The percentage of Protestants of all kinds among the inhabitants of the Anglican dioceses of Cloyne (in which Youghal is included) was 4.1. In neighbouring dioceses it was: Cork 10.7 (helped by Cork City's Protestant population) and Lismore 3.1 (Figures for 1834 in *The census of Ireland for the year 1861. Part IV*, H.C. 1863 [3204-III], lix, 34-5).

<sup>30</sup> *Commissioners of public instruction*, H.C. 1835 [45], xxxiii, 616-17.

<sup>31</sup> D.W. Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *Journal of social history*, ix (1975), 86-7. Of course some persons may have attended more than one mass.

<sup>32</sup> *First report of the municipal commissioners . . . Appendix*, H.C. 1835 [27], xxvii, 299: 'there is a great degree of consanguinity and relationship amongst the resident members of the corporation, the sons, sons-in-law, or other relatives of the aldermen and burgesses being the persons usually admitted'. See also Table One below.

<sup>33</sup> Figures from a 'Table of the Irish electorate 1830-1850' in Papers of the 4th earl of Clarendon (viceroy 1847-52) now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Clarendon Deposit Irish, Box 25. Irish voters were on registration given a certificate valid for eight years; thus those registered in 1832-3 were not subject to revision until 1840/41. The figures between those dates are swollen by the increasing number of certificate holders who had died, emigrated etc., and even the 1841 total is (for various complicated reasons) less reliable than that for 1833, being certainly somewhat too high. See K. T. Hoppen, 'Politics, the law, and the nature of the Irish electorate 1832-1850', *English historical review*, xcii (1977), 746-76.



between 300 and 350, the poll books show an extremely high level of participation, for it must be remembered that even some of these genuine voters would have been unable to poll because of absence, illness or other incapacity.

After the passage of the Reform Act, the duke of Devonshire decided to withdraw from active participation in Youghal's parliamentary elections.<sup>34</sup> None of the candidates in 1832 or 1835 would in any case have attracted his Whigish sympathies. In the former year the Tories put up Roger Green Davis against John O'Connell standing as a Repealer, but were forced to withdraw when defeat seemed inevitable after only twenty-seven voters had polled. This made clear to them the necessity of sterner measures and within the next few years the Youghal Conservatives (freed since 1832 from Devonshire's Whig control) blossomed forth in the full vigour of religious and political sectionalism. Indeed, the effect of the Reform Act in reducing the power of aristocratic and other patrons over many of the smaller Irish boroughs released the often hitherto pent-up forces of urban Toryism and exacerbated sectarian tensions. Although already powerful by the mid-1830s, these feelings were in Youghal not to become fully institutionalized until the founding in the early 1840s of the Protestant Operatives Association and Reformation Society enabled a combination of clergy and lesser gentry to reinforce the Protestant consciousness of their co-religionists among the artisans and tradesmen of the town.<sup>35</sup> Particularly prominent was the Rev. P. W. Drew, who preached weekly in St Mary's about Rome's 'hellish head', while promising his flock that so long as 'the Bible calls Popery the harlot of Babylon . . . I will not keep back the words of Scripture'.<sup>36</sup>

In the face of such increasing Protestant cohesion, John O'Connell (who stood again in 1835) thought it prudent to try to enlist Devonshire's assistance. In December 1834 he approached the outgoing Whig chief secretary, E. J. Littleton, and delicately asked him to intervene with his grace on behalf of 'a Reformer'.<sup>37</sup> His father was by then in any case anxious to cooperate with the orthodox Liberals and Whigs and had already founded the Anti-Tory Association to drive Peel's new administration out of office by means of an alliance of all those forces opposing it. Littleton made enquiries and was told that Devonshire was determined to remain neutral, although some feared that 'his agents and sub-agents' might 'not be equally impartial'.<sup>38</sup> O'Connell's Tory opponent in 1835 — T.B.C. Smith — was the forty-year old son of Sir William Cusack Smith, a baron of the exchequer. Thomas Smith's own legal talents were considerable, and although 'a man of harsh manners and rough exterior' he later became solicitor-general and attorney-general for Ireland and in 1846 was appointed master of the

<sup>34</sup> *First report of the municipal commissioners . . . Appendix*, H.C. 1835 [27], xxvii, 298.

<sup>35</sup> See various cuttings etc. in 'Youghal Protestant Operatives Scrapbook 1829-48' in the Bradshaw Collection at Cambridge University Library (Shelfmark Hib. 1.844.1).

<sup>36</sup> F.E. to B. Currey, 5 Oct. 1844, Lismore Papers N.L.I. MS 7183/1, f. 92. F.E. Currey was Devonshire's agent at Lismore. 'Is not', he asked his relative at Chatsworth, 'such language and such a perversion of scripture and violation of charity monstrous and most mischievous'. Some years later he noted that 'the Conservative party [in Youghal] are high Protestants and in fact Protestantism and the Church are their watchwords' (to W. Currey, 16 May 1849, *ibid.* MS 7183/2, ff. 97-8).

<sup>37</sup> John O'Connell to Littleton, 20 Dec. 1834, Hatherton Papers (Littleton became the 1st Baron Hatherton in 1835) at the Staffordshire Record Office, MS D260/M/01/15.

<sup>38</sup> R.D. Craig to Littleton, 24 Dec. 1834, *ibid.* MS D260/M/01/15. In 1832 the Whig government (in the shape of the lord lieutenant) had also unsuccessfully tried to enlist Devonshire's assistance at Youghal (Marquess of Anglesey to Earl Grey, 23 Nov. 1832, Anglesey Papers, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland D619/28A).

rolls. In 1827 he had married into the wealthy Smith Barry family of Fota, who were among the largest landowners in Co Cork.<sup>39</sup> In 1837 John O'Connell moved to Athlone, but already before that his father had been casting around for a replacement. In 1836 Daniel O'Connell had urged Pierce Mahony to seek Devonshire's assistance at Youghal, which, together with his own, would, he argued, ensure 'a certainty of success'. Not long after, his pact with the Whigs now in the fulness of its intimacy, he announced at the General Association that he would at Youghal 'make room for a Ponsonby, or any other staunch Whig reformer, who will boldly support the present government'.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the candidate eventually chosen represented the beau-ideal of aristocratic Whiggery, for Frederick John Howard (1814-97) was the son of the Hon. Frederick Howard, who, besides having been patriotically killed at Waterloo, had been the son of the 5th earl of Carlisle and had married the sister of the 1st earl of Durham, she, in turn, after his death, having married the Hon. H.F.C. Cavendish and thus allied herself and her son with the house of Devonshire. To complete the most perfect of Trollopeian circles, the young candidate had himself married some four weeks before the election, Lady Fanny Cavendish, the sister of the 2nd earl of Burlington (of the second creation), which nobleman was in 1858 to succeed his cousin as none other than the 7th duke of Devonshire.<sup>41</sup> With such connections, Howard should have been unbeatable, but in the event he very nearly lost to a total stranger, a Liverpool merchant named William Nicol (1790-1879) imported by the Tories as their champion. Nicol's chief advantage lay in an unbending Protestantism and in a deep purse filled to the brim as a result of mercantile activities in Bombay during the second decade of the century.<sup>42</sup>

At both elections the candidates made the expected noises. O'Connell and Smith declared themselves for local prosperity and sound government, the former against tithes and the latter for the established church. Indeed these seem to have been the main issues at the 1835 general election, and, while the Conservatives gained a few members overall, they still only managed to win thirty-eight of the 105 Irish seats.<sup>43</sup> By 1837 Daniel O'Connell's newly-founded General Association was in being and its activities had produced a noticeable effect upon the Irish registries. This and O'Connell's slogan of 'Justice for Ireland', which implied confidence in the legislation proposed by Melbourne's administration, reversed the losses of 1835 and produced the return of thirty-nine orthodox Liberals, thirty-two repealers and thirty-four

<sup>39</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography* (under W.C. Smith) and a compilation (based on Dod's *Parliamentary companion*), *Who's Who of British members of parliament*, ed. M. Stenton, I (Hassocks, 1976), p. 354. John O'Connell was at the time only twenty-four years old and still unmarried.

<sup>40</sup> Daniel O'Connell to Mahony, 6 Sept. 1836, O'Connell Transcripts, vol. V, p. 2355 (These constitute a typescript continuation of *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. M.R. O'Connell, 3 vols. to date (Dublin, 1972- ), at present in the Irish Archives Centre of University College, Dublin. We are grateful to Professor O'Connell for permission to consult these transcripts); *Pilot*, 16 Dec. 1836.

<sup>41</sup> *Who's Who of British members of parliament*, ed. M. Stenton, I, 201; *Burke's Peerage*, 102nd ed. (London, 1959), pp. 399-402, 672-5, 749-50. Alliances had been further cemented by the 6th earl of Carlisle's marriage to a daughter of the 5th duke of Devonshire in 1801, and the 2nd earl of Burlington's marriage in 1829 to a daughter of that union.

<sup>42</sup> *Who's Who of British members of parliament*, ed. M. Stenton, I, 285.

<sup>43</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, 22 Jan. 1835; A. Macintyre, *The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Party 1830-47* (London, 1965), pp. 61-2 and 299. Tithes were a major issue in the Cork area especially because of the recent Rathcormac incident.

Tories.<sup>44</sup> Youghal, however, showed little change between the two elections. In 1837 Nicol echoed Smith with support for the 'existing constitution', for the establishment and 'strict economy' while expressing scepticism about the advantages of Irish municipal reform; Howard favoured 'civil and religious liberty' and put forward trenchantly expressed but nebulously defined notions of generalized reform.<sup>45</sup>

It is however true to say that the Youghal elections of 1835 and 1837 are interesting not only (or indeed chiefly) for the issues discussed and the high phrases uttered. More significant is the light they throw on the concrete realities of time and place. Perhaps most remarkable of all is the fact that the Tories came so close to victory. In part this flowed from the stronger sense of identity achieved by local Protestants, whose new 'consciousness' was reinforced by something like a 'populist' campaign against the Whig influence of the Devonshires. Howard's candidature in particular brought this to the surface, and at the public nomination meeting one speaker began with a powerful attack on Daniel O'Connell and concluded by saying 'unequivocally that the house of Cavendish [also] has no right to support. . . . It is long since members of that house came amongst us. What benefit are they to the perishing artisans?'<sup>46</sup> Thus the Tory cause could be postulated in terms of embattled saints defending local virtue against the subversion of national, hostile and 'establishment' interests in the shape of an O'Connell/Devonshire alliance. Such a grammar of politics helped to account for the bitterness of both contests, at which the Catholic clergy were among the leading anti-Tory forces. Bartholomew Crotty, the bishop of Cloyne (in whose diocese Youghal lay) was in fact a moderate in politics, and like the rest of the Catholic hierarchy had issued certain resolutions in 1834 urging his clergy 'to refrain from connecting themselves with political clubs' and to avoid using chapels for political meetings.<sup>47</sup> The Whig/O'Connellite alliance appealed to him and, while no repealer, he thoroughly approved of O'Connell as the political leader of Catholic Ireland. Indeed, the Cloyne clergy enrolled *en masse* in the General Association during 1836 and 1837 and Crotty issued a letter to the electors of Cloyne urging them to vote against the Tories at the general election held in the latter year.<sup>48</sup> However, as has been noted above, the Youghal clergy had already been active in 1835, and to such an extent, that they had stirred up a vituperative response from their opponents, who printed and circulated a sheet in which John O'Connell's chief clerical supporters had been referred to as 'two reverend bums':

<sup>44</sup> G. Lyne, 'The General Association of Ireland 1836-7' (University College, Dublin, M.A. thesis, 1968), pp. 65-85 (We are very grateful to Mr Lyne for allowing us to use his valuable work); A. Macintyre, *The Liberator*, pp. 62-3 and 299.

<sup>45</sup> See cuttings in 'Youghal Protestant Operatives Scrapbook', *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* Howard insisted that he saw nothing wrong in 'large proprietors' wanting to 'see representatives sent to parliament with principles in accordance to theirs'. H.D. Inglis (*A journey throughout Ireland*, p. 101) noted that in 1834 Devonshire seemed to spend little money in Youghal; it was not 'like Lismore, his pet town'.

<sup>47</sup> J.F. Broderick, *The Holy See and the Irish movement for the repeal of the union with England 1829-1847* (Rome, 1951), p. 59. In 1832 the Whig government had used all its efforts to prevent the appointment of Rev. J. O'Connell V.C. to the bishopric of Cloyne and Ross, and was relieved when Crotty (then president of Maynooth) was chosen (*ibid.*, pp. 78-82).

<sup>48</sup> Maura Murphy, 'Repeal, popular politics, and the Catholic clergy of Cork, 1840-50', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxxii (1977), 45-6; *Pilot*, 28 Dec. 1836, 1 Feb., 3 Aug., 23 Aug. 1837.

Beware my dear flock how you part with your vote,  
 Bawls father O'Castle Pooke, straining his throat;  
 Should they proffer you cash, or any good things,  
 If you take them I say, you're damned in your sins  
 Sing Ballynamona Oro etc.  
 A purified conscience for me . . .

'Tis true, saith our Church, in Trent's Sacred decree,  
 The end, to all means, gives its own Sanctity;  
 So he forward the cause, no man can do wrong,  
 Then huzza for O'Connell, and here ends my song  
 Sing Ballynamona Oro etc.  
 What a pleasant religion have we.<sup>49</sup>

Two years later the Tory ballad factory was equally adept at praise for its own candidate, William Nicol.

He will be found amongst the brave,  
 The steadfast and the free,  
 Resolv'd their dearest rights to save,  
 And vanquish Whiggery:—  
 His Bible, will his shield be seen —  
 His faith, a trusty sword,  
 His watch-word, Nicol, Church and Queen —  
 His strength, his God, his Lord.<sup>50</sup>

At the appropriately popular level such assertions of identity were countered by among other things, the activities of men like the schoolmaster reported to Dublin Castle in January 1835 for wandering through Co. Cork visiting 'all places of public resort, chapels, schools, forges, and making use of the most inflammatory language and distributing tracts' urging anti-Tory electoral action, attacking Protestants and tithes, while at the same time recalling to his listeners the brave deeds of past heroes like Brian Boru who had expelled foreigners and invaders.<sup>51</sup>

All this brought a keen edge to the violence endemic at Irish elections in the 1830s, a state of things not unconnected with the intensity of contemporary agrarian disorder. The Youghal election of 1832 had been very disturbed, many thousands having been induced to come armed with sticks 'from various parishes at the instance and the directions of persons having influence and control over them, on behalf of Mr. O'Connell'. In 1835 the same seemed likely to happen and the town authorities pleaded with Dublin Castle for more police and troops. The mayor indeed even wanted two pieces of light artillery.<sup>52</sup> Although denied such engines of intimidation, he did receive considerable reinforcements. On 7 January two companies of the 89th Regiment arrived from Fermoy; on 10th a troop of the 4th Dragoon Guards from Cork; on 11th a detachment of another twenty-five dragoons from Ballincollig.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ballad Sheet in 'Youghal Protestant Operatives Scrapbook', *op. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Rev. Somers Payne J.P. to Sir Henry Hardinge (chief secretary), 17 Jan. 1835, S.P.O. O.P., 1835 Box 35B.

<sup>52</sup> Request of Mathew Hayman, 9 Jan. 1835, S.P.O. O.P. 1835/166/5.

<sup>53</sup> Detailed troop movements are available in 'Return of the instances in which the military were employed and their distribution during the late elections in this country' in *Copies of correspondence between the lieutenants of counties: the deputy lieutenants and magistrates of the several counties of Ireland, and the Irish government, previously to and during the late elections*, H.C.1835 (170), xlv, 428-31. The effective strength of companies and troops at this time was probably about sixty. There were thus about 120 infantry, 85 cavalry, and an unknown number of police in the town.

so that when Feargus O'Connor arrived to campaign for O'Connell, he found the town in a 'state of siege, full of horse, foot, and police'.<sup>54</sup> But despite this military presence, mobs of 'many thousands' appeared 'from various parts of the country' carrying placards equating Smith with 'bloody tithe carnage' and the 'ruthless rule of the Orange faction'.<sup>55</sup> In 1832 the streets had been 'blocked by country people'; in 1835 the priests of the rural parishes were urging their flocks to go to Youghal for the poll, which in the event was marked by the presence of mobs shouting 'Down with the Protestants and Orangemen'.<sup>56</sup> The most constant and significant aspect of these events lies in the fact that the 'popular' mobs seem to have come largely from outside the town itself. This was by no means uncommon, and country people were also active in enforcing loyalty to anti-Tory candidates in boroughs such as Tralee, Newry, New Ross and Dungarvan.<sup>57</sup> In the light of this and other evidence,<sup>58</sup> it is perhaps advisable not to make too ready an equation between urbanism and radicalism in O'Connellite Ireland.<sup>59</sup> In any case, towns like Youghal were less 'separated' from their rural contexts than might be supposed. Apart from their roles as market centres for rural produce, they still shared fully in a common cultural heritage. Thus Youghal was still a place where Irish was widely spoken. Writing twenty years previously Wakefield had noted how 'even in the city of Cork and at Youghal, the common people spoke Irish',<sup>60</sup> while the earliest language statistics (in the census of 1851) show that those speaking Irish and English and those speaking Irish only amounted to 50.1 per cent of Youghal's population, the figure for the *rest* of Imokilly Barony (which included only one other town of any size — Middleton) being 59.8 per cent, that for the barony *as a whole* 58.1 per cent, and that for the East Riding of Cork 45.2 per cent. Despite certain problems connected with these figures,<sup>61</sup> they do show that the language 'gap' between Youghal and its hinterland was in no sense large enough to act as a significant cultural barrier.

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<sup>54</sup> F. O'Connor, *A series of letters from Feargus O'Connor Esq. Barrister at law; to Daniel O'Connell Esq. M.P. containing a review of Mr O'Connell's conduct* (London, 1836), p. 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Copies of correspondence between the lieutenants of counties . . .*, H.C. 1835 (170), xlv, 387-90. These statements were made mainly by Tory witnesses who may have exaggerated the numbers involved, although Youghal does seem to have experienced more serious electoral outrage than towns like Kinsale or Bandon. See W. Miller's official report to Hardinge, 9 Mar. 1835, S.P.O. O.P., 1835 Box 46 (Bundles 108-47).

<sup>56</sup> *Cork Constitution*, 15 Dec. 1832 and 21 Jan. 1835; also John Pollock to the mayor of Youghal [Jan. 1835], S.P.O. O.P., 1835/166/6. See also J.E.G. Mayne's report that Youghal in 1832 was full of country people during the election, in S.P.O. O.P., 1832/2240 Box 2192.

<sup>57</sup> *Copies of communications relative to the marching of people during the Kerry elections*, H.C. 1835 (197), xlv, 433-4; *Copies of correspondence between the lieutenants of counties . . .*, H.C. 1835 (170), xlv, 390-91; *Dublin Evening Post*, 27 Dec. 1834; Chief Constable Mahony of Dungarvan's report of 16 Dec. 1832, S.P.O. O.P., 1832/2194 Box 2192.

<sup>58</sup> See K.T. Hoppen, 'Politics, the law, and the nature of the Irish electorate 1832-1850', *English historical review*, xcii (1977), 772-3.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, T.N. Brown, 'Nationalism and the Irish peasant, 1800-1848', *Review of politics*, xv (1953), 435; K.B. Nowlan, *The politics of repeal: A study in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-50* (London, 1965), p. 212.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in B. Ó Cuív, *Irish dialects and Irish-speaking districts* (Dublin, 1951), p. 86.

<sup>61</sup> The figures have been calculated from *The census of Ireland for the year 1851, Part VI General Report*, H.C. 1856 (2134), xxxi, 252. Youghal's population in 1851 was still swollen by an abnormally large number of (to some extent rural) workhouse inmates who were included among its Irish speakers. On the more general level, it is widely agreed that the 1851 figures (as indeed those for 1861 and 1871) understate the number of Irish speakers. The divergence between Youghal and its surrounding countryside was admittedly somewhat greater in the case of monoglot Irish speakers.

What the two Youghal poll books do is to help us direct a powerful beam of analytical light to illuminate aspects of life and society which would otherwise remain in darkness. They tell us much about the composition and behaviour of the most directly political element within the town. But, although they give details of voters' occupations, they do not indicate relative wealth. They do not, in other words, tell us whether an 'esquire' was the owner of broad acres or a broken-down confidence-trickster. Some hints are of course provided: a 'shopkeeper', for example, is clearly distinguished from a 'merchant'. In any case, some information has already been provided about the valuation of those houses from which voters were qualified — a useful measure of wealth and status. Unfortunately we do not have details of a rather more precise indicator: the rents paid by the householder electors. Such statistics (for 1840-41) do however survive in the cases of Clonmel and Cashel, boroughs not unlike Youghal.<sup>62</sup> If one applies the mean Cashel/Clonmel figure to Youghal, the result is as follows.<sup>63</sup>

<i>Rent</i>	<i>Number of householder voters</i>
£20 and over	192
£15 and under £20	39
£10 and under £15	91
£7 and under £10	57
£5 and under £7	32
Under £5	27
	<hr/> 438

Although extremely tentative, these figures tell us a little about the relative prosperity of the electorate, as well as something which is, in this respect, especially interesting, namely, that no less than 26.5 per cent of the householder voters may well have paid under ten pounds a year in rent. Now, while rent was not the *formal* test of value under the Reform Act, many revising barristers (who adjudicated admissions to the electoral roll) used it as a rough guide.<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, in Youghal many comparatively modest citizens seem to have found their way on to the electoral lists, and some (especially Tory) local observers thought these men peculiarly open to bribery and intimidation.<sup>65</sup> Certainly it must have been a matter of general surprise (not least to the framers of the Reform Act) to be told that, despite the nominal barrier the occupation of a ten-pound house was supposed to provide, no less than twenty-six

<sup>62</sup> The populations (with *householder* electorates in parentheses) for 1841 were as follows: Youghal 9939 (438), Clonmel 13,505 (528), Cashel 8027 (295). All the electorate figures are — as has been explained — rather too high for this year, and have been taken from 'Statement of the number of parliamentary electors . . .' in the Derby Papers, 28/3 (see note 12 above). Clonmel and Youghal had, in addition, 109 and 81 freemen voters respectively; Cashel had none.

<sup>63</sup> Extrapolated from data for Cashel and Clonmel in *Third general report relative to the valuations for poor rates, and to the registered elective franchise in Ireland*, H.C. 1841 [329], xxiii, 713.

<sup>64</sup> See *Third report from the select committee on fictitious votes, Ireland; with the minutes of evidence* [1st series], H.C. 1837 (480), xi part II, 188.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, the evidence of John Willcocks in *Select committee on bribery at elections*, H.C. 1835 (547), viii, 331; and of Anthony Lefroy M.P. in *Hansard*, xiii, 1017-20 (25 June 1832).

of the householders on the Youghal register in 1837 were illiterates.<sup>66</sup>

For the purposes of establishing a general pattern and discerning changes between 1835 and 1837 a table (No. 1) has been constructed in which the voters polled have been divided into eight occupational groups. From this table a number of important conclusions are at once apparent. In the first place, it will be obvious that the two parties in Youghal drew their support from different groups in society. The Tories had a clear majority among the professional and gentle classes (many of whose members were also freemen) and a distinct but less overwhelming preponderance among skilled workers or artisans, men such as coopers, gunmakers, saddlers, carpenters and wheelwrights.<sup>67</sup> Where the other side scored was among retailers, farmers, labourers and above all among the drink interest, for the publicans of Youghal were solidly anti-Tory so far as voting was concerned.<sup>68</sup> All this raises some interesting questions, to which the previous discussion of social and political context may help to provide the reader with some tentative answers. Were, for example, retailers more O'Connellite than artisans merely out of innate sentiment or because their establishments were more susceptible to pressure from poorer (often rural) customers and from the mob? Why exactly was the drink interest so heavily anti-Tory? Was it because publicans were overwhelmingly Catholic, or must the answer be found elsewhere?

Quite apart from such problems is the information which emerges from the poll books concerning the patterning of the vote over a period of thirty months. The fact that only 144 of the 267 men who had polled in 1835 did so in 1837 suggests a fairly rapid turnover even if some of the latter may have abstained on the second occasion. However, certain groups — notably gentlemen and professionals and artisans — were more likely to 'survive' than, for example, retailers or publicans, something which must surely have favoured the Tories and have been a reflection, either of higher commitment, or of better organization. But overall the effect of this was largely nullified (as is made clear in Table 2) by a small but significant number of defections from the Tory camp, for, whereas no one who had polled for O'Connell in 1835 supported Nicol in 1837, half-a-dozen onetime Tories changed sides. This was almost certainly because Howard was a more 'respectable' candidate than O'Connell had been, a point reinforced by Table 1 which demonstrates his increased support among gentlemen etc. and among manufacturers, merchants and commercial men (the only group to swing as a body from the Tory to the Liberal party). Artisans,

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix A/3, 'A return of the several persons registered in the several boroughs in Ireland . . . who have subscribed their affidavits for registry as marksmen' in *First report from the select committee on fictitious votes, Ireland* [1st series], H.C. 1837 (308), xi part I, 531-42. The proportions in Bandon and Kinsale were similar; in Cashel and Clonmel higher. The proportion of males five years old and above returned as unable to read or write in Youghal town in 1841 was 35.9 per cent (*Census of 1841*, H.C. 1843 [504], xxiv, 445).

<sup>67</sup> The matter of categorization is difficult, especially between 'craft trades' and 'retail traders'. The general definition employed has been to classify as 'craft' those trades 'more concerned with materials than customers, and typically without a shop in the modern sense', and as retail trades those in 'which the customer is as immediate a reference point as the material and when a shop in a modern sense is involved' (T.J. Nossiter, *Influence, opinion and political idioms in reformed England*, (Hassocks, 1975), pp. 211-12). Although a handful of voters who appear in both poll books were assigned by their compilers to different occupations in each, no attempt has been made to 'correct' such inconsistencies.

<sup>68</sup> In 1835 O'Connell won fourteen of the fifteen 'illiterate' votes polled; in 1837 Howard won all thirteen. Most of these belonged to labourers, farmers or artisans.

however, the bedrock of 'popular' Toryism, were interestingly a little less keen on Howard than they had been on O'Connell.

It is unfortunately not possible to assess how the occupational breakdown of the electorate reflected that of the town as a whole. The census of 1831 merely provides a few inadequate hints.<sup>69</sup> The 929 it records as employed in retail trading or in handicrafts as masters and workmen might be taken to cover our categories of craftsmen, retailers and the drink interest, which in 1835 totalled 154 voters. Increasing this to about 170/175 to account for those on the register who did not actually poll, it can be tentatively suggested that just under a fifth of this group was enfranchised. The 189 in the census category of 'capitalists, bankers, professional and other educated men' could be equated with the 87 in our first two groups, producing in this case a proportion of almost a half. But such calculations must remain imprecise and are to be treated as indicators rather than as firm results.

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So close was the outcome of both contests that the Tories thought it worthwhile to lodge petitions, a popular and expensive activity throughout the nineteenth century. Certain irregularities had in 1835 occurred during the polling itself, but the main thrust of the petitioners concerned the extensive arrears of municipal tax owed by some electors and the erroneous admission to the register of certain voters whose houses were in fact worth less than ten pounds.<sup>70</sup> On the first issue, the House of Commons committee hearing the petition did indeed 'strike-off' one of John O'Connell's voters, but on the second (an extremely contentious question which formed the meat of the ten Irish petitions proceeded with in 1835), it refused to 're-open the register' drawn up by the assistant barrister at the quarterly revision sessions, and in consequence allowed the result to stand.<sup>71</sup> In 1837, when the Tories raised a central fund to fight the Whigs through election committees,<sup>72</sup> their Youghal supporters petitioned once more, now citing bribery and (again) the insufficient value of voters' houses. This time a predominantly Tory committee did 're-open the register' and with much partisan huffing and puffing managed to invalidate a few votes, but not enough to affect the result.

Such petitions, heard as they were in London, could cost the parties concerned a great deal of money. The financial embarrassment of their opponents had indeed been among the Tories' chief aims. And Daniel O'Connell estimated that it cost forty pounds to bring over a 'respectable' witness to London, and that the Youghal petition of 1835 alone cost him 'near £300c'. In addition, the defence of his own seat at Dublin City amounted to £12,500 quite apart from any expense which might have

<sup>69</sup> See *Census of 1831*, H.C. 1833 (634), xxxix, 214-15.

<sup>70</sup> John O'Connell, *Recollections and experiences*, I, 141-8. The hearings of the Commons committees concerning the Youghal petitions of 1835 and 1837 did not appear as parliamentary papers. For 1835, see J.W. Knapp and E. Ombler, *Cases of controverted election in the twelfth parliament of the United Kingdom* (London, 1837), pp. 444-50. For 1837, see T. Falconer and E. H. Fitzherbert, *Cases of controverted elections determined in committees of the house of commons, in the second parliament of the reign of Queen Victoria* (London, 1839), pp. 385-428 and 613.

<sup>71</sup> On this vexed aspect of Irish electoral law, see J. Prest, *Politics in the age of Cobden* (London, 1977), pp. 51-71.

<sup>72</sup> A. Macintyre, *The Liberator*, pp. 124-5.



ensued from threatened petitions against two of his other sons, a nephew, and a son-in-law at Meath, Tralee, Kerry and Co. Dublin.<sup>73</sup> The financial aspect of elections in the 1830s was in other words by no means concluded with the giving of the final vote.

It has now, it is hoped, been established that elections in O'Connellite Ireland cannot be divorced from their social and political ambience, that only if studied within a wider context can the events, beliefs and tendencies associated with them acquire a truly significant (though of course still only a partial) historical dimension. This essay has largely been an extended commentary on two (for Ireland) unusual poll books. They are printed here so that others can check for themselves the assessments offered and can extract further insights into the concrete and local realities of Irish political life.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Daniel O'Connell to Lawrence Finn, 14 Mar. 1835, O'Connell Transcripts, No 2222A; Daniel O'Connell to P.V. Fitzpatrick, 4 Sept. 1835, *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. W.J. Fitzpatrick, II, 35; A. Macintyre, *The Liberator*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>74</sup> For permission to cite from manuscript collections, the authors are grateful to the owners of the papers in question. They also owe much to Maura Murphy and to Anthony Malcomson for placing at their disposal valuable material relating to Youghal. The second author would also like to thank the (British) Social Science Research Council for financial assistance towards his work on Irish elections. The first of the poll books is printed in this issue. The second will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*, that for Jan-June 1979—*Ed.*

Table I  
SMITH 1835 O'CONNELL

	Voters of all types	Freemen only	Percentage of voters in category	Voters of all types	Freemen only	Percentage of voters in category	Total Number of voters
Gentlemen & Professional	49	35	84.5	9	—	15.5	58
Manufacturers, Merchants & Commercial	17	12	58.6	12	1	41.4	29
Craft Trades	31	—	60.8	20	—	39.2	51
Retail Traders	24	4	35.8	43	—	64.2	67
Drink Interest	4	2	11.1	32	—	88.9	36
Farmers	1	—	14.3	6	—	85.7	7
Labourers	1	—	12.5	7	—	87.5	8
Others & Unclassified*	3	1	27.3	8	—	72.7	11
Total	130	54	—	137	1	—	267

  

	Voters of all types	Freemen only	Percentage of voters in category	Voters of all types	Freemen only	Percentage of voters in category	Total Number of voters
Gentlemen & Professional	60	41	73.2	22	10	26.8	82
Manufacturers, Merchants & Commercial	18	10	47.4	20	3	52.6	38
Craft Trades	38	2	62.3	23	—	37.7	61
Retail Traders	24	6	34.3	46	1	65.7	70
Drink Interest	3	1	10.3	26	—	89.7	29
Farmers	—	—	—	6	2	100.0	6
Labourers	1	—	12.5	7	—	87.5	8
Others & Unclassified*	6	2	42.9	8	—	57.1	14
Total	150	62	—	158	16	—	308

\* In 1835 includes 4 unclassified; in 1837 includes no unclassified.

Table 2  
THOSE WHO VOTED IN 1835 AND 1837

	Total Number of Voters Polling Twice	Percentage of all voters in 1835	Voted Smith/Nicol	Voted O'Connell/Howard	Voted Smith/Howard	Voted O'Connell/Nicol
Gentlemen & Professional	36	62.1	30	4	2	—
Manufacturers, Merchants & Commercial	14	48.3	8	6	—	—
Craft Trades	33	64.7	20	11	2	—
Retail Traders	35	52.2	11	23	1	—
Drink Interest	16	44.4	1	15	—	—
Farmers	5	71.4	—	4	1	—
Labourers	3	37.5	1	2	—	—
Others & Unclassified	2	20.0	—	2	—	—
Total	144	53.9	71	67	6	—

**YOUGHAL POLL BOOK (1835)**

Borough of Youghal to wit:—

At an Election held at the Court House of Youghal the 12th day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty five, pursuant to the precept of the Honorable William Hare, commonly called Lord Viscount Ennismore, Sheriff of the County of Cork to the Mayor of the Borough of Youghal directed bearing date the 3rd day of January instant to elect one Burgess to serve for and represent the said Borough in a certain Parliament to be holden at the City of Westminster on the 19th day of February next ensuing.

The precept of the said Sheriff of the County of Cork was read, and the Mayor's proclamation or notice of holding said on this day being also read. The Mayor then enquired whether any elector of this Borough intended to propose a candidate to serve for the same in the said next ensuing Parliament?

Whereupon John O'Connell of Merrion Square in the city of Dublin Esqr. was proposed by James Kearney, an elector and was seconded by Dominick Philip Ronayne, also an elector, as a fit and proper person to represent this Borough in Parliament. And said John O' Connell was duly put in nomination accordingly.

Then Thomas Berry Cusack Smith of the said city of Dublin esqr. was proposed by Roger Green Davis, an elector of said Borough, and seconded by Richard Giles, also an elector, as a fit and proper person to represent the said Borough in Parliament, and he was accordingly duly put in nomination.

Then Feargus O' Connor Esq. was duly proposed by James Flynn, an elector and seconded by William Carbery, also an elector, as a fit and proper person to serve for and represent this Borough in Parliament.

The Returning Officer called for a show of hands and having decided the same was in favor of said John O' Connell, a Poll was demanded by the said Roger Green Davis on behalf of Mr. Smith.

The said candidate Feargus O' Connor esq. withdrew and resigned, and totally declined attending the Poll.

The Returning Officer appointed Thomas Forsayeth esq., Barrister at Law, his assessor at this election. He also appointed John Caulfield Irwin esq. Deputy Returning Officer to take the Poll, and John Pollock Junr., Attorney at Law, Poll Clerk.

Michael O' Loughlin	
Joseph Scannell &	Counsel for the said John O' Connell esq.
Shea Lawlor esqs.	

Thomas MCGrath, solr., appeared as agent for Mr. J. O' Connell.

H. Keating esq., counsel for the said Thomas Berry Cusack Smith esq.

John Pollock, Senr., solr., appeared as agent for Mr. T.B.C. Smith.

Matthew Hayman  
Mayor & returning officer.

OATH OF THE RETURNING OFFICER.

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Borough of Youghal.

I Matthew Hayman, Mayor of the town of Youghal in the County of Cork, and Returning Officer for the Borough of Youghal, do swear that I will honestly, impartially and without favour to any candidate take the poll at this election, and that I have not directly or indirectly received nor will I hereafter directly or indirectly receive any money, gift, reward, promise, contract or security for money or other reward for or in respect of the conduct which I shall observe during the ensuing Poll, or the return which I shall make at the close thereof, except the expenses of erecting booths hiring buildings, keeping them in repair, and the payment of clerks and deputies and counsel for my assistance, and that I will return such person as shall appear to the best of my judgment at the close of the Poll to have the majority of legal votes. So help me God.

Sworn at Youghal aforesaid in open court

this 12th day of Jan. 1835, before me

Thomas Blood, Recorder.

Matthew Hayman, Mayor.

I Matthew Hayman, Mayor and Returning Officer of the town and Borough of Youghal at this election do hereby nominate, appoint and depute John Caulfield Irvine of Grave Hill, County of Cork Esq., to be my deputy to take the Poll at this election, and to do and perform all other acts, matters and things on my behalf as such deputy according to law. Dated this 12th day of Jan. 1835.

Matthew Hayman.

Mayor & returning officer.

OATH OF THE RETURNING OFFICER'S SAID DEPUTY.

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I the said John Caulfield Irvine, Deputy of the said Returning Officer at this election do swear that I will honestly, impartially and without favour to any candidate take the Poll at this election, and that I have not directly or indirectly received, nor will I hereafter directly or indirectly receive any money, gift, reward, promise, contract or security for money or other reward for or in respect of the conduct which I shall observe during the ensuing Poll, and that I will make a fair and true return of all such persons as shall tender their votes before me, to be by me taken to the said Returning Officer by whom I am appointed Deputy whenever and as often as I shall be thereunto required by him.

Sworn at Youghal in open court this

12 day Jan. 1835 before

Matthew Hayman,

Mayor & Returning Officer.

So help me God.

John C. Irvine.

I Matthew Hayman, Mayor and Returning Officer of said town and Borough of Youghal do hereby nominate and appoint John Pollock the younger of Youghal, Attorney at Law, to be Poll Clerk at this election, and to take the Poll and do and perform all lawful and necessary acts as such Poll Clerk. Given under my hand in open court this 12 day Jan. 1835.

Matthew Hayman

Mayor.

## OATH TAKEN BY THE POLL CLERK AT THIS ELECTION

Borough of Youghal.

I John Pollock the Younger, Poll Clerk at this election, do swear that I will at this election of a member to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Youghal truly and indifferently take the Poll, and set down the name and the place of abode of each elector, and for whom he shall poll.

Sworn in open court at Youghal aforesaid  
this 12 day Jan. 1835.

Matthew Hayman  
Mayor & Returning Officer

So help me God.  
John Pollock, Junr.

## OATH TAKEN BY THE DEPUTY CLERK OF THE POLL

I do swear that I will faithfully and impartially administer the oaths and declarations required to be taken and subscribed by Papists or persons professing the Roman Catholic religion by an act passed in the 10th year of the reign of King George the Fourth entitled an act for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects.

Sworn in open court at Youghal aforesaid  
the 12 day Jan. 1835.

Matthew Hayman  
Mayor and Returning Officer

So help me God.  
Harmer Bond (overwritten).

## FURTHER OATH TAKEN BY THE DEPUTY CLERK OF THE PEACE.

I Harmer Bond, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, at this election do swear that I will on being thereunto requested fairly and truly give to every person who shall now take and subscribe the oaths and declarations required by law to be taken by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion in order to entitle them to vote at any election before the commissioners appointed by the Returning Officer for that purpose a certificate thereof so required by law, and that I will not give any such certificate to any person before he shall have taken and subscribed such oaths and declarations as shall be mentioned in such certificate before me and in my presence.

Sworn in open court at Youghal aforesaid  
this 12 day Jan. 1835

So help me God.  
Harmer Bond  
Deputy Clerk of the Peace.

Alph. No.	Voter's Name	Residence	Description	Nature & Situation of Property	In what right registered	Value	Candidates O'Connell Smith	Observations & Objections
1	30 Henry Brien	North Main St.	shopkeeper	House in North Main Street	Householder	£10	1	The bribery and qualification oath were taken by this person, two objections taken to him: one intoxication, the other that he took the oath without its being administered. The objections were overruled and vote admitted by the assessor.
2	6 John Armour	Youghal	builder	House & premises Tallow St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oath taken
3	4 John Gorman	do	smith	House & premises at the Quay	do	do	1	
4	9 John Dill	do	cabinet maker	House North Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oath taken
5	5 John Kelly	do	nailor	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oath taken by this man
6	2 Edward Welsh	do	merchant	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Objection taken that he did not produce his certificate of qualification as a Catholic. Admitted by the assessor.
7	3 Richard Curry	do	painter & glazier	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oath taken, & objection founding (?). Objection overruled.
8	2 David Leahy	do	carman	House Friar St.	do	do	1	
9	6 Henry Keating	do	smith	House Harveys Quay	do	do	1	
10	13 Darby McGrath	do	carman	House Windmill Lane	do	do	1	
11	34 Bob Stawell Ball	do	esquire		A Freeman		1	Objection as a non resident & objected to as a non resident Freeman. Objection overruled. Before it was overruled it was withdrawn.
12	3 Rev Joseph Jervois	do	clerk		A Freeman		1	
13	22 Charles Curry	do	painter & glazier	House Curry's Lane				Brought up thro' mistake. See No. 89.
14	26 James Hallahan	do		House Meat Shamble Lane	Householder	£10	1	
15	3 William Griffin	do	hairdresser	House Quay Lane	do	do	1	
Gross on first days Poll							7	7

<i>Alph. No.</i>	<i>Voter's Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Nature &amp; Situation of Property</i>	<i>In what right registered</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Candidates O'Connell Smith</i>	<i>Observations &amp; Objections</i>
16	7 Thomas John	do			A Freeman		1	
17	6 Hugh Lumley	do			A Freeman		1	
18	22 Robert Brash	do	slater	House in Quay Lane	Householder	£10	1	Bribery oath administered and taken
19	12 John Bennett	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oath administered and taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
20	12 John Desmond	do	surgeon		As a Freeman		1	
21	4 James Culbert	do	publican	House S. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	Bribery & qualification oath administered and taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
22	1 James Kennealy	do	gardener	House & land Cross Lane	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oath administered and taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
23	1 John Farrell	do	carpenter	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oath administered and taken.
24	4 Francis Wm. Curry	do	painter & glazier	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oath administered and taken.
25	7 Michael Coleman	do	tailor	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oath administered and taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
26	6 Thomas John Junr.	do			As a Freeman		1	
27	1 Thomas Harvey	do			do		1	
28	16 Richard Stanistreet	do	apothecary		do		1	
29	18 Richard Mullens	do	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	The oath aforesaid taken.
30	8 Richard Jackson	do	shoemaker	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	
31	18 John Culbert	Knockaverry	farmer	House & lands Knockaverry	do	do	1	The oath aforesaid taken.
32	12 Michael Shea	Youghal	tailor	House Quay Lane	do	do	1	The oath aforesaid taken
33	16 James McGuire	do	wheelright	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	The oath aforesaid taken.
34	10 Patrick O' Keefe	do	painter & glazier	House Nile St.	do	do	1	The oath aforesaid taken.



35	3	James Lynch Senr.	Youghal	farmer	House & lands Lane	Windmill	Householder	£10	1	The oath aforesaid taken. Objection pending.
36	11	Jasper Drury	do	ware manu- facturer	House Tallow St.		do	do	1	The bribery oath taken & also the qualification oath.
37	8	James Ashe	do	cordwainer	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	
38	8	John Howe	do	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	
39	5	Ferdinand Leary	do	cordwainer	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths administered and taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
40	8	James Hugh Darcy	do	cooper	House Darcy's Lane		do	do	1	Same oaths taken & objection pending. Objection overruled.
41	5	Cornelius Hurley	do	victualler	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	Qualification oath taken.
42	4	John Power	do	victualler	House S. Main St.		do	do	1	Same oath taken.
43	4	John Kelleher	do	servant	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	Same oath taken.
44	12	David Cunningham	do	publican	House Foxes Lane		do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken.
45	10	William Ahern	do	labourer	House N. Main St.		do	do	1	Same oaths administered and taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
46	8	James Swayne	do	esquire			As a freeman		1	
47	20	John Hudson	Windfort	gentleman			do		1	
48	21	Mark Hudson	Knockmonalegh	gentleman			do		1	
49	23	Robert Hudson	Windford	esquire			do		1	
50	19	Nicholas Giles	Youghal	esquire			do		1	
51	2	James Griffin	do	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.		Householder	£10	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
52	17	Thomas Mahony	do	labourer	House Nile St.		do	do	1	Same oaths taken.
53	28	Edmond Bowler	do	labourer	House Friar St.		do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Objection pending. Objection waived.
54	5	Patrick Whelan	do	publican	House S. Abbey		do	do	1	Same oaths taken
55	25	Patrick Connery	do	fisherman	House Doulters Mill		do	do	1	Same oaths taken.
56	1	William Andrews Lamb	do	merchant			As a freeman		1	An objection pending. Objection overruled.

No.	Alph. No.	Voter's Name	Residence	Description	Nature & Situation of Property	In what right registered	Value	Candidates O'Connell Smith	Observations & Objections
57	9	William Feuge	Rocklodge	esquire		do		1	An objection pending. Objection overruled.
58	13	Thomas Webb Green	Youghal	esquire		do		1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken Objection pending. Objection overruled.
59	6	William Abraham Harrison	do	shoemaker	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	The oaths aforesaid taken.
60	5	Samuel Denmead	do	blacksmith	House Meat Shambles Lane	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
61	16	Nicholas Lynch	do	publican	House Nile St.	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
62	11	William Kilmartin	Dickson's Folly	gardener	House & land	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
63	6	John Ronayne	Youghal	tailor	House Nile St.	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
64	8	John Cox	do	grocer	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
65	12	John Kenure	Cork Lane	publican	House situate at Cork Lane	do	do	1	The oaths aforesaid taken
66	16	James Green	Youghal	esquire		As a freeman		1	Qualification oath taken
67	3	William Verlin	do	chandler	do	do		1	
68	9	Kyrel Sidley	Greencloyne	ware-manufacturer	do	do		1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
69	3	John Scamaden Sidley	Youghal	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	
70	8	Francis Brown	do	gentleman	do	As a freeman		1	The oaths aforesaid taken
71	15	Gerard McGrath	North Abbey	gentleman	House at North Abbey	Householder	£10	1	Qualification oath taken
72	17	Patrick Whealan	Youghal	cooper	House Grattan St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
73	11	James Ryan	do	publican	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the qualification oath
74	2	Pierce Lincoln	do	publican	House Fishshambles Lane	do	do	1	Took qualification oath
75	13	Thomas Barry	do	shopkeeper	House on the Mall	do	do	1	Took qualification oath
76	10	John M. Wignmore	do	gentleman	House on the Mall	do	do	1	
77	19	Felix McNeal	do	slater	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Took bribery & qualification oaths
78	10	George Thomas	do	carpenter	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Took same oaths. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
79	6	Richard Hickman Watkins	do	surgeon		As a freeman		1	

80	11	John Connors	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	Took the oaths aforesaid
81	18	Bartholomew Sheehan	do	weaver	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the oaths aforesaid. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
82	31	Edmond Colbert	do	publican	House situate at Brown St.	do	do	1	Took the oaths aforesaid
83	27	John Barry	Knockaverry	farmer	House at Knockaverry	do	do	1	Took same oaths
84	2	Edmond Ahern	Youghal	publican	House Brown St.	do	do	1	Took qualification oath. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
85	1	Daniel Quinlan	do	shoemaker	House Nile St.	do	do	1	Took qualification oath. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
86	1	Walter Croker Poole	do	officer on half pay	House Nelson Place	do	do	1	
87	15	George Rea	do	carpenter	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	
88	3	George Thomas Junr.	do	publican	House Catherine St.	do	do	1	
89	22	Charles Curry	do	painter & glazier	House Curry's Lane	do	do	1	Took the oaths aforesaid. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
90	13	William White	do	labourer	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
91	2	Thomas Irwin	do	publican	House Mall Lane	do	do	1	Took the oaths aforesaid
92	22	Richard Moore	do	shoemaker	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the aforesaid oaths
93	15	John Donovan	do	publican	House Catherine St.	do	do	1	Took the aforesaid oaths
94	21	Patrick Welsh	do	publican	House Catherine St.	do	do	1	
95	3	Stephen Donovan	do	founder	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the aforesaid oaths. Objection pending. Tendered for O' Connell. Overruled.
Gross tot on second days Poll									
							40	40	
96	17	Percy Lamb	Youghal	merchant	House & premises at Harveys Quay	Householder	£10	1	Qualification oath taken. Objection pending. Overruled.
end of Tuesday's Poll. M.H.									
97	23	Denis Bruce	do	cordwainer	House N. Main St.	do.	do	1	
98	4	Jeremiah Long	do	coach builder	House Friar St.	do	do	1	
99	8	James Fitzgerald	do	hatter	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
100	14	William Adams	do	cabinet maker	House Meeting House Lane	do	do	1	

101	10	Michael Keleher	Greencloyne	potter	House Greencloyne	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
102	19	James Conway	Youghal	smith	House Strand St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken
103	3	Edmond Foley	do	publican	House Shambles Lane	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken
104	9	Thomas Haly	do	shopkeeper	House Hanover St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken
105	4	Cornelius Horrigan	do	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Both oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
106	10	John Westly Lindsey	do	printer	House & premises Brown St.	do	do	1	
107	24	Thomas Cook	do	surgeon	As a freeman			1	
108	23	Denis Meginn	do	shopkeeper	House & shop N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	
109	23	Christopher Elmore	do	gentleman	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1	
110	1	Richard Morgan	Youghal	woollen draper	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	
111	11	William Flanagan	do	publican	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
112	24	Thomas Ginevan	do	shoemaker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
113	14	William Bowen	do	ship carpenter	House Strand St.	do	do	1	Qualification oath taken
114	8	Daniel Buckley	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the two oaths aforesaid
115	13	James Lynch	do	watchman	House Meeting House Lane	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oath taken. An Objection pending. Overruled.
116	11	Samuel Allin Senr.	do	merchant	As a freeman			1	
117	12	Andrew Johnson	do	accountant	Dwelling house William St.	Householder	£10	1	
118	10	Edward Purdon	do	shopkeeper	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
119	16	Daniel Harris	do	tin plate worker	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1	

120	21	Richard Cox	do	weigh master	House & premises Beau St.	do	do	1	
121	5	John Kiely	do	carrier	House Foxes Lane	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken
122	15	Thomas Lee	do	shopkeeper	House Cork Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
123	21	Thomas Murphy	do	carman	House Friar St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
124	9	Patrick Mansfield	do	shopkeeper	House Quay Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
125	12	Leonard Parker	do	cabinet maker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
126	20	William Spotteswood Green	do	merchant		As a freeman		1	
127	17	Thomas Gimlett	do	shipowner & shopkeeper		do		1	
128	7	Robert Alexander	do	painter & glazier	House Strand St.	Householder	£10	1	
129	4	James Alexander	do	boot & shoe-maker	House on the Mall	do	do	1	
130	29	Thomas Clancy	do	tailor	House Market Square	do	do	1	
131	8	Patrick Ronayne	do	chandler	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Qualification oath
132	10	Thomas Brien	do	publican	House Fox Lane	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
133	11	Thomas Brien	do	shoemaker	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
134	7	William Dukes	do	navitor	House	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken. Objection taken and overruled.
135	10	John Murphy	do	corndealer	House Fishamble Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Objection pending. Overruled.
136	7	William Wakeham	do	gentleman	House Church St.	do	do	1	
137	28	Luke Howard Senr.	do	publican	House Hanover St.	do	do	1	
138	15	Luke Howard Junr.	do	cabinet maker	House on the Mall	do	do	1	
139	7	Nicholas George Green	do	jeweller	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Qualification oath taken. An objection pending. Overruled.
140	17	George Baynes Heasley	do	gentleman	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1	Qualification oath taken

<i>Alph. No.</i>	<i> Voter's Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Nature &amp; Situation of Property</i>	<i>In what right registered</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Candidates O'Connell Smith</i>	<i>Observations &amp; Objections</i>
141	2 James Prendergast	do	pawnbroker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken
142	28 Roger Cunningham	do	publican	House Market Square	do	do	1	Took the same oaths. An objection pending. Overruled.
143	5 Edmond O' Brien	do	publican	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Took the same oaths. An objection pending. Overruled.
144	11 John Prendergast Junr.	Youghal	publican	House Quay Lane	Householder	£10	1	Took the oaths aforesaid
145	17 John Coleman	do	clothier & dyer	House Market Square	do	do	1	Took qualification oath
146	9 John Armstrong	do	captain half pay		As a freeman		1	
147	29 Robert Burnett	do	esquire	House at Youghal	Householder	£10	1	
148	8 Richard Pilkington	do	wine & spirit merchant		As a freeman		1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken
149	2 Edward Trotter	do	merchant		do		1	
150	11 David Gregory	do	esquire		do		1	
151	19 Mathew Blackburn	do		Warehouse William St.	Householder	£10	1	Both the oaths aforesaid taken. An objection pending. Overruled.
152	5 David Ahearn	do	publican	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1	Both the oaths aforesaid taken. An objection pending.
153	14 John McGuire	Knockaverry	farmer	House & land at Knockaverry	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
154	1 John Sullivan	Youghal	tailor	House Mall Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths administered and taken
155	4 John Fitzgerald	do	publican	House Market Square	do	do	1	
156	4 John Eustace	do	merchant		As a freeman		1	
157	17 Thomas Sims	do	apothecary		do		1	
158	John Studdy	do	gentleman	House Friar St.	Householder	£10	1	
159	14 Edward Dartnell	do	gentleman	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
160	8 Tanner Green	do	shopkeeper	House on the Mall	do	do	1	

161	2	David Burke	do	teacher	House Meeting House Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
162	6	James Cashman	do	publican	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
163	10	Michael Cashman	do	publican	House Foxes Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
164	9	James Coffee	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
165	15	John Coffee	do		House Quay Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
166	13	Roger Green Davis Ahada		esquire		As a freeman		1	
167	13	Richard Feuge	Rocklodge	esquire		do		1	
168	5	Reuben Harvey Eustace	Youghal	gentleman	House & premises Beau St.	Householder	£10	1	
169	30	James Campbell	do	cabinet maker	House Strand St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken, Objection pending. Objection overruled.
170	12	John Hall	do	baker	House Quay Lane	do	do	1	
171	16	James Cotter	do	publican	House on the Mall	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
172	1	James Barrett	do	victualler	House Meeting House Lane	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
173	3	Patrick Kennedy	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
174	8	Michael Toomy	do	pedlar	House at the Quay	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
175	23	Thomas Mulcahy	do	shoemaker	House Hanover St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
176	19	Henry Pierce Welsh	do	gentleman	House at S. Abbey	do	do	1	
177	9	Thomas Lewis John	do	esquire		As a freeman		1	
178	4	Graham Torbuck	do	apothecary	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	
179	19	Henry Eeles Roderick	do	gentleman	House at Lofty Lodge	do	do	1	Qualification oath taken. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
180	23	John Campbell	Youghal	cabinet maker	House Strand St.	Householder	£10	1	
181	3	Theady Ahern	do	merchant	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oath taken
182	26	Maurice Barry	do	grocer	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
183	1	Maurice Nagle	do	baker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
184	6	Daniel O'Sullivan	do	publican	House Market Square	do	do	1	Same oaths taken

<i>Alph. No.</i>	<i>Voter's Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Nature &amp; Situation of Property</i>	<i>In what right registered</i>	<i>Candidates Value O'Connell Smith</i>	<i>Observations &amp; Objections</i>
185	2 Joseph Vernon	do	ropemaker	House S. Main St.	do	do 1	Same oaths taken
186	6 Richard Torbuck	do	merchant	House at the Mall	do	do	1
187	14 Thomas Wignore	do	cabinet maker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1
188	17 John Browne	do	carpenter	House N. Main St.	do	do	1
189	26 Edward Croker Giles	Park	esquire		As a freeman		1 An objection pending. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection overruled.
190	11 Robert Jones	Youghal	cabinet maker	Dwelling house N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1
191	6 Robert Egar	do	saddler	House & premises Youghal	do	do	1 Both the oaths aforesaid taken
192	5 John Fudge	do	grocer	House S. Main St.	do	do	1 Same oaths taken. Objection pend- ing. Overruled.
193	2 William Hurley	do	mariner	House Nile St.	do	do	1 Same oaths taken
194	32 Patrick Cashman	do	sadler	House S. Main St.	do	do	1 Bribery & qualification oaths taken Objection pending. Overruled.
195	14 John Ryan	do	publican	House & premises N. Main St.	do	do	1 John Ryan took the bribery and qualification oaths.
196	19 Mathew Hayman	do	esquire		As a freeman		1 Objected to. Objection overruled.
197	14 John Power	Bellevue	esquire		do	do	1 Objection pending. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection overruled.
198	12 Thomas Faunt	Youghal	esquire		do	do	1
199	21 James Ellis Green	do	esquire		do	do	1
200	6 Thomas Flynn	do	shopkeeper	House Market Square	Householder	£10	1 Bribery & qualification oaths taken
201	2 William Osborn	do	grocer and spirit dealer	House N. Main St.	do	do	1 Same oaths taken
202	10 John Stack	do	teacher	House S. Main St.	do	do	1 Same oaths taken
203	1 William Walsh	do	merchant's clerk	House N. Main St.	do	do	1 Same oaths taken



204	4	James Walsh	do	publican	House Market Quay	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
205	5	Benjamin Jackson	do	merchant		As a freeman		1	
206	8	James Garde White	do	tanner	Warehouse Friar St.	Householder	£10	1	
207	21	James Blackall	do	cabinet maker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
208	7	William Bassett	do	cabinet maker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
209	15	James Smyth Sangster	do	watchmaker		As a freeman		1	
210	1	Thomas Curtin	do	victualler	House Shambles Lane	Householder	£10	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken
211	19	Daniel Shanahan	Greencloyne	merchant's clerk	House at Greencloyne	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
212	5	Michael Guynan Junr.	Youghal	grocer	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
213	2	Richard Quain	Youghal	cooper	House Shambles Lane	Householder	£10	1	Same oaths taken
214	3	John O' Neil Junr.	do	shopkeeper	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
215	5	George Torbuck	do	merchant	House at the Mall	do	do	1	Qualification and bribery oath taken. Objection pending. Overruled.
216	27	Thomas Murdock Green	do	esquire		As a freeman		1	Objection pending. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection overruled.
217	12	John Green	do	esquire		do		1	
218	18	Charles Green	do	esquire		do		1	Qualification oath taken. Objection pending. Overruled.
219	25	Bent Ball	do	esquire		do		1	
220	4	William Buckmaster	do	woollen draper	House N. Main St. warehouse & counting house on Nelson's Quay	do		1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
221	27	Maurice Hennessy	Island View			Householder	£10	1	Objection pending. Tendered for Mr. O' Connell. Objection overruled.
Wednesday's Poll									
		O' Connell 107	Smith 107	M.H.					
222	4	James Morgan	Youghal	baker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken Tendered for Mr. O' Connell. One objection pending. Overruled.

<i>Alph. No.</i>	<i>Voter's Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Nature &amp; Situation of Property</i>	<i>In what right registered</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Candidates O'Connell Smith</i>	<i>Observations &amp; Objections</i>
223	20 William Ward	do	watchmaker	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	William Ward took the oaths aforesaid.
224	9 Tobias Ronayne	do	spirit dealer	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Both oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. An objection pending. Objection withdrawn.
225	4 John Jenkins	do	notary public	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	
226	14 Roger Green	do	esquire M.D.		As a freeman		1	
227	1 William Elms	do	publican	House Tallow St.	do		1	
228	23 Walter Giles Junr.	do	esquire		do		1	Tendered on behalf of Mr. Smith. An objection pending. Overruled.
229	30 Nicholas P. Stout	Newtown Co. Waterford	esquire		do		1	Tendered on the part of Mr. Smith. An objection pending. Objection overruled.
230	2 Patrick Murray	Youghal	baker	House at the Quay	Householder	£10	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
231	7 James Ronayne	do	esquire	House William St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
232	7 James Flynn	do	merchant	House at Cottage	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
233	7 Michael Murray	do	publican	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
234	6 Thomas Brown	do	pawnbroker	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
235	10 Samuel Green	do	merchant		As a freeman		1	
236	1 Richard Taylor	Claycastle	farmer		do		1	Bribery oath taken
237	8 John Linehan	Youghal	clothier & dyer	House & premises Cork Lane	Householder	£10	1	Same oaths taken
238	15 Henry Brown	do	corndealer		As a freeman		1	
239	27 William Corberry	do	merchant	House Catherine St.	Householder	£10	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
240	2 Alexander Eager	do	gentleman	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
241	8 Denis O' Connor	do	teacher	House Strand St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken
242	8 James Kearny	do	merchant		As a freeman		1	Same oaths taken
243	10 William Doherty	do	woollen draper	House N. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	Same oaths taken

244	11	John Markham	do	merchant	House Market Square	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. An objection pending. Overruled.
245	21	Dominick P. Ronayne	do	gentleman	House William St.	do	do	1	
246	7	Patrick Hogan	Youghal	publican	House Brown St.	Householder	£10	1	Same oaths taken
247	5	Richard Ronayne	do	apothecary	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered on Mr. O'Connell's part. Objection pending. Overruled.
248	4	Patrick Rowe	do	publican	House at the Quay	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
249	12	William Warde	do	coach proprietor	Dwelling house Brown St.	do	do	1	Bribery oath taken
250	9	William Barry	do	pawnbroker	House S. Main St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending & overruled.
251	2	Richard Kinneary	Copper Alley	farmer	House & lands at Copper Alley	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. Tendered for O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
252	8	Timothy Mc Carthy	Harbour View	esquire	House Harbour View	do	do	1	
253	18	Rev. Richard Henry Roger	Killeagh Glebe	clerk LLD		As a freeman		1	Qualification oath taken
254	17	George Gumbleton Rogers	Youghal	esquire M.D.	House, offices, garden and premises	Householder	£10	1	Both the oaths aforesaid taken
255	1	Richard Giles	do	esquire		As a freeman		1	
256	6	Joseph Gibson	do	boot and shoe maker	House S. Main St.	Householder	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection pending. Overruled.
257	20	Henry Thomas	do	builder	House Brown St.	do	do	1	Both the aforesaid oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection pending. Overruled.
258	20	Thomas Richardson	do	gun maker	Dwelling house N. Main St.	do	do	1	Bribery and qualification oaths taken
259	3	William Hayes	do	brazier	House Meeting House Lane	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection pending. Overruled
260	26	John Clarke	do	professor of music	House William St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. Smith. Objection pending. Overruled

<i>Alph. No.</i>	<i>Voter's Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Nature &amp; Situation of Property</i>	<i>In what right registered</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Candidates O'Connell Smith</i>	<i>Observations &amp; Objections</i>
261	1 Jeremiah O' Lomasney	Youghal	publican	House S. Main St.	Householder	£10	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection taken to his vote & overruled.
262	6 James Sullivan	do	shopkeeper	House Market Square	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
263	20 James Coppinger	do	yeoman	House N. Main St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection tendered(?).
264	14 Michael Leahy	do	classical teacher	House Beau St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
265	7 Owen Eugene Spellacy	do	shoemaker	House Fryar St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
266	24 Michael Murphy	do	mason	House Mouse St.	do	do	1	Same oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Overruled.
267	4 Philip Denehy	do	publican	House Brown St.	do	do	1	Bribery & qualification oaths taken. Tendered for Mr. O'Connell. Objection pending. Objection overruled.
268	William Broderick	do						The voter handed in his certificate of registration to the deputy, who marked his name on it. The voter afterwards withdrew & refused to shew the certificate to the Inspector or Mr. Smith.

N.B. Between the Nos. 194 & 195 John Ryan will appear whose name was omitted.

16th day of January 1835. Fifth Day's Poll. Borough of Youghal.  
The Poll closed on this day at one quarter to one o' clock and no elector polled.  
The usual proclamations made. The numbers are  
For Mr. O'Connell 137  
For Mr. Smith 130

John C. Irvine  
Deputy Returning Officer  
Youghal. 16 Jan. 1835.  
John Pollock junr. Poll Clerk.  
16 Jan. 1835.

Classified list of electors in the 1835 Youghal Borough election.

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in order of voting</i>
Accountant	Johnson, Andrew	William St.	117
Apothecaries	Ronayne, Richard	North Main St.	247
	Sims, Thomas*		15
	Staristreet, Richard*		28
	Torbuck, Graham	North Main St.	178
Bakers	Hall, John	Quay Lane	170
	Morgan, James	North Main St.	222
	Murray, Patrick	The Quay	230
	Nagle, Maurice	North Main St.	183
Brazier	Hayes, William	Meeting House Lane	259
Builders	Armour, John	Tallow St.	2
	Thomas, Henry	Brown St.	257
Cabinet Makers	Adams, William	Meeting House Lane	100
	Bassett, William	North Main St.	208
	Blackall, James	North Main St.	207
	Campbell, James	Strand St.	169
	Campbell, John	Strand St.	180
	Dill, John	North Main St.	4
	Howard, Luke Jr.	The Mall	138
	Jones, Robert	North Main St.	190
	Parker, Leonard	North Main St.	125
	Wigmore, Thomas	North Main St.	187
Captain (half-pay)	Armstrong, John*		146
Carmen	Leahy, David	Friar St.	8
	McGrath, Darby	Windmill Lane	10
	Murphy, Thomas	Friar St.	123
Carpenters	Bowen, William (shipcarpenter)	Strand St.	113
	Browne, John	North Main St.	188
	Farrell, John	North Main St.	23
	Rea, George	South Main St.	87
	Thomas, George	North Main St.	78
Carrier	Kiely, John	Foxes Lane	121
Chandlers	Ronayne, Patrick	North Main St.	131
	Verlin, William*		67
Clergy	Jervois, Rev. Joseph*		12
	Roger, Rev. Richard Henry*	Killeagh Glebe	253
Clerks (merchants)	Shanahan, Daniel	Greencloyne	211
	Walsh, William	North Main St.	203
Clothiers & Dyers	Coleman, John	Market Square	145
	Linehan, John	Cork Lane	237

*Note:* \* denotes freemen.

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in voting order</i>
Coach Builder	Long, Jeremiah	Friar St.	98
Coach Proprietor	Warde, William	Brown St.	249
Coopers	Darcy, James Hugh	Darcey's Lane	40
	Quain, Richard	Shambles Lane	213
	Whealan, Patrick	Grattan St.	72
Cordwainers	Ashe, James	North Main St.	37
	Bruce, Denis	North Main St.	97
	Leary, Ferdinand	North Main St.	39
Corndealeters	Brown, Henry*		238
	Murphy, John	Fishamble Lane	135
Esquires	Ball, Bent*		219
	Ball, Bob. Stawell*		11
	Burnett, Robert		147
	Davis, Roger Green*	Ahada	166
	Faunt, Thomas Y.*		198
	Feuge, Richard*	Rocklodge	167
	Feuge, William*	Rocklodge	57
	Freeman, Joseph James B.*		196
	Giles, Edward Croker*	Park	189
	Giles, Nicholas*		50
	Giles, Richard*		255
	Giles, Walter Jr.*		228
	Green, Charles*		218
	Green, James*		66
	Green, James Ellis*		199
	Green, John*		217
	Green, Thomas Murdock*		216
	Green, Thomas Webb*		58
	Gregory, David*		150
	Hayman, Mathew*		195
	Hudson, Robert*	Windford	49
	John, Thomas Lewis*		177
	McCarthy, Timothy	Harbour View	252
	Power, John*	Bellvue	197
	Ronayne, James	William St.	231
	Stout, Nicholas P.*	Newtown, Co. Waterford	229
	Swayne, James*		46
Farmers	Barry, John	Knockaverry	83
	Culbert, John	Knockaverry	31
	Kinneary, Richard	Copper Alley	251
	Lynch, James Sr.	Windmill Lane	35
	McGuire, John	Knockaverry	153
	Taylor, Richard	Claycastle	236
Fisherman	Connery, Patrick	Doulters Mill	55
Founder	Donovan, Stephen	North Mian St.	95

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in voting order</i>
Gardners	Kenneally, James	Cross Lane	22
	Kilmartin, William	Dickson's Folly	62
Gentlemen	Brown, Francis*		70
	Dartnell, Edward	North Main St.	159
	Eager, Alexander	North Main St.	240
	Elmore, Christopher	North Main St.	109
	Eustace, Reuben Harvey	Beau St.	168
	Heasly, George Baynes	North Main St.	140
	Hudson, John*	Windfort	47
	Hudson, Mark*	Knockmonalegh	48
	McGrath, Gerard	North Abbey	71
	Roderick, Henry Eeles	Lofty Lodge	179
	Ronayne, Dominick P.	William St.	245
	Studdy, John	Friar St.	158
	Wakeham, William	Church St.	136
	Welsh, Henry Pierce	South Abbey	176
	Wigmore, John M.	The Mall	76
Grocers	Barry, Maurice	North Main St.	182
	Cox, John	North Main St.	64
	Fudge, John	South Main St.	192
	Guynan, Michael Jr.	South Main St.	212
	Osborn, William (also spirits)	North Main St.	201
Gunmaker	Richardson, Thomas	North Main St.	258
Hairdresser	Griffin, William	Quay Lane	15
Hatter	Fitzgerald, James	North Main St.	99
Labourers	Ahern, William	North Main St.	45
	Bowler, Edmond	Friar St.	53
	Mahony, Thomas	Nile St.	52
	White, William	North Main St.	90
Mariner	Hurley, William	Nile St.	193
Mason	Murphy, Michael	Manse (?) St.	266
Merchants	Ahern, Theady	North Main St.	181
	Allin, Samuel Sr.*		116
	Corberry, William	Catherine St.	239
	Eustace, John*		156
	Flynn, James	Cottage	232
	Green, Samuel*		235
	Green, William Spotteswood*		126
	Jackson, Benjamin*		205
	Kearny, James*		242
	Lamb, Percy	Harvey's Quay	96
	Lamb, William Andrew*		56
	Markham, John	Market Square	244
	Torbuck, George	The Mall	215
	Torbuck, Richard	The Mall	186
	Trotter, Edward*		149
	Welsh, Edward	North Main St.	6

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in voting order</i>
Nailors	Dukes, William		134
	Kelly, John	North Main St.	5
Notary Public	Jenkins, John	North Main St.	225
Officer (on half pay)	Poole, Walter Croker	Nelson Place	86
Painters & Glaziers	Alexander, Robert	Strand St.	128
	Curry, Charles	Curry's Lane	89
	Curry, Francis William	North Main St.	24
	Curry, Richard	North Main St.	7
	O'Keefe, Patrick	Nile St.	34
Pawnbrokers	Barry, William	South Main St.	250
	Brown, Thomas	North Main St.	234
	Prendergast, James	North Main St.	141
Pedlar	Toomy, Michael	The Quay	174
Physicians	Cook, Thomas*		107
	Desmond, John*		20
	Green, Roger, M.D. Esq*		226
	Rogers, George Gumbleton, M.D. Esq.		254
	Watkins, Richard Hickman*		79
Potter	Keleher, Michael	Greencloyne	101
Printer	Lindsey, John Westley	Brown St.	106
Publicans	Ahearn, David	North Main St.	152
	Ahern, Edmond	Brown St.	84
	Brien, Thomas	Fox Lane	132
	Cashman, James	North Main St.	162
	Cashman, Michael	Foxes Lane	163
	Colbert, Edmond	Brown, St.	82
	Cotter, James	The Mall	171
	Culbert, James	South Main St.	21
	Cunningham, David	Foxes Lane	44
	Cunningham, Roger	Market Square	142
	Denehy, Philip	Brown St.	267
	Donovan, John	Catherine St.	93
	Elms, William*	Tallow St.	227
	Fitzgerald, John	Market Square	155
	Flanagan, William	North Main St.	111
	Foley, Edmond	Shambles Lane	103
	Hogan, Patrick	Brown St.	246
	Howard, Luke Sr.	Hanover St.	137
	Irwin, Thomas	Mall Lane	91
	Kenure, John	Cork Lane	65
	Lincoln, Pierce	Fish Shambles Lane	74
	Lynch, Nicholas	Nile St.	61
	Murray, Michael	North Main St.	233
	O'Brien, Edmond	South Main St.	143
	O'Lomasney, Jeremiah	South Main St.	261
	O'Sullivan, David	Market Square	184
	Prendergast, John Jr.	Quay Lane	144



<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in voting order</i>
Publicans	Rowe, Patrick	The Quay	248
	Ryan, James	North Main St.	73
	Ryan, John	North Main St.	bet. 194 & 195
	Thomas, George Jr.	Catherine St.	88
	Walsh, James	Market Quay	204
	Welsh, Patrick	Catherine St.	94
	Whelan, Patrick	South Abbey	54
Rope maker	Vernon, Joseph	South Main St.	185
Saddlers	Cashman, Patrick	South Main St.	194
	Egar, Robert Y.		191
Servant	Kelleher, John	North Main St.	43
Shipowner & shopkeeper	Gimlett, Thomas*		127
Shoemakers	Alexander, James	The Mall	129
	Brien, Thomas	South Main St.	133
	Gibson, Joseph	South Main St.	256
	Ginevan, Thomas	North Main St.	112
	Harrison, William Abraham	North Main St.	59
	Jackson, Richard	South Main St.	30
	Moore, Richard	South Main St.	92
	Mulcahy, Thomas	Hanover St.	175
	Quinlan, Daniel	Nile St.	85
	Spellicy, Owen Eugene	Fryar St.	265
Shopkeepers	Barry, Thomas	The Mall	75
	Bennett, John	South Main St.	19
	Brien, Henry	North Main St.	1
	Buckley, David	South Main St.	114
	Coffee, James	South Main St.	164
	Connors, John	South Main St.	80
	Flynn, Thomas	Market Square	200
	Green, Tanner	The Mall	160
	Griffin, James	North Main St.	51
	Haly, Thomas	Hanover St.	104
	Horrigan, Cornelius	North Main St.	105
	Howe, John	North Main St.	38
	Kennedy, Patrick	South Main St.	173
	Lee, Thomas	Cork Lane	122
	Mansfield, Patrick	Quay Lane	124
	Meginn, Denis	North Main St.	108
	Mullins, Richard	North Main St.	29
	O'Neil, John Jr.	South Main St.	214
	Purdon, Edward	North Main St.	118
	Sidley, John	North Main St.	69
	Sullivan, Scamaden James	Market Square	262
Slaters	Brash, Robert	Quay Lane	18
	McNeal, Felix	North Main St.	77
Smiths	Conway, James	Strand St.	102
	Denmead, Samuel	Meat Shambles Lane	60
	Gorman, John	The Quay	3
	Keating, Henry	Harvey's Lane	9

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>No. in voting order</i>
Tailors	Clancy, Thomas	Market Square	130
	Coleman, Michael	North Main St.	25
	Ronayne, John	Nile St.	63
	Shea, Michael	Quay Lane	32
	Sullivan, John	Mall Lane	154
Tanner	White, James Garde	Friar St.	206
Teachers	Burke, David	Meeting House Lane	161
	Clarke, John (music)	William St.	260
	Leahy, Michael (Classics)	Beau St.	264
	O'Connor, Denis	Strand St.	241
	Stack, John	South Main St.	202
Tin plate worker	Harris, Daniel	North Main St.	119
Victuallers	Barrett, James	Meeting House Lane	172
	Curtin, Thomas	Shambles Lane	210
	Hurley, Cornelius	North Main St.	41
	Power, John	South Main St.	42
Ware Manufacturers	Drury, Jasper	Tallow St.	36
	Sidley, Kyrel*	Greeneloyne	68
Watchmakers & jewellers	Green, Nicholas George	North Main St.	139
	Sangster, James Smyth*		209
	Ward, William	South Main St.	223
Watchman	Lynch, James	Meeting House Lane	115
Weaver	Sheehan, Bartholemew	North Main St.	81
Weigh Master	Cox, Richard	Beau St.	120
Wheelright	McGuire, James	North Main St.	33
Wine & spirit merchants	Pilkington, Richard*		148
	Ronayne, Tobias	North Main St.	224
Woollen drapers	Buckmaster, William	North Main St.	220
	Doherty, William	North Main St.	243
	Morgan, Richard	North Main St.	110
Yeoman	Coppinger, James	North Main St.	263
Miscellaneous (no profession given)	Blockburn, Mathew	William St.	151
	Broderick, William		268 Did not vote
	Coffee, John	Quay Lane	165
	Hallahan, James	Meat Shambles Lane	14
	Harvey, Thomas*		27
	Hennessy, Maurice	Nelson's Quay & Island View	221
	John, Thomas*		16
	John, Thomas jr.*		26
	Lumley, Hugh*		17