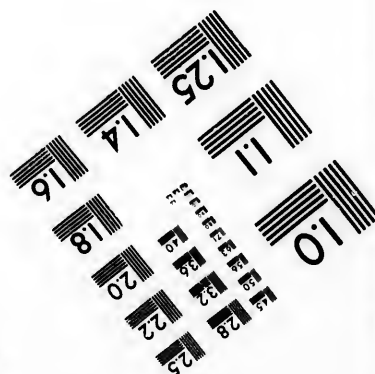
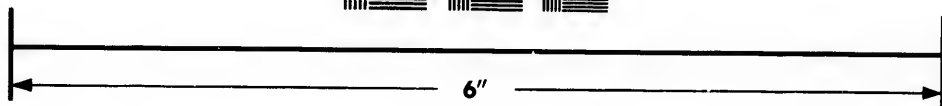
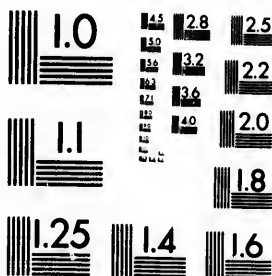


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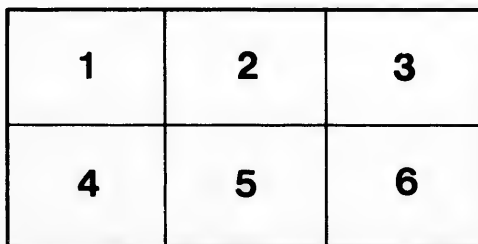
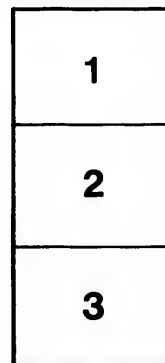
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THE
HISTORY

OF THE

Dublin Election

In the YEAR 1749.

WITH

A SKETCH of the present State of
PARTIES in the Kingdom of

IRELAND.

By A. BRITON.

Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. HOR.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN SWAN, facing *Northumberland-*
House in the *Strand*, 1753.

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TO HIS
G R A C E
THE
D U K E
OF
D O R S E T,
Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND,

Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter,
&c. &c.

My LORD,

IF your Grace will condescend to peruse the following Sheets, you will not be surprized, nor, I hope, offended at my Presumption in dedicating them to you; with the Facts therein related; of the Conjectures which I have hazarded, your Grace must naturally be well acquainted, and must certainly be a good Judge. And I do very willingly stake my Reputation,

iv D E D I C A T I O N.

for Veracity and Candour, on the Opinion which you may be pleased to give of them.

I HAVE not the Honour of being known to your Grace; and I have taken every Precaution I could think of, to prevent my being known to the Publick. For altho' I have not advanced one Fact, which is not of publick Notoriety; altho' no private Character can be affected by any Thing I have related; tho' I am persuaded no one Person, mentioned in these Papers, will be offended at what I have said of him; yet, as I have spoken, and I could not help speaking, of Faction, with some Warmth, I may possibly have given Offence to those, who have not been considerable enough to find a Place in this History; to the lower Tools, who are generally more jealous of the Honour of their Masters, and of the Reputation of their Party, than they are of their own; to Men, whose Friendship is of no Avail, and yet whose Enmity is dangerous.

I MUST, therefore, be excused, if I never own myself the Author of this History; if I should even (were there Occasion) deny that I know any Thing of it; this, my Lord, is the only Falshood which I think I shall ever be guilty of, but it is of that Kind of Falshood which the Casuists call officious, and which they tell us may sometimes be used, as when the Questioner has no
Right

D E D I C A T I O N. ▼

Right to make the Question, ——— or when, by declaring the Fact, we endanger another Person's, much more one's own, Life or Reputation.

IF I, therefore, chuse to keep myself concealed even from your Grace, it is not from Diffidence of your Grace's Honour or Humanity, nor from any Fear that your Grace might act from the Precedent of others, and give up the Book I should present you with, as an uncontrollable Evidence of my being it's Author, should your Grace be solicited so to do. So far am I from any such Fear, that if your Grace requires it——if you have any Curiosity of seeing the Author of those Sheets, he will present a Copy of them in the Company and Presence of any Person or Persons, whom your Grace is pleased to honour with Admittance to your Presence. But, besides the Reason already mentioned, I would willingly avoid giving your Grace any Uneasiness, ——any Occasion for your Enemies to suggest, that you were of a Party with the Author, in exposing their Misconduct and the low Artifices of their Faction.

I HOPE your Grace will not be offended that I have supposed you have some Enemies. The best of Men cannot avoid having some. The Patriot will be hated by the Factious. The Minister by the Rival of his Power.

vi D E D I C A T I O N.

The Governor by those who are turned out of Place. Enemies you must, my Lord, have many, because you don't deserve to have one. But if the Word, Enemy, should sound too harsh in your Grace's Ears, yet must you, my Lord, acknowledge, that, not all your Regard for the true Interest of *Ireland*, not all the Impartiality of your Government, not your Moderation in the Exercise of your Power, could secure you, nor can, indeed, secure an Angel, from an Opposition, which is always the more violent in Proportion as it is unjust.

How unexpected was, indeed, the last Opposition in *Ireland*? Your Grace had been received, by all Degrees and Ranks of Men, with all the Marks of Joy and Gratitude, which could be manifested by Men, who had experienced the Goodness and Mildness of your former Administration, and who had so long regretted your Absence. Whatever your Grace proposed, was supposed to be for the Good of *Ireland*. The Jobs intended to be perpetrated in Elections were set aside. The Design of bringing in a Bill for the Regulation of the Year, which was, in some Degree, asserting the Independence of *Ireland*, was voluntarily dropp'd. The immaterial Alteration made in the Money Bills was connived at. To your Grace's Interposition do the Citizens of *Dublin* owe the Preservation of the Navigation of their River.

D E D I C A T I O N. vii

River. Until, when all Business seemed to be over,——when, in the Apprehension of some, your Grace had gotten too much of the Affections of the People, especially of the Citizens of *Dublin*, more than any of your Predecessors since your last Residence amongst them, then Envy began to hiss, and Malice to shew it's Teeth.——Then was your Reputation for Power to suffer, by shewing to the Citizens, that you were not able to prevent the passing the Petition for the Bridge.——Then were all the unpopular Acts pass'd unanimously, by themselves, laid to your Grace's Charge.——Then was a Sacrifice to be made to their Resentment——Then were florid Compliments to be paid to a former Administration, and Words weighed to make the customary Addresses at the End of a Session of as little Compliment to your Grace as possible——Then were all the Arts to be used, to prevent the People from openly declaring on the Side of their Governor——Or paying proper Marks of Respect to your Grace, and to Lord *George*, for your Grace's Regard to the Citizens of *Dublin*, and for his Lordship's open Protection of them.

Such Arts might succeed in Assemblies, who we may suppose to be under Direction——In Assemblies, where, from meer Length of Time, Faction must have found Opportunity to sow it's
Tares,

viii D E D I C A T I O N.

Tares, or to strengthen itself——In Assemblies, where private Gratitude for a Permission to enjoy their own Right, or a Licence to possess the Rights of others, may unite the Members more intimately to one Man, than their Duty and Obligation can bind them to the Publick. But cannot ever prevail amongst an unbiass'd ——adjudging——a free People; and the extraordinary——the unprecedented Manner, in which the Free-Citizens of *Dublin* .elcomed and took Leave of your Grace, will be an everlasting Testimony, that your former, as well as your last Administration, in *Ireland*, was truly popular.

It is not, I hope, disagreeable to your Grace, that I should mention your Grace's Popularity in *Ireland*; your Grace cannot be supposed to be insensible to that Pleasure, which arises in a benevolent Bosom, at the Returns of Gratitude from an obliged and respected People. True it is, my Lord, that this Love for a People may sometimes be feigned——may be put on to serve the base Ends of Faction or Corruption. But where no such End appears,——when Princes and Governors, who propose nothing but the Good of the People, will condescend to become popular, they can have no other View, no other Motive, but the gratifying their own natural Sentiment of Affection to the People, and their

D E D I C A T I O N. ix

as natural Joy of meeting with grateful Returns. If such a Desire of Popularity does not constitute Merit, I do not know in what Merit consists. And if this Desire of being esteemed and beloved does not imply a Regard to the People, I do not know how it is possible for a Governor to shew it.

Of this Regard for the People, I have the strongest Reason to believe your Grace has given the most unexceptionable Proofs. Not only in the open Countenance and Encouragement you have publicly given to Citizens, who, under a former Administration, were injuriously treated; but in the uninterrupted Permission they, under your Grace, have enjoyed, of prosecuting their Right, without any Apprehension that their Perseverance, in the peaceful and legal Manner in which they have hitherto proceeded, will be construed into Obstinacy, or their Discontent at the Infringement on their Liberties by inferior Magistrates, will be mistaken for a Disaffection to the Government.

YOUR Grace has done for them, what their most sanguine Hopes could have made them wish for. The Laws are now open for their Redress, and if they shou'd not succeed there, if, by any of the Quirks and Turns of the Law, a Remedy should not be found, in the regular
Manner,

x D E D I C A T I O N.

Manner, your Grace is, no Doubt, disposed to procure them what of Redress, it is in the Power of the Crown or Legislature to afford them.

BUT there is one Grievance, in which the present Laws and Constitution of their Country cannot relieve them. I mean the Grievance of being represented in Parliament, by one, they have not chosen; by one, who is so far from being entrusted by them with the Care of their Rights and Liberties, that he is one of those, against whom they seek Redress, as one of the Invaders and Usurpers of those Rights, which they are desirous by all legal Methods to reclaim. How this has come to pass, is the Subject of the following Sheets, which, if I mistake not, if your Grace has all that Regard for the Happiness of the People of *Ireland*, which all your Actions proclaim you to be affected with, you will peruse with Attention.

BUT your Grace, I am sure, will not stop here. How much soever the Interest and Advantage of the Citizens of *Dublin* may claim your Regard, you will not be less affected with the Misfortunes of the rest of the People of *Ireland*. All do not labour, like the former, under the Misfortune of having Representatives in Parliament

D E D I C A T I O N. xi

ment chosen for them ; but all of them labour under the Misfortune of being subject to the longest Parliament that ever subsisted, in that or any other Country. I speak of Subjection, and of Misfortune. Yes, my Lord, when Men are in Power for such a long Time, they insensibly forget to whom they are indebted for it. They are apt to exert it to the Oppression, rather than to the Protection, of those, who have entrusted them with it. This has been the Complaint of all Ages, and of all People ; this it was, which gave Occasion to our Laws for limiting Parliaments ; and for my Part, my Lord, I have not remarked any such Difference between the Temper and Disposition of the People of *Ireland*, and those of our own People, as to perceive the Reason, why what has been thought salutary to us, should not be equally so to them.

IF our Laws for Septennial Parliaments be then salutary, am I not warranted to call a Privation of such a Law, a Misfortune to the People of *Ireland*? Whether or no the Government may find it's Account in the Continuation of such a Parliament, I shall not take upon me to decide. But, if I have conjectured right, it must be against the Interest of any Government, to rule by a Faction, rather than by the most popular Measures. To rule by a Faction, is a Compromise, it is sharing Government with those who have no Right to it ; whereas to rule by the
People,

xii D E D I C A T I O N.

People, is Law, is Authority. But leaving those Matters to Persons, who are the best and most proper Judges of them, I must return to the People, to whom the Continuance of a long Parliament, tho' supposed never so wise, or so loyal, is, and must always be, a Misfortune; were it no more, than that it is a Veil between the King and the People; a Veil which prevents any Intercourse or Communication.

If a Parliament is supposed in their Addresses and Laws, to speak the Sense of their Constituents, it is because they are supposed to know them; it is because they are supposed to have had the same Sentiments with the People, or at least to have professed the same, at a late Election. But when the Representatives have outlived (as many of the *Irish* Representatives have) the whole Body of their Electors, in some Places, and in most of them, the Majority, how can their Addresses be construed to represent the true Meaning of the present People? Or, indeed, how can they themselves be said to represent the People, who were, perhaps, unborn, or, at least, had no Right or Share in the Election, by which they obtained their Seats?

I HOPE, my Lord, that what I here say, cannot be misconstrued into any Reflection on, or any Disrespect to, any of the worthy Gentlemen, who now compose the Representative Body of the People

D E D I C A T I O N. xii;

ple of *Ireland*; I declare I have no such Thoughts; on the contrary, I am fully persuaded that most of them would regain their Seats, were there a Dissolution; I am persuaded the Majority of them would be glad of an Opportunity of trying the Favour of their Electors; I am persuaded some of them are impatient of shewing to the World, and of being satisfied themselves, that they are most popular in their respective Countries. This I am certain of, that the People are desirous of shewing their Respect and Gratitude to those, who have used their Power, as not abusing it; of giving unequivocal Proofs of their Zeal and Affection to his Majesty, by the Choice of such Representatives, as were most dutiful and affectionate to him. And I am as certain, that the Business of Government would be better carried on, by Men, who come free and uninfluenced, and who owe their Seats to new Marks of Affection from the People, than it can be, by Men, who have no other Tye with their supposed Constituents, than what they have, one with another, as being Fellow Subjects, and Fellow Protestants.

I am, with the greatest Respect,

M Y L O R D,

Your most humble

And obedient Servant,

A. BRITON.

ERRATA.

PAGE 24, *l.* 5, for Aderefs, *r.* Address.
Page 46, *l.* 3, for own Hand, *r.* his own
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Dublin Election

In the Year 1749.

THE Subject Matter of the following Introduction, will possibly be thought too inconsiderable to awaken the Attention, or not sufficiently interesting to engage the Affections, of an *English* Reader. The Scene, it is true, lies in a Country which we are apt to look upon with Contempt, or to treat with a Kind of stupid Neglect, and the principal Figures in it are, probably, too obscure to have in any Degree excited our Curiosity.

NEVERTHELESS when I consider that it is the principal Duty of some, and the undoubted Privilege of all, amongst us, to enquire into the Conduct of our Ministry, with Relation to our Negotiations and Alliances with foreign and independent States, I cannot think it a Matter of less Moment, or Curiosity, to examine that Plan of Administration, by which our Brethren and Fellow-Subjects are governed in those Countries which are dependant on *Great Britain*; and, as Men, we cannot look with Indifference on the Fortunes of such, who, by their Circumstances, or Station in Life, ever so mean or obscure, have

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distinguished themselves in the Community, either by their Talents, or by their Virtue.

BUT, to an *Englishman*, to one who sets a due Estimation on that most valuable Privilege of his Birth, his Liberty, this History will afford Matter for the most serious and useful Reflections. He will, from observing what Attempts have been made on the Liberties of others, be the better enabled to guard against the Attacks which may, some Day or other, be made against his own.

THE Elections, the Corporations, the Parliaments, we are to speak of, however dependent they may be, bear so near a Resemblance to our own, that whatever may at any Time be practised, with Success, to reduce them to a State of Slavery and Dependence, may, under the same outward Form of a free Constitution, be practised, with equal Success, at Home; and our Ministers, by acquiring the Method, may also in Time acquire the Means to reduce us to the same unhappy Situation.

State of
Ireland.

It cannot, indeed, be said, that our Fellow-Subjects in *Ireland* are as yet brought to this deplorable Condition; but if we are to judge from what are allowed to be the Concomitants, as well as the Causes, of Slavery, such as long Parliaments, standing Armies, and Excises, we may venture to affirm, that they are not so free, as it is the Interest of *England* they should be.

Parliament.

THEIR Parliament has now subsisted above twenty-two Years, that is, ever since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne. The House of C—m—s, tho' possibly composed at first of Men of the best Interest, Reputation and Fortune, in their respective Countries, is, by the Vicissitude which must necessarily have happen'd in such a Course of Years, and by the Opportunities which such a Period must have furnished

to

to a few enterprizing Men, entirely changed. The most violent Brawlers, on the Side of Liberty, have been softened into a different Cry, by Places and Pensions; some have impaired their Fortunes, and have owed their Re-establishment to the sole Acts of Bankruptcy, which have been pass'd in the very Parliament of which they sat Members, and some of them have, at this Day, neither Estates, Place, Pension or Residence in the Kingdom.

IN *England* we are divided into two *Parties*, Parties: distinguished by the Name of *Court* and of *Country*; as either one or the other prevails, the Interest of the Crown, or of the People, Prerogative or Liberty is extended or secured; but in *Ireland* there are, properly speaking, no such Parties; Divisions, there, have merely arose from the Ambition of the Heads of a few Families, who have each their Dependents and Followers, and whose sole Aim is to enlarge their own Power by a Subservience to the Schemes and Designs of the Administration.

WHILST Jealousies subsisted among the Chiefs, there was, in some Sort, an actual Opposition; one of the Factions still endeavoured to obstruct every Measure and Design proposed by the other, whether in Favour of the Government, or in Favour of the Country, and each alternately changed Sides and Sentiments, according as their Chiefs were employed or out of Favour at the Castle. Thus, in the Year 1737, the Party of the Speaker became considerable by their Support of the Administration; who, in Contradiction to what then seemed to be the Sense of the Nation, and in Contradiction to a Vote of the House of Commons passed in the Year 1730, had reduced, by Proclamation, the Currency of the Gold Coin of

the Kingdom. For this we have the Testimony of no less a Person than Sir *R—d C—x*, Bart. who was then one of the Heads of the Opposition. “ You sent for me,” (says he, in an expository Letter to the *S—k—r*, dated 20th *April*, 1748) “ you sent for me to desire I would make “ a Motion to put off the Consideration of the “ Petitions, against the Reduction, for six “ Months ; and told me you proposed it to me, “ as a Matter that wou’d turn out to my Honour “ and Advantage, and that I wou’d do it, if I “ chose to see Power in your Hands, rather than “ in the Hands of *others* to whom you were “ pleased to give hard Names.”

THESE *others*, of whom Sir *R—d* speaks, was the Family and the Interest of the *L—d V—t D—n*, who had, perhaps from a personal Pique to the *S—r*, and possibly from a more generous and extensive View, formed a Party in the House of Commons, which gave great Uneasiness to the *S—r*, and to the Tools of the Administration ; however it was generally looked upon to be a Country Party, and, of such, were enlisted in it, Mr. *Stannard*, Mr. *Malone*, Sir *Richard Cox*, *Morgan*, and all who were impatient at the many and great Over-drawings of the Administration, on Account of Barracks, Concordatums, and Military Contingencies, (the chief and usual Points of Debate in an *Irish* House of C—m—s,) and altho’ all their united Force was never able to defeat any one Scheme of the Government, to redress one single Grievance, or to prevail in any one contested Election ; yet they kept the other Party in some certain Awe, and reduced them sometimes to a Shame of their Victory.

THESE

THESE Divisions were not confined to the House of Commons, they reached the Privy Council, and even the Government, 'till at last, and under the Vicegerence of the E—— of *Ch—d*, who declared he wou'd, and convinced the World that he was able to, govern, without the Assistance of either, or any Faction; there seemed to be a Necessity of a Coalition, and such accordingly was brought about; for no opposite Parties now subsist in the Nation, but all agree in the Instructions of their Chiefs, who owe, to their Union, that exorbitant Power, by which they are able to dictate to either House of Parliament, and to controul even the Administration itself.

THUS may it truly be said of *Ireland*, what the noble Author on the Spirit of Patriotism says of *Britain*, that "It's Government is an Oligarchy, and Monarchy is rather hid behind it than shewn, rather weaken'd than strengthen'd, rather imposed upon than obeyed."

THE Army in *Ireland* is a necessary, tho' un-*Army*. happy Part of their Constitution, the only Security of the Protestants against an Enemy in the Bowels of their Country, and * one of their best Pro-

A 3

tections

* Sir R—— C——, the Author of a Letter to a chief Magistrate, calls his military Brethren, "the chearful Assistants of the civil Power in Peace, and our Protectors in War." And indeed there is scarce an Execution even in *Dublin* in which the Army is not called to it's Assistance, nor a Riot in which the Soldiery do not act either as Parties against, or as Allies to, the civil Power; there have been Instances, and some very late ones, when one of the Sheriffs, upon committing two or three red-coated Rioters to Newgate, was himself taken Prisoner, brought to the Barracks, and obliged to sign a Discharge for the confined Soldiers, before he himself could obtain his Liberty. Notwithstanding this gross Affront upon the civil Power, the other Sheriff could not obtain Leave to imitate the worthy Example of our

tections of their Religion, Liberties and Property, under their Dependance on *England*. But whatever Reasons may induce them to be, or seem, contented, under this Appearance of military Power, the People here should, methinks, look on this Army with a jealous Eye ; since, if there be more Forces in that Kingdom than is necessary for it's Preservation, the Hands of our Ministry are strengthened by whatever is superfluous in *Ireland*. Especially if it be true, that, by the late Regulations, there are more Officers in Commission, amongst 12,000 Men, than wou'd be sufficient to discipline and command three Times that Number, which, by the Encrease of Protestants in *Ireland*, since the Revolution, might, with Facility, be raised there in one Month, and which, if not maintained by additional Duties raised by the Parliament of *Ireland*, might, for a long while at least, be supported by the ordinary and hereditary Revenue of the Crown, with a temporary Inconvenience to the civil Establishment.

Revenues. To make this evident we are to observe, that for the two Years, ending Lady Day, 1749, the whole Charge of the Military List, including General Officers, Battle-Axes, Ordinance, additional Pay in *Dublin*, Pensions, Half-Pay

our *Jansen*, and to bring a Man to the Gallows with a Guard of his own Constables and Bailiffs, but had a Company of Soldiers forced on him, which he scorned to command, and so left the Execution to the Sub-heriff and the Army.

In the Time of the late War, when the Protestants in *Ireland*, almost to a Man, did array themselves, and performed the ordinary Duty of the Army, the greatest Part of which was drawn out of the Kingdom, a Party of the Army has been drawn up, at the Tholsel of the City, to guard, or to shew Honour to, a Regiment of Militia, who had borrowed the Rooms there to treat their Officers.

Officers

Officers Contingencies, Barracks and Widows, was no more than £. 661646 14 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

And the hereditary Revenue in the same Period amounts } 872336 3 8

Deduct the Expence of Managements, Drawbacks, &c. } 158784 13 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

—————
713551 10 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Remains neat, £. 51904 16 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

Which is something more than the ordinary civil List, which amounts to no more than £. 50536 13 0 exclusive of Concordatums, Perpetuities, and Pensions, which amount to £. 102715 12 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ more.

AT the Time that this Army was, by an *English* Act of Parliament, limited to 12,000 Men, there were computed no less than about ten Papists to one Protestant; but this Proportion is now estimated to be about six to one, and if that Army was thought fully sufficient at that Time, may we not conclude that it is now apparently too great? especially if we consider that, during the Heat of the late unnatural Rebellion, our Ministry found that *Ireland* was sufficiently secured with about the half of that Number; and by the Zeal and Loyalty of the Protestants of that Country, who arrayed themselves, and took, from their domestick Enemies, the Encouragement of any Inclination they might have to be troublesome.

THE hereditary Revenue in *Ireland* amounting, Excises. as before observed, to £. 436163 1 10 per Annum,

num, arises, besides the Customs, Forfeitures and Casualties,

| | | | | |
|---|----|-------|----|------------------|
| From imported Excise, | £. | 86689 | 16 | 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ |
| Inland Excise, | | 86549 | 12 | 7 |
| Ale and Wine Licences, | | 14960 | 12 | 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ |
| Hearth-Money, clear of the } Charge of collecting, } | | 41570 | 7 | 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ |

So that under oppressive Excise Laws there is collected no less than } 229770 9 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Besides all the additional and appropriated Duties which amount to £. 187276 5 6 $\frac{3}{4}$. What Influence and Power this must give the Ministry, is easily perceived ; and is the more remarkable, because it is almost as honourable, as it is lucrative, in *Ireland*, to be possessed of a Place in the Revenue. They have, there, no Place or Pension Bill ; and the lowest Employments, such as Collections, or Clerkships, with trifling Sallaries and Perquisites, are not deemed unworthy the Solicitation and Acceptance of Men of large Estates, and Members of their Legislature.

Corporations.

BUT there is another, a more distinguished and a more effectual Inlet to Corruption and Slavery, than any of those already mentioned, I mean the garbling, and modeling, of Corporations : The placing the Power of those smaller Communities, in the Hands of a few amongst them, and making these Dependants for their Places, and Power, on the Will and Favour of the Ministry. It is certain no People can ever be deprived of their Liberties until they have lost their Virtue—that Spirit of Equality by which they are impatient under any Government, but all of their Equals—that Jealousy of Power—that Impatience of Wrongs, which form as well the Character, as they are, in themselves, the strongest

strongest Bulwarks of a free People. And it is no less true, that Corporations were, in their Institution, the best School for the Vulgar to learn, and to practise Virtue and publick Spirit in. In them, they cou'd experience what Instinct had made them feel; that Liberty is consistent with Government,—Equality with Subordination; that Magistrates derived their Authority and Power, from the People, by whom they were appointed—to whom they were accountable.

In such Communities, they had an Opportunity to gratify that Appetite for Glory, and Power, which *Tully* tells us is natural to all; and which, in a free Community, is the strongest Incentive to Virtue and publick Good. Because, in such, the Road to Places and Dignity is laid open to all, who have Virtue or Abilities, by which they may recommend themselves to the Choice and Affections of their Fellow-Citizens. Whereas, in Communities, where all Offices are in the Gift of the few—of those who are rather the Princes, and Governors, than the Servants and Ministers of the People, the Subjects can hope for no Rank, can aspire to no Distinction, but what must be acquired by a Character, diametrically opposite to what would give a Title to them in a free State; I mean a Character of Suppleness, Complaisance, Adulation and Corruption. To have been a Member of the old Corporation, was to enjoy Liberty, Power, Pre-eminence and Distinction; but under the new far gled and modern Corporations, it is Thralldom, Slavery, and Ignominy.

To make the Situation of the People of *Ireland*, in this Respect, better understood, it is necessary to observe, that all the Corporations and Cities in *Ireland*, had, originally, Charters granted to them, on the like Plan, to those of
London,

London, Bristol, and others in this Kingdom. That, by these Charters, the Elections of the Magistrates, were invested in the Citizens. That these had the Management of their Revenues, and every other Priviledge which could make an Incorporation of any Value or Significancy to them. That they remained in an undisturbed Possession of those Rights, until the Reign of King *Charles* the First, whose Ministry found means, by Quo-Warrantos, and other illegal Methods, to void the ancient royal Charters; and to establish new ones, in which the Rights of the Freemen to the Election of their Magistrates were taken away; and, in which, the Government and Administration were granted for Life, to a small Number, who were invested, likewise, with Power to elect to the Places, which, amongst themselves, became vacant by Deaths, Surrender or Expulsion. And nothing of Distinction or Priviledge was left to the Freemen, but their Rights to the Election of Representatives in Parliament, and their Freedom from the Imposition of certain petty Taxes, and City-Customs, which the Corporations were used to raise on the Inhabitants not admitted into their Franchises.

BUT what this King and his Ministry! A King and Ministry, who well knew of what Consequence the Liberty of Corporations was to the Liberty of the Subject; and who were industrious to extend the Power and Prerogative of the Crown, at the Expence of both. What they cou'd do but partially, and in some Places, the Legislature of *Ireland* did complete in the Reign of his Successor; for, in the Year 1662, as an Equivalent, to the Crown, for the Benefit of an Act of Settlement, they gave up, to the Crown, all the Corporations of the Kingdom, by enacting, that
 “ it should be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant, or
 “ other Chief Governor or Governors and Council

“ of

“ of *Ireland*, for the Time being, from Time to
 “ Time, and at all Times hereafter, during the
 “ space of seven Years, to make and establish such
 “ Orders and Directions; for the better Regu-
 “ lation of Cities, walled Towns and Corporati-
 “ ons, and the electing of Magistrates and Of-
 “ ficers there, and to inflict such Penalties for the
 “ Breach thereof, as they in their Wisdom should
 “ think fit, so as the Penalties, for the Breach
 “ of the Rules, do not extend farther than to the
 “ Removal or Disfranchisement of such Persons
 “ as shall be found guilty of the Breach thereof,
 “ which Rules, Orders, and Directions, so as
 “ afore said, to be made, shall be as good and
 “ effectual in Law, to all Intents, and Purposes,
 “ as if the same had been established by Autho-
 “ rity of this present Parliament, and shall re-
 “ main, continue and abide in force, *for such* and
 “ *so long a Time* as in the said Rules and Directi-
 “ ons shall be limited and appointed.”

THE Privy Council, who cou'd easily make out
 that the Words *for such and so long a Time* might
 be extended to *all Times* hereafter, did (the very
 Day before the Expiration of their Power, and
 after permitting, for *seven Years*, all the Inconve-
 niencies which, it was pretended, were the Con-
 sequences of the too-great Liberty of the Subject)
 publish their *New Rules and Orders*; whereby the *New*
 Election of the Magistrates, in the principal Cor- Rules.
 porations in the Kingdom, was, for ever after,
 put under the Controul and Approbation of the
 Privy Council. In some they abolished the Rights
 of the Freemen to such Elections, and establish-
 ed it in a Common-Council, in whose Election
 the Freemen had no Share, or at best but a very
 partial one. In the City of *Dublin* they gave the
 Election of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Trea-
 surer, to the Board of Aldermen, who are but
 Part of the Common-Council, and to whom they
 gave,

“ of

gave, also, the Power to chuse the Representatives of the subordinate Corporations in Common-Council, from a double Return to be made, to them, from their respective Bodies.

It has been questioned whether the Parliament had a legal, constitutional Right, to devolve, and transfer to others, and those no necessary Part of themselves, so important Part of their legislative Capacity; and whether the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council did not exceed even the Power so transferred, by making perpetual, what seemed to be designed only for a temporary Expedient. But, be this as it may, the Fact is, that the principal, and almost all the Corporations in the Kingdom, are now under the Controul of the Privy Council; who have, in them, the Approbation, or Rejecting of all the Magistrates, and have established themselves into a supreme Court of Judicature, to hear and determine all Disputes concerning Elections, and Returns. And thus, Corporations, which, *
 “ under a Monarchy, is one of the principal intermediate Powers to moderate those of the Crown, and, in a mixed State, such as ours, the strongest Security for, and most conspicuous Instance of, the Liberty of the Subjects,” are, in *Ireland*, as, to all their Essentials, destroyed; and they, as well as the Parliament, and the Army, made dependent on the Will and Dictates of the Crown and Ministry. And, as the Consequence of all this, the People, by being accustomed to Dependence, have lost that Spirit which makes Oppression intolerable; and Liberty the Object of their strongest Affections.

It is the Observation of a † noble and celebrated Writer, that, “ in order to preserve the moral System of the World, in that Point of

* Spirit of the Laws.

† Letter on Patriotism.

“ Imperfection, at least, which seems to have
 “ been prescribed to it by the great Creator of
 “ all Things, the Author of Nature hath thought
 “ fit to mingle, from Time to Time, amongst
 “ the Societies of Men, a few, and but a few,
 “ of those, on whom he is pleased to bestow a
 “ larger Proportion of the Ethereal Spirit, than
 “ is given, in the ordinary Course of his Provi-
 “ dence, to the Sons of Men.”

If Providence doth, in this Manner, sometimes
 extraordinary, tho’ imperceptibly, interpose ; if
 we are to look for such Interpositions, when,
 from the Wickedness of some, and the Weakness
 of others, the Spirit of Liberty is depressed or
 extinguished, we may, reasonably, expect to find
 some Traces of it, in the Transactions, and the
 People, which I am about to relate, and to de-
 scribe. And whether any of the Personages, in
 the following History, may be said to have distin-
 guished themselves from that Herd, “ who seem
 “ made for no better Purpose than to breathe
 “ the Air of the Atmosphere, to roam about the
 “ Globe, and to consume, like the Courtiers of
 “ *Alcinous*, the Fruits of the Earth ;” which of
 them may be looked upon, “ as the Guardian
 “ Angels of their Country, busy to maintain or
 “ procure Peace, Plenty, and, the greatest of all
 “ human Blessings, Liberty ?” Or which of them
 may be looked upon, “ as the Ministers of di-
 “ vine Vengeance, whose Course is marked by
 “ Desolation and Oppression, by Poverty and
 “ Servitude ?” is an Enquiry, which cannot ap-
 pear either unprofitable, or unpleasant.

THE City of *Dublin* had, for many Years, en-
 joyed that King of Tranquility, and Peace, *Dublin*.
 which are the natural and boasted Consequences
 of an undisputed and undisturbed Tyranny ;
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* under which, the People seem to have lost that Spirit of Emulation, and Equality, which is the distinguishing Characteristick, and, in its Excess, the Distemper, of a popular and a free Government. Their Aldermen, not content with the exorbitant Powers conferred on them, by the New Rules, such as the Right of Election to the Office of Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Treasurer, and to the Nomination of the Commons, from a double Return, made to them, by the different subordinate Corporations of the City, had usurped the sole Right of electing Aldermen, upon every Vacancy, by Death, Resignation, or Removal. They had possessed themselves, likewise, of an exclusive Right of considering, in the first Instance, of every Matter which was to be proposed, in the general Assembly; leaving, to the Sheriffs and Commons, the bare Priviledge of giving a Negative. They had, sometimes by their Influence on the Commons, (who all owed their Places to the good Will and Appointment of the Board) and, often, in Defiance of those Commons, who had Resolution or Understanding to withhold their Assent, shared all the lucrative Places, in the City, amongst themselves, or disposed of them, to their Dependents or Relations. They had, Time out of Mind, appointed, from amongst themselves, or their Recorders, Candidates on Elections for the City; and had supported their Interest, and secured their Success, by the Influence which such extraordinary Powers gave them over the Citizens.

* I mean no Reflection on the publick or private Character of any Man, or Set of Men whatsoever—a Tyrant may be a worthy Man and a good Governor.—I make use of the Word in the Sense *Cornelius Nepos* has put upon it. *Omnes autem, says he, & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni qui Potestate Sunt perpetua in ea Civitate, qua Libertate usa est.*

SOME Checks however had been at different Times given to their Schemes. In the Year 1708, they were obliged to give up, to the Commons, a Share in the Government of the Ballast Office. They had not been able to prevent a Law being pass'd, by the Sheriffs and Commons, that all Questions should, in their Room, be determined by Ballot. In professed Opposition to their Interest, an eminent Lawyer had been elected one of the City's Representatives in the Year 1727. And a like, tho' fruitless, Attempt was made in the Year 1737. But, as the Dislike shewn to the Aldermen seemed to have no particular Foundation, as their Administration, rather than their Usurpation, was the Object of Complaint, the Opposition to, and the Resentment against, them did generally subside, with as little Reason, as it had risen. Despair of Success had dispirited some; Weariness of Contention others. But more especially, an utter Ignorance of their Right, or the little Value which they set upon them, had prevented such Contests from being either frequent, or lasting.

BUT, in the Year 1743, there happened to be two Men, in the Common-Council, who had better considered the Nature of Liberty, or were more affected with it's Value; who resolved to enquire into, and (as far as they were able) to restore the Rights and Liberties of their Fellows. The one * a Merchant, who had (if we may believe him) been remarkable in the Defence of his Fellow-Citizens. The other † an Apothecary, who had distinguished himself, by his Solicitation to Parliament, in procuring an Act for the better Regulation of his Profession. It was natural for such Men to become acquainted, and to concert

* Mr. James Latouche.

† Mr. Charles Lucas.

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*Tyranni qui
ate usa est.*

together what was to be done, to revive the Spirit of Liberty, which seemed to have so long lain dormant; and how to form a Party, in the Commons, to withstand the Power and Encroachments of the Board of Aldermen. They began with the State of the Revenues of the City, which were then loaded with a Debt of about 30,000*l.* contracted since the Year 1713. It was obvious that this must have been owing to Negligence, or Male-administration, and that the Commons had been notoriously remiss in the Exertion of their Rights, which could not possibly be so curtailed, by their Charter, or By-Laws, as to be rendered of no avail.

In the Course of their Enquiry, they found Reason to believe, that the Right of electing Aldermen was not, as it is practised, in the Board; but, that it was, like every other Election, not mentioned in the New Rules, in the whole corporate Body; in the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens. A Charter of King *Charles* the First was produced, in which is recited, that the Lord Mayor, Bailiffs, (now Sheriffs) Commons and Citizens, had been used, from Time to Time, and from Time immemorial, to elect Aldermen. A Committee of the Commons was appointed to inspect into the Records of the City. Mr. *Latouche* was appointed Chairman of it, and we have, from him, three Reports, with the Opinions of several eminent Lawyers on this contested Point, which were brought before the Court of King's-Bench, in *Ireland*, on the 7th of *November*, 1744, on a Motion from a *Quo-Warranto* against the then last elected Alderman; but a Permission, to lodge an Information, was, after a Hearing of two Days, refused by the Court, and, shortly after, Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Lucas*, who were the Heads
and

and Hearts of this Opposition, were, at the next Election, for the triennial Common-Council, struck out of the Returns made by the Corporations to the Aldermen, whom they had so warmly and so surprizingly opposed.

THEIR Attempt, however, was not without it's Reward. They became distinguished amongst their Fellow-Citizens; respected by all, who had any Regard for publick Spirit in others, or feelings of it in themselves: When, as Providence ordered it, there became a Vacancy in Parliament, for the City, by the Death of Sir *James Somerville*, Bart. on the 16th of *August*, 1748. Death of Somerville.

THE same Day, Mr. *Latouche* declared himself a Candidate, and published an Advertisement, which, as he was prevailed upon to alter the very next Post, at the Persuasion of some of his Friends, who said it savour'd too much of Singularity and Vanity, I shall here insert at large. Latouche declares himself.

To the *Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders and Freemen* of the City of DUBLIN.

GENTLEMEN,

THERE being a Vacancy in Parliament, by the Death of your late Representative, Sir *James Somerville*, Bart. I take the Liberty of offering you my Service on this Occasion.

As the Business I am engaged in, the Neglect of which might be attended with some Prejudice to the Publick, as well as myself, will not permit me to go through the ordinary Methods of soliciting your Votes and Interests, I humbly hope that those, with whom I have the Honour of being acquainted, will exert themselves in my Favour.

I HAVE no other Motives for this Application, but my Opinion that, from my Profession as a Merchant, and the Study of my whole Life to

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make

make myself capable of executing the Trust I sue for, I may be useful to you, and to my Country; I hope, therefore, you will excuse me, if I do not, in this Attempt, hazard that Independency, and that Share of Health, Providence has been pleased to allow me, the Loss of which might render any other Qualification useless.——Friendship and Acquaintance with every one of you, I shall endeavour to cultivate all my Life, not for the Time only that I solicit for your Favour.

I am, with great Respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES DIGGES LATOUCHE.

THE City was for some Time in Suspence who *Sir Samuel* wou'd set up against him. *Sir Samuel Cooke*, Bart. and Alderman, was talked of; he was allied to some considerable Families, and was in that Consideration and Esteem, which Men of slow Parts, and of modest, inoffensive Behaviour, do easily acquire in inactive and peaceable Times; he had besides, the Advantage of having been Lord Mayor of the City, at a Time of great Distress for want of Corn; and in the Execution of his Office, had acquired all that Reputation with the Multitude, which cou'd be derived from the utmost Stretch of Authority, unchecked by any Knowledge of the Laws, or by any Fear of transgressing it's Limits; and exerted at a Time, when Action more than Council, and Temerity more than Discretion, were required to prevent and stop the Increase of an impending Evil. It was probable he wou'd be supported by a numerous and powerful Party; by the Friends of Old-Church, for whom his Father had gone some unwarrantable Lengths during his Mayoralty, in the Years 1713 and 1714,——and by his Brethren

Brethren of the Board, who were under no little Apprehensions that their Dignity or perhaps their Authority wou'd be lessened, if Mr. *Latouche*, a plain Citizen, a Man of no other Consequence in the City than what proceeded from an extensive Trade, and the Opposition he had given to the Encroachment of the Board, should carry so important an Election as that of the Metropolis. But these Advantages of Sir *Samuel* were in some Measure counterballanced by the Prejudices which they naturally raised against him, both on Account of his Father, whose Memory cou'd be in no great Veneration amongst the Generality of a People, remarkable for their constant Attachment to the *Hanover* Succession, and, on his own Account, by Reason of some Imprudence he was charged with, in the Exercise of his Office of Lord Mayor, and for his being of a Station, which was now become more the Object of Contempt than of Envy,—— rather hated for it's Power, than revered for it's Authority.

THE former Considerations did nevertheless prevail, and Sir *Samuel Cooke* did, on the 27th of *August*, 1748, publish his Resolution, to stand Candidate for the vacant Seat, by the following Advertisement.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders and Freemen of the City of *Dublin*.

AT the Request of several, and by the Encouragement of many, of my Fellow-Citizens, I offer myself a Candidate to represent you in Parliament, in the Room of Sir *James Somerville*, Bart. deceased, and desire the Favour of your Votes and Interest upon that Occasion, which shall be gratefully acknowledged by,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

SAMUEL COOKE.

HAD Mr. *Latouche* had no other Competitor, he might have thought himself pretty secure. A Party composed of the moderate Church-Men, of the old Whigs, of the trading Part of the City, and of other free Citizens, was apparently too strong for that of his Competitor, however, supported by the Powerful and Great; I mean, by such as think they have a Right to command the Opinion and Conscience of those to whom they, now and then, pay their Bills. For the Government had as yet made no Point of it, nor indeed cou'd they with Decency, as Things stood, have visibly interfered.

BUT there stood up, at the same Time, another, and, in all Appearance, a more formidable Competitor to both these Gentlemen; I mean Mr. *Lucas*: His Motives and Intentions are best set forth in his own Advertisement, which I here set down at large.

To the FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of *DUBLIN*.

BRETHREN and FELLOW-CITIZENS,

AT the Instance of several of my Friends and Fellow-Citizens, I am induced, thus, publicly, to declare, what has ever been an established Principle with me, that I am always ready and willing to serve the PUBLICK in every Office of Trust, which I am judged capable of discharging, and to which I am fairly and regularly called, by the *unbiased, uninfluenced Voices* of a FREE and INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.

FROM this Motive, I offer myself a Candidate for the Place of a CITIZEN to represent you in Parliament; where I may be enabled to vindicate those RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, of which you have been *stripped*, and for which I have, hitherto,

hitherto, contended, against the HIGHEST POWERS, in a *lower Sphere*.

If I shall be deemed worthy of this Trust, the true Interest and Honour of this CITY shall ever be my chief Care, and YOUR INSTRUCTIONS shall ever be the invariable Guide of all the Actions of,

Your most affectionate Brother

And Fellow-Citizen,

And most faithful Servant,

C. L U C A S.

THIS was no small Triumph to the Aldermen's Party, as it would be like to cause a Division in the other; and such it did in Reality effect; for the popular Party became divided in their Opinion of the Merits and Capacities of their two Leaders,——united by no other Tye than that of their Hatred to the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Board of Aldermen, and, by a Resolution, which the best and worthiest amongst them had taken; to sacrifice (immediately before the Election) their private Prejudices and Affections, to the Support of which soever of those Candidates should appear to have the greatest Interest in the Party.

RIVALS in Fame, no more than Rivals in Love, can long continue Friends; it was the unhappy Business of both *Lucas* and *Latouche* to magnify each his own Merits, and to depreciate the Labours of his former Partner. Mr. *Lucas* was thought to have first discovered the Right of the Commons to the Election of Aldermen. Mr. *Latouche*, on the other Hand, was acknowledged to have been the Chief in the Prosecution of those Rights. He had been Chairman to the Committee of the Commons; had drawn up several

Reports; had expended much Time and Labour, and been at a considerable Expence, beyond what the voluntary Contributions of the Citizens had answered. It was even believed that he had been deserted by Mr. *Lucas*, in the very Heat of the Opposition, because he had been appointed Chairman to the Committee.

THESE Altercations were, however, carried on with some Appearance of Decency, both *Lucas* and *Latouche* bent the Force of their Arguments, in all their Harangues to the Corporations, against the Board of Aldermen. Mr. *Latouche* against their Usurpation, Mr. *Lucas* both against that and their Administration; in doing which, he had the Misfortune to attack some Characters, which were before unimpeached, and to advance some Facts which, being controverted, occasioned much Altercation and Dispute.

THIS raised him many personal Enemies, which he was but too apt to despise. The Contradiction they gave him, seemed, on the contrary, rather to encourage him to proceed, and to extend to the Constitution of his Country, and to the Character of some of the principal Figures in it, those Reflections, which, in the Opinion of the more prudent of his Friends, wou'd have been better received if confined to the Constitution and Government of the City.

HE was moreover led into this, by his Opposition to Mr. *Latouche*, who was used, in his Harangues and Writings, to declare, that it was not the Administration so much as the Usurpation, of the Aldermen, which ought to give Offence and Jealousy — that the former might be just, but that, whilst the Aldermen were in Possession of the Rights of the Citizens, their prudent Administration wou'd have served, only to prevent the Citizens from being uneasy under their undue Authority; which Authority was contrary to the Constitution, and to the very Notion of Liberty.

WHILST

Latouche's
2d Ad-
dress, Page
10.

WHILST the Opposition was continued on such Principles, Mr. *Lucas* had no Method of distinguishing himself from his Rival; whereas the attacking, what he calls, the higher Powers, cou'd not but dazzle the Eyes of the Many; the explaining, in order to expose, the present Constitution of his Country, was attaching to his Interest all those who thought it had been injured, and to whom it was strongly insinuated, that it was in the Power of it's Legislature to restore or to amend it.

THAT merely to raise himself the Reputation of a Man, more learned than Mr. *Latouche*, in the Constitution of his Country, and of a more bold and able Champion and Advocate in it's Defence, was the Motive of his Writing, whatever was afterwards censured as seditious, may be collected, as well from the Time he wrote, as from many Expressions in his Addresses. Such of them as were censured, were all wrote when there was but one Vacancy in the City; the last of them bears Date the 16th of *March*, 1748, and his Dedication to the King is dated the 15th of *May*, 1749: And if there was any Conjunction, afterwards, between him and Mr. *Latouche*, (which, indeed, cou'd never be proved) and if it be true that, from the Moment of that supposed Conjunction, Mr. *Lucas* forbore, in a great Measure, to inflame the Jealousies, or irritate the Passions, of his Fellow-Subjects, is it not natural to conclude either that Mr. *Latouche* had persuaded him of the Inexpediency of such Discourses, or that, the Necessity of an Opposition having ceased, he saw clearly himself, that it was to no Purpose, and might be of evil Consequence, to stir up Questions, which were better left unresolved, than to have them determined, against his Country, by superior Authority and Power?

BUT his Reasonings themselves will prove, beyond all Contradiction, that he designed all these Illustrations of the Constitution as so many Arguments against the Pretensions of Mr. *Latouche*. In his 11th Address, Page 24, he says, " I am not insensible, that many, as well as some Candidates, will object to the reviving those old Controversies, judging it in vain to contend with higher Powers, and that Restoration is impracticable." And, in his 14th Address, he has, Page 35, this remarkable Expression: " If he (Mr. *Latouche*) be a true Advocate for Liberty, let him shew it, in setting forth your constitutional Rights and Liberties." And, in another Place, Page 7, " I never was able to agree with him upon the Means about the great Ends in View; Mr. *Latouche* always managed so prudently as to keep up his Friendship with the Gentlemen of the Board, whilst I, impolitick I, forfeited all Friendship with their Worships, and, indeed, with all Men of their Disposition."

NOR is it to be imagined, or believed, that a Man of Mr. *Lucas's* Understanding, cou'd have ever had any Hopes of raising his own Fortunes, or of bettering the Constitution, by Means of any popular Tumult or Confusion. No Man cou'd be more sensible of the Weakness of the Protestants, and of the Power of the Government, than he seemed, by all his Discourses and Conduct, to have been. No Man ever shewed more Reverence and Obedience to the Laws; or more Respect to Magistracy, whatever might be his Opinion of those who were invested with it. His Errors can then only be attributed to the Warmth of his Imagination, which had persuaded him, that Reasons, properly enforced, wou'd have their proper Influence on the Legislature of *Ireland* to require, and on that of *Great Britain* to grant,
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what wou'd be found to be of equal Benefit to both Kingdoms. And the very great and exemplary Quiet the whole City enjoyed, in the Height of this Man's Popularity; in the Height of his Expectations and Misfortunes; the long Silence of the Government, and of the Courts of Law, which we cannot suppose to have been neglectful for so long a Time, had they apprehended any Danger from him, will, I believe, convince every impartial Person that it was not so much the Safety of the State, as some more refined Scheme of Policy, which occasioned his being afterwards so warmly prosecuted, and that it was not from Confusion and Disorder that he sought or expected Justice.

But, whatever were his Motives, or Designs, it is certain, that his Writings and Harangues had procured him so much Credit and Popularity, as to have, in a great Measure, obscured those of Mr. *Latouche*, who could not, however, be prevailed upon to alter his Conduct, or the Plan he had resolved upon, which seemed to be formed as in direct Contrast to that of Mr. *Lucas*; for whereas the latter always applied to the Passions, and was very full in explaining the Hardships of Laws made for free People, without their Consent, and even without a View to their Interest, and notwithstanding the surprising Success he met with in awakening, in the Minds of his Hearers, those Sentiments of Liberty, which are so much a Part of ourselves, as not to be in the Power of Education, Prejudice, or evil Habit, entirely to remove; Mr. *Latouche* affected to apply more to the Reason of his Electors, and carefully avoided giving any Expectation, which he thought cou'd not reasonably be answered. An Alteration in the Constitution of the City, if he was returned, he ventured to promise should be attempted. But, as to that of his Country, he

he represented it as too firmly established to be, at this Day, easily altered; that the Dependence of *Ireland* was far from being so great an Evil as was represented; but that, on the contrary, from it the People of *Ireland* enjoyed some Benefits in Respect of Security, Ease and Trade, and even more Liberty than was enjoyed by the Subjects of any free State, *Great Britain* only excepted. He shewed the Rashness of any Attempt to excite Jealousies between the two Nations, from the Restraints, which every such Attempt, in former Times, had occasioned on the Trade and Liberties of his Countrymen.

He was so full, on this Point, both in his Harangues and * Writings, as to give Occasion to Mr. *Lucas* to reproach † and to accuse, him of having given up, what he called, the Cause of Liberty, and of having apologized and pleaded for the Subjection and Dependence of his Country.

Death of
Pearson.

In the Height of these polemical Discourses, when the Attention of the Publick was so much engaged by them, that the Alderman-Candidate was scarce remembered, or talked of, a sudden Stop was put to them by the Death of Alderman *Nathaniel Pearson*, the other Representative for the City, which happened on the 12th of *May*, 1749.

This Accident put an End to the Competitorship between *Lucas* and *Latouche*, as there was now an Opportunity of electing them both. It raised the Expectations and Spirit of the independent and free Citizens; whilst, on the contrary, those of the Aldermanick Party were, proportionably, lessened and depressed. They

* See *Hibernicus's* 4th Letter, Page 8; these are generally thought to have been wrote by *L. T.* or, at least, under his Direction.

† See *Lucas's* 14th Address, and *Britanicus's* Letter.

saw no Method of preventing the Junction of their Enemies; it was natural that the moderate Men, who confined their Views to the Restoration of the Rights of the Citizens, wou'd immediately join with those, who extended their Expectation to the Redress of the Constitution of their Country; they felt how much they were fallen in the Opinion of the Citizens: And even of those, whose Station, Fortune, and Influence, might be supposed to take Part in the Event of the approaching Election.

THEY had nevertheless no Resource, but to the latter, and, to engage their Interest; a Person was to be found, who cou'd give the Board some Lustre, and their Cause some Colour. They accordingly fixed upon a Gentleman, whom they had long neglected; who, tho' of himself obscure and unknown, as having for some Years retired from Business, was considerable by the Name he bore, and by his Relations and Alliances; one, whose Family was noted for an Opposition to High-Church and Torism, which was formerly espoused by, and was now the Reproach of, the other Alderman-Candidate. Nor cou'd they fix on a more proper Person, or who promised better to answer all those Purposes, than a younger Son of the late *Benjamin Burton*, who had suffered, with some other Whig Aldermen, for his Opposition to the late Sir *Samuel Cook*, in the Years 1713 and 1714; and had, with some other Aldermen, been sent over to *England*, to solicit the Cause of his Brethren in Relation to their Dispute with Sir *Samuel*, who had held over his Mayoralty a second Year, in Contradiction to a Vote of the House of Commons of *Ireland*, and of an Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General of *England*, to whom these Disputes had been referred by the late Queen *Anne*; and to oppose a Prosecution intended

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intended against the Aldermen, for not submitting to the arbitrary Will and Orders of the Governors and Council. He had expended much in the Cause ; had been, for several Years, Representative for the City in Parliament ; and had left a considerable Estate to his eldest Son, who had succeeded him to his Honours in the City, and to his Seat in Parliament.

Burton. THE Aldermen did accordingly invite one of his Sons, Mr. *Charles Burton*, to their Councils. He had been Sheriff in the Year 1733, but had been, ever since, neglected by the Board, who had preferred his Juniors to the Place of Alderman ; but now the great Occasion called him, like another *Cincinnatus*, from the Plough, to be the Alderman, and then a Candidate for the City, in Conjunction with the Son of the Enemy and Prosecutor of his worthy Father ; and on the Day next after Alderman *Pearson's* Death, was published, the following Advertisement.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders and Citizens of the City of *Dublin*.

BEING encouraged by many of my Fellow-Citizens and Friends, and as my Father, *Ben. Burton*, had so often, and so long, the Honour to represent your City in Parliament, which Trust he executed with the greatest Fidelity on many critical Occasions, I presume to offer myself a Candidate, in the Room of your late worthy Member, Alderman *Pearson* ; and beg Leave to assure you, in this publick Manner, that, if you think proper to place the same Confidence in me, you reposed in my Predecessor, I shall make it my constant Endeavour to discharge my Duty in Parliament, with the same Zeal and Integrity, and ever be, with the highest Gratitude,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

CHARLES BURTON.

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THE Friends of Liberty were not alarmed at the Appearance of this new Pretender. Their only Concern was, to bring about a Reconciliation between Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Lucas*, who, it was plain, could, neither of them, succeed, but from a Union. It was not sufficient that both one and the other declared, that the Citizens could never hope for Redress in Parliament, if, by the Choice of one Alderman for a Representative, they should give Room to suspect that the Majority was not so uneasy under the Administration of the City, as they would be known to be, if they excluded the Aldermen from what Honours and Preferments were in their Gift. It was insisted, that *Latouche* and *Lucas* should publicly appear together, and each of them recommend his Companion to the second Place in the Esteem of his Countrymen; that in whatever Corporation one of them was free, he should formally introduce the other, and recommend that the same Honour should be conferred on his Brother Candidate, which had been formerly done to himself. But, tho' this was outwardly comply'd with, it was evident that this Reconciliation was not sincere. It seemed impossible, that Mr. *Latouche* could so easily forget the injurious Treatment he had received from Mr. *Lucas*, or that Mr. *Lucas* could be heartily reconciled to a Man, whom he had so wantonly, and with so much Bitterness and Unfairness, attacked in his Discourses and his Writings; and in particular in his 14th Address, in which he had misrepresented and exposed the private Conversation and Conduct of his private Friend and Associate.

THEY however thought it prudent to comply with what the more rational of their common Friends expected; they behaved with Ease and Familiarity in publick, but they avoided all particular and private Intercourse; and even, in the Month

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Month of *October*, a long Time after the supposed Conjunction of those two Men, Mr. *Liteas*, in the Recapitulation of what he had 'till that Time published, speaks of his 14th Address, as of needing no Apology, and represents Mr. *Latouche*, more as an insignificant and inoffensive, than as a useful and generous, Friend to the Publick, or to himself.

As to the Aldermen-Candidates, their Conduct and Behaviour were o other than what were expected. As their Reliance was not on the good Will of the Citizens, nor on their own Merit and Abilities, they mostly declined any Opportunity of producing themselves to the Corporations, or of exhibiting any publick Qualifications, or Deserts. Whereas the Candidates, on the Principles of Liberty, were rather too ostentatious in these Points; they attended all the publick Meetings of the Corporations; they boldly insisted that Freemen cou'd not, consistently with their Duty, and their Obligations to their Country, give their Votes to Aldermen, nor, without Ingratitude, refuse them to those, who had shewn both Disposition and Abilities to serve them; they claimed their Votes as a Debt which they were intitled to demand, and a Trust which the Citizens ought to discharge with Integrity and Honour; they even hinted Religion and the Obligation of their Oaths as favouring their Pretensions, and as forbidding to give their Votes to Aldermen; they endeavoured to shew the Advantages that would accrue to the City, and to the whole Kingdom, by the Union of the Citizens, and, by their shewing, on this Occasion, what cou'd be done by Freemen, in Opposition to the Influence and Power of the Great; and what great and good Consequences wou'd follow from their Example, if they shewed, that Freedom and Happiness were the natural Consequences,

quences, as well as the Reward, of their Endeavours and Struggles, in the Cause of Virtue, and of their own Rights.

THE Aldermen-Candidates had, indeed, made some Efforts to destroy, or, at least, to weaken, the Impression, which these popular Orations made on the Minds of the Citizens. The Baronet had made a Tour through the different Corporations and Assemblies, and, in a short and set Speech, had solemnly promised, “ that he wou’d do, in particular to the Corporation he happened then to address, and to the City in general, all the Service in his Power, if they wou’d favour him with their Votes and Interest; that he wou’d be the better able to serve them, because he had many Relations and Acquaintance in the House of Commons.” But all this was before the second Vacancy; from that Time, Mr. *Burton* took the Lead, proud, perhaps, of the Opportunity, which was now given him, of displaying his Talents and Abilities, and of employing, in Defence of the Aldermen, the same Kind of Weapons wherewith they had been attacked, Oratory and Argument. He endeavoured to shew, and, indeed, has since, in himself, furnished a strong Instance, “ that Eloquence is in no Sort to be looked on as a Qualification for a Member of Parliament; that it was seldom made Use of, with a Design to persuade, but only with a Design to shew Parts, or to depreciate and villify the Characters or Persons of Rivals; that it was not the Reasons and Arguments offered in publick, but those which were suggested in private, to each of the Individuals, which determined the Opinions and Resolutions of a Majority; that, if he cou’d not himself speak in publick, there were a sufficient Number in the House of Commons, who cou’d; and it was well known, “ that

“ that the greateſt Part of thoſe were his Relati-
 “ ons, or particular Friends, and compos'd a
 “ conſiderable Party in the Houſe ; that moſt
 “ People might miſtake their own Talents, but
 “ if he knew his own Heart, it was an honeſt
 “ one, and that he had Underſtanding ſufficient
 “ at leaſt to receive Inſtructions ; that after all,
 “ the Citizens wou'd run no Riſque in making
 “ a Tryal of him, for that, in all Probability,
 “ the preſent Parliament cou'd not laſt above a
 “ Session or two longer, and if he miſbehaved,
 “ they wou'd ſoon have an Opportunity of pu-
 “ niſhing him, by electing ſome other in his
 “ Place ; that as to what was ſaid againſt the Al-
 “ dermen, he knew nothing of it, having never
 “ been at the Pains to enquire into that Matter ;
 “ that he ought not to answer for their Miſ-
 “ deeds ; that he was yet an unfledged Bird a-
 “ mongſt them, but, from what he had found,
 “ they were as honeſt and as good Sort of Men
 “ as any other ; that, ſince he had come in a-
 “ mongſt them, they had made a Law, to pre-
 “ fer the Children of Freemen to vacant Places
 “ in the Blue-Coat Hoſpital ; and this ſhewed,
 “ at leaſt, that they were mending, and worthy
 “ to be encouraged ; that if the Aldermen were
 “ in Poſſeſſion of any Rights, which the Citizens
 “ claimed, the Courts of Law were open, and
 “ to them the Citizens might appeal ; but that
 “ nobody cou'd ſay the preſent Aldermen had
 “ uſurped on the Citizens ; that what Power
 “ they held, was derived to them from their
 “ Predeceſſors, of whom there might have
 “ been Cauſe of Complaint, but could be none
 “ ſure againſt the preſent Gentlemen : He con-
 “ cluded by reminding them of the following
 “ Adages, which he had read under a Picture
 “ of King *Charles II.* in the Blackſmiths Hall :”

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THIS was the Substance of this Gentleman's several Speeches, as was afterwards set forth, by Evidence, before the House of Commons. I have purposely omitted the Cause he assigned for the sudden Dissolution of the Parliament, because I wou'd not shock the Delicacy of my loyal Readers, which I the rather fear, as the Repetition of it, before the Committee, gave such Offence, that the Chairman wou'd not stain his Report with Words, which might, in former Times, have subjected the Speaker of them to an Indictment of High-Treason; and which wou'd not have pass'd, without Censure, in the present loyal *Irish* House of Commons, if they had been uttered by a suspected obnoxious Person, or, indeed, by any one, who cou'd be supposed to understand the full Meaning and Consequence of his own Words.

WHETHER this Lapse of the Tongue, (for nobody ever suspected him of any evil Intention) had given Offence; or, whether he found the popular Prejudices too strong against him, on every other Account, and that there was nothing to be gained by Oratory and publick Promises with an obstinate People, who urged Conscience and Reason as forbidding them to encourage the Pretensions of Aldermen; or, whether he had a Mind to shew, by Experiment, the Truth of the Maxim, which he had laid down, "that Resolutions were better enforced by a private Application to the Individuals, than by any Arguments offered in the publick," whatever were his Motives, he did not long continue in this laborious

borious Exercise of going from Hall to Hall, and wasting his Lungs, in elaborate Speeches to dull and inattentive Citizens; but, leaving the Halls to the Patriots, he joined with Sir *Samuel*, in a particular Application to the Citizens at their Houses, to whom they were generally introduced by Letters of Recommendation, or Orders, from those, whom we have already denoted by the Names of the Powerful and Great; those, who kept great Houses, and whose Custom was valuable to the Tradesmen they employed.

THIS did not, however, answer their Expectations; *Lucas* had warned them against this Invasion, as he called it, of their Liberties, and the Minds of some were so warmed with this Notion, that they construed any Application, even from the Candidates, as a Sort of Insult. They had been told, and they seemed persuaded, that their Customers could no more live without them, than they could subsist without their Customers. And it was believed, that there were not, in the City, Slaves enough to serve imperious and lordly Masters; but that these would, in Spite of Repentment, be obliged to return to the Freemen for the Purchase of Necessaries, or even of Articles, which served only for Pomp and Luxury; the Use of which they would not probably deny themselves from a Motive of Repentment, since long Experience had shewn, that they could not be prevailed on to do so, from a Regard to their Country, and a Consideration of the Distress and Poverty of the native Manufacturers, who were reduced to Beggary at Home, or the fatal Necessity of seeking for Subsistence, or Employment, in the Armies or Manufactures of our most dangerous Enemies and Rivals.

BUT, whilst the Aldermen's Party were thus discouraged, when their Interest ran so low, that, it was thought, they would soon decline their Pretensions,

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Pretensions, and give up the Contest, an Accident happened, which revived their Spirits, as it seemed to overthrow the Reputation and Popularity of one of their most dangerous Opposers and Rivals.

THE Tolls and Customs, which compose one of the most valuable Branches of the City Revenue, had, for latter Years, notwithstanding the vast Encrease of Trade and Inhabitants, produced considerably less than what they had done formerly; and, it was thought, that the farming of them to one Person, whose Interest it would thereby become to watch the Receivers, would greatly contribute to raise this Revenue. An Alderman did thereupon make Proposals to farm them, for a certain Number of Years, at a much higher Rate than what the City had received for some Years pass'd. Mr. *Lucas* wrote a Letter ^{13th of} to the Commons, to warn them of the new and ^{May,} dangerous Powers the Aldermen would acquire, ^{1749.} and treated this Proposal as a Job, which was to be carried in a pack'd Assembly; he asserted, that the Commons were but partially summoned, or rather that none were summoned, but such as were Vassals to the Board, and ready to do every Thing that was required of them.

THIS gave the Aldermen great Offence, and they procured a Resolution to be pass'd in the ^{21st of} Commons, that such, Mr. *Lucas's* Assertion, was ^{July, and} false, scandalous and malicious. The latter was ^{4th of} not wanting in a Reply; but this seemed only ^{August.} to irritate, and, at the next Assembly, the Com- ^{The Al-} mons voted a Confirmation of their former Cen- ^{sure} sure, together with Thanks to the Author of a ^{the 4th of} Pamphlet, called, *LUCAS detected*, which was ^{August.} read in Common-Council, whilst they refused to hear Mr. *Lucas*, or to read a Vindication, which he had published, of his former Assertion.

THESE Proceedings, of a Body composed out of the several Corporations of the City, seemed to have some Weight, and to shew the Weakness of *Lucas's* Party, where it was thought, 'till then, to have been most firmly established; but this did neither astonish or dismay his Friends, it rather served to make them more active in his Defence; they gave out, that the Commons could not be deemed the Representatives of the Corporations, for whom they were respectively appointed, as those had but a very small Share in their Election; that the Commons were no more than the Creatures of the Aldermen, by whom they had been elected into Office from double Returns made to them, not, generally speaking, by the whole Body of their Corporations, but by a smaller Council of those corporate Bodies, in which the Aldermen had the greatest Influence; and that an Appeal lay very naturally to the People; to those, who, tho' not properly the Electors, were, however, supposed to be represented by them.

It was accordingly insinuated, to the several Corporations, that they had each of them a Right to enquire into the Proceedings of the Commons, and to censure or approve the particular Conduct of those, who acted as their Representatives; that this was the only Method left them to prevent the Mischiefs, which, too great a Concurrence with Aldermen, would occasion to their Rights and Priviledges; and that they could not exert this Right of Enquiry more properly than when the Commons had, with so little Colour of Justice, or Form of Law, condemned one of their Fellow-Citizens, for no other Reason, than because he had asserted their Rights against the Aldermen; that the Commons had made an Appeal to the Publick, by publishing, in the News-Papers, their Censures of Mr. *Lucas*,

cas, and their Thanks to his Antagonist. The Right of the People, to give Instructions to their Representatives, was strongly insisted on; that the Constitution of *Ireland* was, in all it's Essentials, the same as that of *Great-Britain*, and that if Representations and Instructions from Cities and Corporations had been allowed of there to the Members of the supreme Council, of which many Examples were produced, how much more was it constitutional to give such to Men, who were their Equals in Rank, and scarce their Superiors in Station; that this would lay a Foundation for Representations and Instructions from the People to their Representatives in Parliament, and that, by them, the Sense of the Nation, in every important Matter, might be more effectually known.

THESE Arguments had the desired Effect; and, of twenty-five Corporations, which compose the Corporation of the City, fifteen did, at their several Halls, resolve Thanks to twenty-seven of the Commons, who had opposed these Proceedings against Mr. *Lucas*, which, they declared, were partial and unjust. In most of these Protests, honourable Mention was made both of Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *Latouche*, and Thanks returned to them, for their Care and Defence of the Liberties of the Citizens of *Dublin*, and (in one, or two at most, of these Declarations) of the Kingdom in general.

It must be observed, to the Honour of the popular Party, that these Disputes were carried on with the strictest Decency and Order. In no one Hall, was there any the least Riot or Disorder; nor could I learn, that the Peace was, in any one Instance, broke, during the whole Vacancy, on Occasion of these Contests. The only Instances of Riot, that were attempted to be proved before the Committee of Elections, were, at the

Halls of the Taylors, Weavers, and Merchants. But these Riots appeared to be no more than, that the Majority of Taylors had forced the Master to put the Question for admitting Mr. *Lucas*; that the Weavers had shut their Hall-Door, whilst they were signing Resolutions, and the Witnesses had been kept from his Dinner until past four o'Clock; that there was so great a Noise at the Merchants Hall, when the Petition of Mr. *Lucas*, to be admitted free, was read, that nobody could be heard; and that the Witnesses was so confounded and frightened at this Noise, that he mistold the Number of the Voters, reckoning, on *Lucas's* Side, twenty less than was found to have polled for him.

It is difficult to assign any other Cause for this Tranquility, than the Virtue of the People, and a Conviction, that nothing could serve the Cause of the Aldermen, but Riot and Confusion. In order that every other Pretext of Complaint of an undue Election and Return, in Case the Patriots were elected, might be taken away, Mr. *Lucas* had, in a Letter, dated *August* the 18th, to the Free-Citizens, recommended to them no other Weapons and Shields than the Law alone. " For my own Part, (says he) I make this publick and solemn Declaration, that, if I discover any Man committing Riots, Tumults, or other Breaches of the Peace, or Disturbances, let him use the Sanction of what Name or Party he will, I shall look upon him, not only as an Enemy to me, but as an Enemy to the Cause I endeavour to espouse, an Enemy to Liberty, an Enemy to his King, to his Country, and to Mankind in general. The Cause I would support, is only to be obtained and supported by Peace and Law. Hear, then, all Men, peaceably and quietly; try all Men by the Rules of Justice and Law; then judge
" for

“ for yourselves freely, dispassionately, justly,
 “ and hold fast to that which your honest, unbi-
 “ as’d Hearts approve.” I the rather have men-
 tion’d this, as one of the Pretexes of his Disgrace
 was, his being suppos’d to have inflamed the
 Minds of the People by his Harangues and his
 Writings, and to have offer’d to be a Leader of
 their Armies upon any Emergency ; whereas, if
 it be suppos’d that these Writings had any Effect
 on the Temper of his Party, it is certain they
 must have operated nothing besides a Resignation
 to Injuries, and Patience under Oppression, un-
 til they could vindicate their own Rights, in a
 legal and peaceable Manner, before their own
 Legislature.

BUT, however submissive he himself was, to
 the present Constitution, to the Magistrates, and
 to the Laws of the Kingdom, and of the City,
 he was not wanting in his Reproofs, Invective,
 and Satyr, against the Enormities committed by
 any. A weekly Paper, call’d the *Censor*, or,
 the *Citizens Journal*, of which he was suppos’d
 to be the Author, was published at this Time,
 and every Incident, relating to the Misbehavi-
 our or Misconduct of his Antagonists, and of
 their Party, or of their Friends and Relations,
 whether living or dead, was minutely traced
 and expos’d. In the 4th Number, the Author
 had abus’d Sir *Richard Cox*, Bart. Lord Chan-
 cellor of *Ireland*, from the Year 1703 to 1707,
 and Lord Chief Justice in the Year 1710, and
 had call’d him, “ one of the knighted, ermin’d
 “ Villains of the perfidious Ministry of the late a-
 “ bus’d *Queen Anne*.” This rais’d the Indignati-
 on of the present Sir *Richard Cox*, Member of Par-
 liament for *Clogbnikelty*, and Grandson to the a-
 bus’d Judge, a Gentleman, who, if you will
 take his own Words for it, “ had been one of
 “ the Country Party, (whilst such a Party was
 “ thought

“ thought to exist) and had endeavour’d to execute the Trust, reposed in him, faithfully ; he was thought to be in an independent Condition, a perfect Master of his Reason, and to have made a proper Use of it ; an Enemy to Faction, as fit only for little, noisy, blustering Fellows, who have Nothing to lose by the Confusion of a Country, and may hope to get by the Success of a Party. He aimed at the Character of a sincere Lover of his native Country, and of being an Enemy to no Man but in a national Cause, and that, in publick Opposition only to his Measures. He had been formerly in a strict Union and Friendship with the S--k-r ; had shewn a Kind of servile Compliance with his Interest in the Country ; had for his, the Sp--k-r’s Sake, lived on bad Terms with Gentlemen, whom he personally loved, and with whom he had always acted in publick Affairs. He had, for a long while, and in all Places, when and where the Sp--k-r appeared to be the least personally effected, zealously espoused his Cause, but had never acted in publick Matters with him, since Lord *Carte- ret’s* memorable *Question* in 1729, for a *Perpetuity*, for which he, the Sp--k-r, had voted, except only in Matters of Elections, when his Regard for the Interest of the Sp--k-r took from the Weight which the Reason of his Friends, in publick Affairs, usually had with him.” This Account of Sir *Richard* I have taken from a Letter of Expostulation, wrote by him to the Sp--k-r in 1738, and we may well suppose this Character to have been just, at least at that Time, or such as he wou’d have the World believe of him, to this Day, for he was very desirous that these Letters should be publish’d ; but Mr. *Faulkner*, to whom he applied, had already suffered too much, from one Prosecution

cution in the House of Commons, to venture to print any Thing in which the Chief was in the least concerned.

SUCH was the new Antagonist which Mr. *Lucas* had now to contend with. The Abuse of Sir *Richard Cox* was answered by a Letter, under the Name of one *Anthony Litten*, Surgeon of *Corke*, who had lived in the Family of the abused Judge, and was soon followed by several Papers, intituled, the *Corke Surgeon's Antidote against the Dublin Apothecary's Poison*. In these the several Questions which Mr. *Lucas* had discussed in his Addresses, relating to the Constitution of *Ireland*, and it's Independency on the Legislature of *Great-Britain*, and to the Conduct and Behaviour of the *English* and *Irish*, during the several past Commotions and Insurrections in *Ireland*, were enquired into, and with great Severity examined; Mr. *Lucas*, his Conduct and Principles animadverted on. And some Facts and Reasonings, advanced by Mr. *Lucas*, were attempted to be disproved or refused.

BUT, if it was imprudent, if, as his Enemies wou'd have it, it was a rash, unseasonable or wicked Attempt of Mr. *Lucas* to create a repining Spirit of Uneasiness and Discontent in the Minds of the Weak, and an unjust Spirit of Anger and Resentment in those of the Powerful, by starting Questions, and reviving Jealousies, which had lain smothered for so many Years, and which were of too delicate and dangerous a Nature to be meddled with, the *Corke Surgeon* cannot be cleared from Blame for deciding those Questions, contrary to the Prejudices and Pretensions of his Countrymen, for putting the Dependency of *Ireland* in so strong and odious a Light, that he cou'd not help himself from ex-
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claiming, *Let Canaan be cursed, who has forced us thus to discover our Father's Wickedness.**

In the Midst of these Disputes, in the Height of *Lucas's* Popularity, the Lord Lieutenant arrived from *England*. It was doubtful whether or no he wou'd interest himself in the Election, or what Party he wou'd espouse; for altho' he might reasonably be supposed to be no Favourer of *Mr. Lucas*, because of the indiscreet Liberties which the latter had taken with him, there was no Ground to believe that he wou'd espouse that Party on which *Sir Samuel Cooke* principally relied. His Acquaintance with *Mr. Burton* was not known, and *Mr. Latouche* had never given him the least Offence. He had behaved, during his former Residence, with that Equality to all, as to have acquired a general Esteem among the People he was sent over to govern; and, altho' the Court is always suspected to interfere secretly in Elections, and that it be usual enough for Rulers to govern by Means of one Faction to the Mortification of a contrary one; yet it was scarce to be imagin'd; that a Lord Lieutenant wou'd openly declare himself, or suffer his Name and Authority to be employed, in the Service of those, who were, 'till then, of no other Signification, than what they acquired or procured by being instrumental in carrying on the Designs of an Administration. From what had even transpired, or what was reported of his private Sentiments and Discourses, *Mr. Lucas* was encouraged to wait on his Excellency, and to present him with a Copy of the Addresses and Papers, on which were founded the Accusations brought against him by the *Corke Surgeon*, and others.

It was not difficult for a Man of *Mr. Lucas's* lively and warm Imagination, to mistake the Affability and Condescension of that polite No-

* Antidote IV. Page 4. Ant. II. Page 5.

bleman,

bleman, for an Approbation of what he had offered in his own Vindication. He had been permitted to talk. His Books were received. His Excellency had condescended to ask Questions, and with Attention to hear his Replies, and had dismissed him in such a Manner, that Mr. *Lucas* mistook it for an Invitation to come again. He attended the Levee accordingly, on the next Castle Day. But here he learn'd what Reliance may be had on the false Shine of Courts, and on the most flattering Appearances; for he no sooner appeared, than he received a Message, acquainting him, it was his Excellency's Pleasure, that he should immediately withdraw.

THIS was looked upon as a Forerunner of the Storm, which was shortly to break on his Head, and, as a Signal for his Enemies, to make the Attack. The Parliament was opened a few Days after, by a most gracious Speech, in which, his Excellency, after reminding them of the many Encouragements given to their Linen Manufactures by the Legislature of *Great-Britain*, and recommending to them, to cultivate, by all suitable Returns, that reciprocal Confidence and Harmony, which wou'd be found, at all Times, essentially necessary to the Interest of *Ireland*, added, that "every audacious Attempt to create a Jealousy between the two Kingdoms, and disunite the Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects, so closely connected by the same civil and religious Interests, must excite the highest indignation in all true Lovers of their Country."

THIS Declaration prepared the World for what was to follow. It was now evident, that there was a Union of all Parties, in a Scheme to oppress *Lucas*; the Courtiers, on Account of the Instructions so solemnly and so publickly given them; those, whom he had offended, by personal Abuse, from

from Resentment ; one Part of the House of Commons, from a Regard to their Friends, the Aldermen ; and the more moderate, from Fear of being thought to have given Encouragement to these Jealousies, between the two Kingdoms ; so that there did not appear one single Man, who ventured to oppose the Torrent against him.

It was, however, believed, seeing the first Day had pass'd without any Notice being taken of him, that the Fear of touching on the Dependency of *Ireland*, which had never been allowed of by an *Irisb* Act of Parliament, wou'd have prevented an Enquiry into Writings, which were thought culpable, principally on Account of having meddled with a Question of such Dêlicacy and Moment ; but the Managers had given the strongest Assurances, that the Prosecution should be carried on in such a Manner, that, without touching that Question, they wou'd find sufficient Matter and Foundation for a Censure on *Lucas*.

A COMPLAINT was accordingly made the next Day, in the House of Commons, of, " A Dedication
 " to the King, and several Addresses and Letters
 " to the Citizens of *Dublin*, to which the Name of
 " *C. Lucas* is either prefixed or signed as Author,
 " and several Papers, called, Censors, as highly
 " reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant and
 " Parliament, justifying the bloody and barbarous
 " Rebellions in this Kingdom, and tending
 " to create a Jealousy between the Kingdoms of
 " *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and to disunite the
 " Affections of his Majesty's common Subjects,
 " so closely connected by the same civil and religious
 " Interests ;" and some Paragraphs being read, it was ordered, " that Mr. *Lucas* and his
 " Printers should attend, the next Day, before a
 " Committee of the whole House, to whom the
 " Consideration of these Papers and Books was
 " refer'd ;" and that all Persons, who shou'd

give

give Testimony in this Matter, shou'd be examined in the most solemn Manner.

Mr. *Lucas* did accordingly attend, unmoved at their Prosecution, as he imagin'd he cou'd easily vindicate the Innocency of his Addressees, if he was (which he doubted not) permitted to defend and explain them; but upon his offering to enter into the Merits of his Case, he was told, that his only Business was to answer to the Question made to him, " whether he was the Author " of the Book produced to him by the Clerk of " the House, and that he must not imagine he " was in one of the Corporation Halls, where " he was used to brawl out Seditious by the Hour."

He was, indeed, told, that, in Case he did not think proper to answer that Question, he wou'd not thereby incur any Censure; but, it was not in order to argue that he was called, he was summoned to give Testimony as to a Matter of Fact, and that the Merits of the Writings were to be left to the Committee. He assured them, that, if they gave him Leave to speak, and wou'd hear his Defence, he wou'd save them the Trouble of going into Proof; but, this it seems, by the Rules of the House, was not to be allow'd, and the only Favour he obtained was, the Delay of a few Days, that he might examine the Books in Presence of the Clerks, so as to be able to answer whether they were faithful Copies of what he had wrote.

Kelburn, who had published some of those Addressees, had given Evidence of his having received the Manuscripts from Mr. *Lucas*; but *Es-dall*, who had printed and published the greatest Number of them, as well as the Censors, and the Dedication, had absconded; and it wou'd have been, perhaps, impracticable to have proved Mr. *Lucas* the Author of those Writings, had not the Lord Lieutenant been prevailed on

to send to the House, by his Secretary, Mr. *Weston*, the very Books, which Mr. *Lucas* had, with own Hand, presented to his Excellency.

WHEN these were shewn to *Lucas*, he said, that he did not imagine the Lord Lieutenant wou'd have given Evidence against him; and the Committee having no further Occasion for him, ordered him to withdraw, and, after considering the Matter, came to the following Resolutions.

RESOLVED, " That it is the Opinion of this
 " Committee, that the several printed Papers, in-
 " tited, a Dedication to the King, an Address to the
 " Free-Citizens and Freeholders of the City of
 " *Dublin*, a *Second*, a *Fourth*, an *Eighth*, a *Tenth*,
 " an *Eleventh*, and a *Fifteenth* Address to the
 " Free-Citizens and Freeholders of the City of
 " *Dublin*, subscribed *C. Lucas*, referred to the
 " Consideration of this Committee, contain cer-
 " tain Paragraphs, highly, falsely and scandalous-
 " ly reflecting on his Excellency the Earl of *Har-*
 " *rington*, Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, and
 " tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections,
 " and openly to justify the several horrid and
 " bloody Rebellions, which have been raised in
 " this Kingdom, and to create Jealousies be-
 " tween his Majesty's Subjects.

RESOLVED, " That it appears to this Com-
 " mittee, that *Charles Lucas*, of the City of *Dub-*
 " *lin*, Apothecary, is Author of the said printed
 " Papers.

RESOLVED, " That it appears to this Com-
 " mittee, that the said *Charles Lucas* has, in
 " some of the said printed Papers, scanda-
 " lously and maliciously misrepresented the
 " Proceedings of the present House of Commons,
 " and highly reflected on the Honour and Dig-
 " nity thereof, which being reported to the
 " House, was agreed to, *Nem. Con.* and then
 " the House,

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED, “ *Nemine Contradicente*, That an humble Address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to direct his Majesty’s Attorney General to prosecute the said *Charles Lucas*, for his Offence, in writing and publishing the said seditious and scandalous Papers.

ORDERED, “ That the said Address be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by such Members of this House as are of his Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council.

ORDERED, “ *Nemine Contradicente*, That the said *Charles Lucas*, for his Infringement and Violation of the Priviledges of this House, be committed close Prisoner to his Majesty’s Goal of *Newgate*, and that Mr. *Speaker* do issue his Warrants accordingly.”

It is observable, that altho’ the Titles of the Books are mentioned in the above Resolutions, yet the particular Paragraphs, which gave the Offence, have not been pointed out, and the Publick has been left in Doubt, in such a Variety of Matter, what in them was criminal, and what excusable.

WE must farther take Notice, that tho’ the Complaint was confined to those Writings, and to the Reflections contained in them, on the Lord Lieutenant, Parliaments, *English*, &c. yet the Censures, passed on him, seemed to have proceeded from other and no less prevalent Causes ; * such as his general Conduct, which was represented as immoral, licentious, and seditious ; his falling foul of Individuals, and murdering of honest Men’s Reputations on the other Side of the peaceable Grave ; his transgressing the utmost Limits of political Eloquence, and haranguing, as well as writing, the People into a

* See the Honest Man’s Speech, Page 7.

Degree of Madnefs or Enthufiafm, which, in Times lefs moderate, wou'd have been punifhed with no lefs a Fate than Hanging. Thofe, tho' not offered in Evidence, were ftrongly enlarged upon in the Debate, as the beft Arguments to prove, to the deluded People without Doors, and to the worthy Citizens in the Gallery, that they had been difpaffionate, candid and regular in their Proceedings, and that they had no other End but their Peace and Welfare.

SOME of the Members, indeed, who were very little converfant in his Writings, and who had no Fears of being thought to encourage the due Principles of Liberty, were unwilling to feem to patronize his personal Inveftives; and only waited 'till fome, better acquainted with his Perfon and Writings, fhould open the Way for drawing on a Debate, which might have been made, to take an embarrassing Turn againft the Managers of the Profecution; but no fuch Perfon offered to interpoze, which impofed Silence on the others; one of whom *, however, (after having, in the Courfe of the Enquiry, defired that Mr. *Lucas* might hear the Vote of Reference read, in order, that he might know from it of what Confequence it was for any one to own himfelf the Author of thofe Writings) did propofe fuch an Amendment to one of the Refolutions, as fhould fhew, that it was not intended to cenfure the Author, on Account of his inserting the Independency of *Ireland*. But, in this, no one feconded him. The fame Perfon alfo endeavoured to have had the Houfe ftopp'd, after having voted an Addrefs to the Lord Lieutenant, to caufe a Profecution of the Attorney General, well knowing, that fuch a Profecution, if carried on in the ufual Forms of the Law, cou'd

* Sir T——, P——.

not effect *Lucas* ; but, by a Pretence of having vilified the present Parliament, a further Step was taken, which drove him out of the Kingdom.

WHILST these Resolutions were passing against him, Mr. *Lucas* retired ; and the Populace conducted him, in a triumphant Manner, to the *Tbolfel*, where the Guild were, at that Time, in high Debate, concerning Matters relating to their Priviledges. He spoke, on the Question, with his usual Vivacity and Spirit, which confirmed the Assembly in the Opinion his first Appearance had created, that he had been acquitted ; but the Crowd below Stairs knew better : And they grew so clamorous, that Mr. *Lucas* found it necessary to make Use of his Eloquence, and the Credit he had with them, to engage them to disperse, and thus left to his Friends a new Proof, that he never was inclined to Tumult, or Confusion ; as he might, then, have managed their present Dispositions to the raising an Insurrection, or Riot, with more Facility than it was to persuade them to Acquiescence and Submission.

SEEING the Storm so heavy against him, he was persuaded to retire to *England* a few Days after ; but he left behind him the same Spirit amongst his Fellow-Citizens. The more moderate, (those, who thought he had been guilty of some Indiscretions) even those, who had professed the greatest Disregard to him, were wrought up into Pity for his Sufferings ; and the more dispassionate thought it was incumbent on them to shew their Disapprobation, by opposing the Candidate-Aldermen, whose Interest was to be promoted by the Fall of one of the popular Candidates ; accordingly, a Consultation was held, and *Thomas Read*, Esq; a Merchant of Eminence, who had distinguished himself in the Office of senior Master of Trinity Guild, in Op-

position to the Aldermanic Faction, was fixed upon as a proper Person to be joined with Mr. *Latouche* for the approaching Election.

WE have not mentioned the latter, for some Pages. The Truth is, he had been, ever since the Death of Alderman *Pearson*, esteemed only as a Second to *Lucas*; he had been less daring in his Measures; he had confined his Writings and Discourses to the Affairs of the City, and had not attacked the Character of any Individual; he had managed, during all his Contests with the Aldermen, with that Discretion, that (as Mr. *Lucas* reproached him) he had preserved an Intercourse and Friendship with most of them in private, tho' he had so warmly opposed them in his publick Life; but now, by the Disgrace of his former reputed Partner, he was become the Head and Heart of the Party. On him the Citizens looked as on the only one who cou'd support or defend their Liberties and Rights. It was believed, that he cou'd not only carry the Election for himself, but wou'd be able also to carry it for his new Associate. He had himself the greatest Reason to think himself secure, as he had given no Offence to the Lord Lieutenant, and that he was in some Degree of Estimation with the late Lords Justices, who had, each of them, shewn him all that Civility and Countenance, which he could reasonably expect from Men so vastly his Superiors in Rank and Power, and on whom he was not dependent for any extraordinary Favour, or Protection. They had, each of them, admitted him to their Conversation; and seem'd rather desirous of, than averse to, a Continuance of his Visits. On this he relied. Nor was it, 'till some Days after the Poll had began, that he perceived the same Power, which had overwhelmed *Lucas*, was openly and professedly turned against him; and he was unprovided

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provided against that Danger, which was like to prove the most fatal to him.

Tuesday the 24th of *October*, was appointed for taking the Poll, and, besides the Proclamation from the Sheriffs, as usual, it was notified to the Publick, by the following Advertisement.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*.

Sir *SAMUEL COOKE*, Bart.

A N D

CHARLES BURTON, Esq;

BEING CITIZENS and FREEMEN, who have shewn themselves Enemies to *Faction*, the Destruction of all Societies, and zealous Supporters of our present *bappy Establishment*, under the *illustrious House of Hanover*, on which, under *God*, the Liberty and Happiness of this Country depends.

THE Attendance, therefore, of all real Friends to the Liberty and Welfare of this Corporation, is requested, by them, at the *Great Hall* in *Fishamble-Street*, on *Tuesday* the 24th of *October* instant, at nine of the Clock in the Morning, to proceed from thence to the *Tbolfel* of the said City.

It was remarked, that these Gentlemen declined the Appellation of Aldermen, and that the whole of their Advertisement seemed drawn up in a Stile, or Manner, affectedly differing from that Regularity and Preciseness, which so much distinguishes the Citizen from the Gentleman; for, whereas, in this Advertisement, they neglected asking for Votes, or mentioning the Election; and chose, for their Rendezvous, a Musick-Room, more frequented by 'Squires and Baronets, than by Citizens: In another, pub-

lished the first Day of the Election, in the following Words ;

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen and Freeholders of the City of *Dublin*.

Sir *SAMUEL COOKE*, Bart.

A N D

CHARLES BURTON, Esq;

DO humbly request the Favour of your *Votes and Interest*, at the ensuing *Election*.

BEING CITIZENS and FREEMEN, who have shewn themselves ENEMIES to *Faction*, the Destruction of all Societies, and zealous Supporters of our present happy *Establishment*, under the illustrious *House of Hanover*, on which, under God, the Liberty and Happiness of this Country depends.

THE *Attendance* of all real Friends to the Liberty and Welfare of this Corporation, is desired, by them, at the *Guild Hall* in the *Tbolfel*, To-morrow Morning, at nine of the Clock.

THEY neglected any Date, or for what Election they solicited the Votes of the Citizens. Their Professions of Support to the present happy Establishment, as opposed to Faction, were differently interpreted, as they were applied to each of them ; since it cou'd not be said that they had, both of them, shewn themselves ENEMIES to one and the same Faction, or that they were equally zealous Supporters of the present happy Establishment. Both their Families, ever since they were known at all, having been remarkable for an Opposition to each other. The one as remarkable for their Zeal and Warmth in the Party of the Whigs, as the other was notorious in Defence of Old-Church, and of the Measures which were pursued by the Ministry in the latter

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End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*. The Word, *Faction*, might, indeed, have been understood, had they owned themselves Enemies to it, as Aldermen, who, as well as the Tories, at all Times, affected to give that Denomination to the Party, who were zealous for the Liberties of *Englijhmen*.

ON the first Day of the Election, namely, the 24th of *October*, the Candidates met their Friends at the Places appointed. The Aldermen, whose Place of Meeting was nearest, and to whom the Merchants, Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Read*, out of Deference to their Station, gave Way, arrived first at the *Tholfel*, and possessed themselves of the Court; into which, the Candidates, on the other Side, and their Clerks, cou'd scarce gain Admittance; much less, any Part of that numerous Train of Citizens, who had attended them from the Stationers Hall. So that the Aldermen had already polled thirty Freeholders, or Freemen, on their Side, before one Voter, on the Side of the Merchants, cou'd get Admittance. The late Recorder of the City, Mr. *Stannard*, was the first who gave his Vote; and it was taken before all the Clerks were ready to write it down. It was followed, with that Rapidity, by those of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery, and one of the Prothonotaries of the Serjeant at Arms, and of the Deputy Vice-Treasurer of *Ireland*, that some were retired from the Place, before their Votes were registered. Some Offence was taken at the Agents of the Merchants, for taking Notice of this Irregularity, and for endeavouring to bring Affairs into a more regular Course, by examining in what Part of the City the Freeholds of those great Men lay; or, whether they voted as Freeholders, or as Freemen of the City. All the Passages to the Court, except one, were laid open to all who had Strength or Resolution e-

nough to buſtle through the Crowd that were in Poſſeſſion of them. Mr. *Latouche* deſired there might be ſome Order put to this, and that, ſince the Paſſage thro' the Lord Mayor's Room was open to the Voters of the Aldermen only, they wou'd allow him the Jury-Box to poll his Votes from; but this was peremptorily denied, and, by theſe Means, at the Cloſe of the firſt Day's Poll, the Numbers ſtood thus :

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| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke</i> , Bart. | 130 | } 262 |
| For <i>Charles Burton</i> , Eſq; | 132 | |
| For Mr. <i>James Digges Latouche</i> , | 83 | } 156 |
| For <i>Thomas Read</i> , Eſq; | 73 | |

Majority for the Aldermen, 106

Of which, on the Side of the Aldermen, were,

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| Members of Parliament, | 16 |
| Privy Counſellors, | 2 |
| Clergymen, | 10 |
| Merchants, | 41 |
| Freemen of other Corporations, | 2 |
| Freeholders, | 48 |

On the Side of the Merchants,

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|--------------|----|
| Freeholders, | 21 |
| Merchants, | 52 |
| Others, | 1 |

THE Aldermen, that Evening, got the Poll printed, and the Names of the Members of Parliament marked with an * ; and by an Arithmetick, truly political, marked the Majority for them to be 106. This they continued for a few Day, until the Abſurdity of doubling their Advantage, when it was evident the Majority was inclining to the Side of the Merchants, made them decline this Oſtentation.

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ON the second Day of the Poll, the Aldermen made, of themselves, the Proposal they had, with so much Peremptoriness, refused the preceding Day, and, with the Consent of the other Candidates, they obtained, for their Voters, the Lord Mayor's Hearing-Room, and that Side of the Court which was adjoining to it. The Jury-Box was left for the Friends of the Merchants, and the Stage, in the Middle, for the Corporation whose Turn it was to offer their Votes. It was proposed, by the Merchants, that the Votes should be taken by 10 or 15 at a Side, but this was refused by the Aldermen; and unfortunately the Sheriffs had it not in their Power, however they had it in their Inclination, to keep an equal Hand; but were borne down by the Opposition and the Threats of some Men in Power, who came, every Day, from the Parliament House, to watch them, and to support their favourite Aldermen; who, by filling continually one Side of the Court, by crowding in the Aged, the Lame, and the Sick, of whom they had a Stock at Hand, and sometimes a Member of Parliament, a Clergyman, or some other considerable Person, they stopp'd the Sheriffs from calling to the Jury-Box. By these Means, several Voters, on the Side of the Merchants, were obliged to wait, several Days, without being admitted to poll; and others of them, were perverted or drawn off by the Menaces or Artifices of the Agents of the Aldermen.

To make the Power and Interest of the Aldermen appear in it's greater Lustre, there came, on the third Day of the Election, — not thro' the Aldermen's Passage, but across the Crowd of the Tholsel, and on the common Stage, — the whole Chapter of *Christ-Church*, their Dean, who is a Bishop, only excepted. As this happened just after Morning Service, it was, by

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some, attributed to the like Influence or Inspiration those Gentlemen are blessed with, when they elect Bishops and Deans; but others attributed it to the Instructions of their A—hb—p, who was of Opinion, that the Clergy ought to make themselves considerable by their * Union; and that they ought to give up in Temporals, as well as in Spirituals, the Governance of their Con-

* There has, since the Writing this, happened an Incident in *Ireland*, which, altho' it has no immediate Connection with the Matter now in Hand, yet, as it may serve to clear up the Principles of the different Parties, which did then, and still continue to, divide that Country, may not improperly find it's Place here.

His Majesty had granted a Charter of Incorporation to several charitable and well-disposed Persons, for establishing Schools for the Education and Conversion of the Children of Papists; to consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and a Committee of fifteen, which are annually to be elected by the whole Corporation. In order to preserve the Freedom of those Elections, and of the Votes of the Members, in every Affair of Importance, the Corporation did, early, make a By-Law for determining all Elections and all Questions by Ballot. The Secretary, who had been first appointed, was continued in his Office, by an annual Election, 'till the Year 1751, when, by Reason of his Age and Infirmities, it was thought proper to remove him. There accordingly appeared five or six Persons, who offered themselves Candidates, and made what Interest they severally could do for their Success. But, when the Affair came to be debated, and their several Petitions read, the A—hb—p of *Dublin* moved, that, to avoid Disputes, and, in order that the Peace and Harmony, which had so long subsisted in that Body, might not be broken, and, in Consideration of the many and great Services, which the Lord P—te, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Society, had done, that they would leave to him the Appointment of that Officer. This was strongly opposed by Mr. L—e, as being a direct Breach of the Charter, and an open Violation of the Liberties of the Members of the Society, who had each an equal Right to vote in that Question. But, altho' he was supported by many, as well Laymen as Clergy, yet it was carried against him, thirty-two to seven, and the P—te did obtain the Presentation to the *laick, ecclesiastical* Benefice.

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duct and their private Sentiments, to the Guidance and Determination of a Majority, in Convocation, or otherwise, assembled.

THIS was looked upon as a Declaration of the Clergy, and had this Effect, that some others, of that reverend Body, were afraid to be suspected of Abettors of Schism or Presbitery, if they should vote for those, who seemed, in so publick a Manner, to be proscribed by the Chapter: And, indeed, of forty-seven Clergymen of the Church of *Ireland*, who voted on this Election, there was only one, who had the Boldness to vote for both the Merchants; four, who voted for Mr. *Latouche*, and one of the Aldermen; and one, who voted for Mr. *Latouche* alone.

IT is also observable, that, almost all the Leaders and considerable Men amongst the Quakers, whether led by the Example of the Clergy and High-Church, or prevailed on by Fear of finding it difficult to get the Quakers Act renewed, if they did not shew some Regard to the Government, did also appear against the Merchants; whilst, on the other Hand, so true is it that there are Men of Virtue in all Professions, the more sensible among the Quakers were some of the most zealous in the Cause of their Fellow-Citizens, and of their Country.

THAT the Law, as well as the Church, might appear also in Combination against the Merchants, the two Lord Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron, by Virtue of their having been complimented with the Freedom of the City, took the Oaths, and appeared for the Aldermen; and, to give their Appearance the greater Solemnity, * one of them, in a short and elegant Discourse to the People, told them, that their Votes, he hoped, wou'd contribute to the

* Ld. C. J. S——n.

Restoration of the Peace and good Order of the City. The like Speech was imitated, a little after, by a young Lawyer. But, as it did not seem received, with Approbation, by the attending Citizens, the Precedent was no further followed.

THAT the Sense and Resolutions of the House of Commons might be known, beyond any Possibility of Doubt, the Sp—k—r and the C—m—n of the Committee of Priviledge and Elections, came also together, and gave their Votes likewise for the Aldermen. This gave an Opportunity to the Friends of the Board, of magnifying their Interest, and of calling any further Support of the Merchants Interest, as flying in the Face, not only of the Government, but of the House of Commons, and their Committee of Elections. The Citizens were not, however, discouraged; their Sentiments of Liberty and Duty were stronger than their Fears of Disappointment; stronger than any Reason of Self-Interest, or Complacency. It was on those Sentiments, which are so natural to a People, educated with a certain Value of Priviledge and Liberty, which, in free Countries, are more felt than known, that the Merchants relied. And, tho' a great Majority of the Freeholders, and a lesser Majority of the Corporation of the Guild, (in which were the greater Number of honorary Freemen) had made the Poll to appear strong on the Side of the Aldermen, the Votes of the twenty-four succeeding Corporations were like to turn the Ballance in Favour of the Merchants.

BUT, so soon as the Corporation of Taylors came on the Stage, a new and extraordinary Objection was made to their Votes. This was, that they had made Use of *undue Influence* to procure Votes for the Merchants. This Objection, when first made, was desired to be explained.

plained. But the only Answer, then made, was, that it wou'd be consider'd in another Place. And, tho' the Sheriffs refused to enter any such vague Objection in their Books, and that almost all the Voters, who were objected to, desired the Case might be explained, (most of them denying that they had prevailed upon any Body, or that they, themielves, had been solicited to vote on the Side of the Merchants, but declared, that they did so, merely from Principles of Duty and of Conscience) the Objection was repeated to every one, who, they thought, came to vote for the Merchants, without the least Attempt to prove the Truth of what was alledged against them. But, upon the constant Declaration of the Sheriffs, that they wou'd not admit or take Notice of the Objection, they were admitted to their Vote.

It may be observed, that many, who were, by Law, disqualified from voting, as being married to popish Wives, were admitted to give their Poll; and many *such* appeared for the Aldermen. It was declared unlawful, to put them to their Oaths, or even to ask them any Question about it, which was thought a Kind of criminating themselves. So that, after this Point was disputed and thus settled, some of the Freemen, of the Side of the Merchants, who were in the same Circumstances, were embolden'd to appear, and their Votes were taken with the same *Quere* put on them. But, of all unqualified Voters of this Kind, there did not appear on the Books, more than twenty-six on the Side of the Aldermen, and four on that of the Merchants.

By the Laws of *Ireland*, 'tis not necessary that Freeholders should be sworn to their Freeholds. Such Oath is administered only, when one of the Candidates does insist upon it; and the Merchants were very sparing of their Priviledge, on
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this Occasion, which was the Cause of their having, against them, so many Votes, which they had but good Reason to think were illegal. They were discouraged by the Affront, which, it was said, this was giving to Gentlemen; and some of the great ones had shewn some Resentment, that even the Place of their Freehold was enquired after, tho' the Sheriffs could not, legally, take their Vote, without entering such, the Place of Freehold, in their Books. But, about the End of the Poll, when it appeared, that the Number of Freeholders Votes were three Times greater than had appeared in any former Election, the Merchants were more peremptory in demanding the Oath from those who appeared for the Aldermen. This had it's Effect; some, who appeared, and who had answered to the Satisfaction of the Court, in Relation to their Freeholds, refused taking the Oath, and were laughed out of Court. This discouraged others, who had the same Delign, and who had Sense enough to know, that Perjury was a Crime, for which they might be prosecuted; whereas, the giving a bad Vote was looked upon, only, as a Mark of superior Skill, for which they were sure to be applauded by one Side, and were free from any legal Impeachment from the other. The *Athenian* Law, by which, whoever intruded himself, in any Assembly of the People, was capitally punished, as usurping a Right of Sovereignty, having ceased with that wise and free Republick.

It was not before the ninth Day of the Election, that the Ballance turned in Favour of the Merchants. The Numbers had then been,

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| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke</i> , Bart. | 920 |
| For <i>Charles Burton</i> , Esq; | 862 |
| For Mr. <i>James Digges Latouche</i> , | 669 |
| For <i>Thomas Read</i> , Esq; | 603 |

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But, on the 3d of *November*, there were,

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| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke</i> , Bart. | 1011 |
| For <i>Charles Burton</i> , Esq; | 951 |
| For Mr. <i>James Digges Latouche</i> , | 779 |
| For <i>Thomas Read</i> , Esq; | 703 |

And now the Hopes of all the Friends of Liberty began to revive, and those of their Rivals visibly to droop. It was, however, feared, that the Aldermen wou'd occasion some Riot, and, whilst they had the Majority, oblige the Sheriffs to close their Books. But, if they had any such Design, they were defeated by the unexampled and never enough to be admired Prudence, Temper and Patience of the Free-Citizens, and even of the Populace, who attended them, and who filled the Tholfel, in much greater Numbers, than it was possible for any of the other Side to collect. They bore the Insults of a few * Wretches and Creatures of Power, without any other Return than a Complaint against a few, whom they had disarmed, and whose Weapons were brought into Court. Nor did they, during the whole Election, (so great was their Deference to the Merchant-Candidates, exert their ancient Priviledge of testifying their Joy, by Acclamations and Huzzas, or their Contempt of their Adversaries, by Hisses and Groans; but they constantly quitted their Candidates, at about a hundred Yards from the Court, and retired each to his own Business, without either Drink, or Money.

ON the 11th of *November*, the Books were closed, and the Poll stood thus :

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| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke</i> , Bart. | 1543 |
| For <i>Charles Burton</i> , Esq; | 1411 |
| For Mr. <i>James Digges Latouche</i> , | 1499 |
| For <i>Thomas Read</i> , Esq; | 1283 |

* Among which, the Principal was *Gallagher*, whom the Aldermen have, by their Interest, since saved from the Gallows, for Murder.

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And, that our Readers may judge how the Interest run, we have been at the Pains to analyze it, and to shew how the Numbers stood among the Corporations.

| | <i>For the Aldermen.</i> | <i>For the Merchants.</i> | <i>Split Votes.</i> |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Freeholders, | 470 | 206 | 80 |
| Guild, | 273 | 218 | 44 |
| Taylors, | 83 | 78 | 28 |
| Smiths, | 101 | 101 | 35 |
| Barbers, | 39 | 65 | 14 |
| Bakers, | 13 | 4 | |
| Butchers, | 86 | 50 | 21 |
| Carpenters, | 99 | 107 | 27 |
| Shoemakers, | 41 | 45 | 13 |
| Sadlers, | 61 | 61 | 16 |
| Cooks, | 25 | 7 | 2 |
| Tanners, | 16 | 34 | 5 |
| Tallow-Chand- lers, | 35 | 90 | 9 |
| Glovers, | 29 | 33 | 14 |
| Weavers, | 70 | 221 | 36 |
| Dyers, | 7 | 30 | 3 |
| Goldsmiths, | 41 | 41 | 16 |
| Coopers, | 36 | 31 | 11 |
| Hatters, | 16 | 43 | 9 |
| Cutlers, | 46 | 34 | 6 |
| Bricklayers, | 44 | 36 | 11 |
| Hofiers, | 19 | 37 | 6 |
| Curriers, | 4 | 11 | 3 |
| Brewers, | 9 | 5 | 3 |
| Joyners, | 32 | 51 | 8 |
| Apothecaries, | 16 | 14 | 8 |
| Inclusive Parli- ament Men, | 60 | 11 | 8 |
| Inclusive Clergy, | 45 | 6 | 4 |

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T O T A L S.

| | <i>Cooke.</i> | <i>Burton.</i> | <i>Latouche.</i> | <i>Read.</i> |
|---|---------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|
| For the two Aldermen, } | 1246 | 1246 | | |
| For the two Merchants, } | | | 1154 | 1154 |
| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke and Latouche,</i> } | 211 | | 211 | |
| For <i>Burton and Latouche,</i> } | | 99 | 99 | |
| For Sir <i>Samuel Cooke and Read,</i> } | 66 | | | 66 |
| For <i>Burton and Read,</i> } | | 54 | | 54 |
| Single Votes, | 20 | 12 | 35 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 1543 | 1411 | 1499 | 1283 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |

A SCRUTINY was then demanded, and the Court adjourned to the 16th of *November*, when the Aldermen had nothing to offer, saving the only Objection, which they had made on the Poll, of undue Influence; but the Sheriffs, upon the Opinion of an eminent Lawyer, refused to enter into it, and then Sir *Samuel Cooke*, Bart. and Mr. *James Digges Latouche*, were declared duly elected.

THUS ended an Election, the most remarkable, perhaps, in these Countries, in the Memory of Man. We have here an Instance, what Influence a general good Character, supported by Virtue, and a laudable Desire of being distinguished by real Services, can sometimes have on the People.

ple. We have here an Instance of what Significance and Power a Reputation for Virtue and a Love to the Publick may have, even in seeming desperate Cases. To see a Man, whose highest Station was that of a Merchant, triumph in Opposition, not only to the Magistracy of his Corporation and City, but in Opposition to the Administration, and to all the great Ones of the Kingdom, and conquer, without the least Reproach, without the least Imputation on his private or publick Character, is a Spectacle as worthy our Admiration, as it wou'd be of our Indignation and Contempt, if we should see a Creature of Power, a Tool of Faction, without either Virtue, or Sense enough to distinguish himself from “ the Rank of those Creatures, who seem born to “ no other End than to eat the Fruits of the “ Earth *,” supported, encouraged, honoured and protected by Governors, Legislators, and all those, who wou'd be thought the Protectors and Guardians of the People, and the Encouragers of Liberty and publick Spirit.

WHEN the Election was declared, it became, in Course, the Business of the attending Crowd to carry the new Members to the Parliament House. Mr. *Latouche* did, in a polite Manner, after wishing Sir *Samuel* Joy, offer him the Way ; he thought it a Respect due to his Age and Rank ; but Sir *Samuel* thought proper to decline it. He wou'd neither go before him, nor with him. So that, however unwilling he was to shew any Appearance of an insolent Triumph and Superiority, Mr. *Latouche* was first carried to the House, accompany'd by all that Crowd which had filled the Avenues of the Court, and which, tho' peaceable, had filled the Minds of the Aldermen with such Apprehension of Danger, that a Guard of

* Essay on Patriotism.

Soldiers had been called from the Main-Guard, without the Orders, and to the no small Surprise, of the Sheriffs. After him, came Sir *Samuel*, accompanied by some Dozen of City Constables, and a few Citizens in City Employments; his principal Supporters, in the Election, being too considerable to adorn his Triumph, and the rest had sufficiently fulfilled their Obligations by their extorted and unwilling Votes.

AT the Portico of the House of Commons, Mr. *Latouche* dismissed the numerous Crowd which had attended him, gave some small Gratification to those who carried him, and, for the first Time since he declared himself a Candidate, ordered some Barrels of Drink to be given to them, and this he chose to do in a remote Part of the City, in a large Street before the Weavers Hall, which he had built when he was Master of that Corporation, who had so much signalized themselves in his Favour, during his Election. I chuse to mention this, because it was maliciously given out, that the Mob had broke into the Parliament House, had attempted to break open the House of Commons, and to place Mr. *Latouche* in the Chair of the Speaker; whereas the contrary is so true, that he had made a Kind of Escape from the Mob by the Back-Door of the Parliament House, and was at Dinner in a private House in *Castle-street*, while the Crowd were still watching in the Portico, and about *College-green*, to conduct him home in the same Kind of troublesome Triumph with which they had brought him from the Tholsel.

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THE
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OF THE

Dublin Election

In the Year 1749.

PART II.

THE Transactions during the Poll, not only at the Tholsel, but also at the Castle, and *Chichester* House, had sufficiently prepared the Minds of the People, for what was to follow. The least attentive cou'd not but perceive, nor the most obstinate deny, that there had been a Conspiracy, to overthrow the most sacred Rights of the People, and to reduce the City to the Condition of a little *Country* Borough. The most sanguine cou'd not expect, that the Party wou'd rest satisfied, with the partial Victory they had obtained ; whilst, by the Election of one of it's opposite Party, there still remained, so striking an Instance of the Spirit and Power of the Citizens. A Petition to the House of Commons was accordingly expected, but upon what Grounds of Complaint, this Petition cou'd be founded, was yet a Mystery. Nor, indeed, did it appear, to have been as yet resolved on, by the

Managers. They were, however, sure, and they made no Difficulty to declare, that they wou'd give such a Colour to their Pretensions, that the Hearing wou'd not take up an Hour's Time. Such was their Opinion of the Integrity, Prudence and Impartiality of the Judges, before whom their Cause was to be tried.

THE House of Commons had been adjourned from the twelfth of *November* to the twenty-first, that is, from the Day after the Books were closed, to the Day after the Scrutiny was to have been gone into; this Interval afforded an Opportunity, both to Mr. *Latouche*, and Mr. *Burton*, to make Application, to their several Friends and Acquaintance, in the House of Commons. The former cou'd expect no Assistance from his; most of whom had already declared, against him, at the Poll, and who, except two or three, were, all of them, warmly on the Side of his Competitor. The only considerable * Acquaintance he had, in the House, had divided his Vote at the Tholsel, and cou'd not be persuaded to hazard what Influence he derived from his Rank and Family, and his Credit in the House, by exerting it in a seeming desperate Cause. What open Assistance and Support Mr. *Latouche* had, was from a private † Gentleman, a Lawyer of Eminence, who was, indeed, a very zealous Advocate for him, both at the Poll, and in the House. But this was more from a Principle of publick Spirit, than on Account of Friendship; his Acquaintance with Mr. *Latouche* having been, until the Beginning of the Poll, very slight, and inconsiderable. But this Gentleman was neither Chief of a Party, nor Placeman, nor Privy Councillor, and his Influence cou'd reach no further than what his good Sense, and the Reputation he had

* S. A — G —

† Mr. C — ley.

for Knowledge and Integrity, might have given him : So that Mr. *Latouche* was reduced to the extreme Necessity of trying the same Kind of Influence on his Judges, which he had so successfully practised on his Electors ; the persuading them of the Justness of his Cause, and of their Interest and Obligation to support it. He accordingly waited on the principal Men whom he had found in the greatest Opposition to him ; and altho' he cou'd not obtain, among the Placemen, one single Promise, either of Attendance, Protection, or Impartiality ; yet he had, afterwards, the Satisfaction to perceive that a * few of them did not vote in the Question. And that he had been the Means of raising a Party in the House, which, though much inferior as to Numbers was thought tantamount to the Majority in Point of Character, Fortune and national Consideration.

THE House of Commons met, pursuant to the forementioned Adjournment, on the twenty-first of *November* ; and Mr. *Latouche* was introduced in the usual Form by his abovementioned Friend, and by † another, whom his Misfortunes had raised to him. But he had not sat down, before a ‡ Gentleman of Station, and of greater Popularity and Reputation, for Patriotism and Independence, than is generally the Portion of Men, in profitable and great Places, introduced Mr. *Burton's* Petition, with a studied Encomium on the Modesty and Behaviour of the Petitioner, who did not come, he said, at the Head of a factious, riotous and popish Mob, to take Possession of the Chair ; but in an humble Manner, to sue for Justice. The Petition was, in Course, referred to the Committee of Priviledges and Elections ;

* The At——y Ge——l, and B——w, one of the C——m——rs.

† Mr. P——am.

‡ Sir C——D——

and Mr. *Latouche* was asked, when it would be convenient to him to have it heard? he told the Committee that, he was as impatient, as any Gentleman of the opposite Side could possibly be, to have the Merits of his Election tried, but—— here he was interrupted, by a loud Cry of, *to Order, Sir, to Order.* Little imagining what could be the Reason of this, he concluded, that his Business, like to that of an Evidence, or a Culprit, was confined, to the merely answering of Questions, and, therefore, desired, that the *Tuesday* following might be appointed.

I SHALL now give my Readers the Substance of this famous Petition as I find it in the printed Votes.

‘ A PETITION of *Charles Burton*, of the City
 ‘ of *Dublin*, Alderman, complaining of an undue
 ‘ Election and Return for the said City, setting
 ‘ forth, that a Writ having issued this present
 ‘ Session of Parliament, directed to the Sheriffs
 ‘ of the County of the City of *Dublin*, for
 ‘ electing two Citizens to serve in Parliament
 ‘ for the County of the said City, in the Room of
 ‘ Sir *James Somerville*, Bart. and Alderman *Nathaniel Pearson*, deceased. Sir *Samuel Cooke*,
 ‘ Bart. in Conjunction with the Petitioner, who
 ‘ are both Aldermen of the said City, and *James*
 ‘ *Digges Latouche*, Esq; in Conjunction with
 ‘ *Charles Lucas*, of the City of *Dublin*, Apothecary, declared themselves Candidates for the
 ‘ said Election; but the said *Charles Lucas*, on
 ‘ the sixteenth Day of *October* last, having been
 ‘ declared, by this honourable House, an Enemy
 ‘ to his Country, and having fled from Justice,
 ‘ *Thomas Read*, Merchant, at the Recommendation of the said *Charles Lucas*, and with the
 ‘ Concurrence of the said *James Digges Latouche*,
 ‘ was declared a Candidate in Conjunction with
 ‘ the said *James Digges Latouche*. That the Sheriffs of the said City proceeded to the said Election

'lection on the 24th Day of *October* last, and at
 'the same continued until the 11th of *November*
 'Instant. That previous to the said Election se-
 'veral elegal Combinations and Affociations were
 'entered into by the Procurement and Contri-
 'vance of the said *James Digges Latouche* and
 '*Charles Lucas*, and many seditious Writings
 'were then published, tending not only to in-
 'fluence and corrupt the Minds of the Citizens,
 'in order thereby to exclude the Petitioner
 'from being elected, but also to disturb the
 'Peace and Tranquility of the City, and of the
 'Kingdom in general. That several other un-
 'due and corrupt Means were used by the said
 '*James Digges Latouche* and his Agents, to pro-
 'cure Votes both before and during the Time
 'of the Poll, which the Petitioner offered to
 'prove before the Sheriffs who took the Poll up-
 'on the Election; but the Sheriffs refused to
 'permit the Petitioner to go into such Evidence,
 'and have returned the said *James Digges La-*
 '*touche* to serve as a Citizen for the said City of
 '*Dublin* in this present Parliament. That the
 'Petitioner humbly conceives he was duly e-
 'lected by the fair and uninfluenced Voices of
 'the Free-Citizens of *Dublin*, and ought to have
 'been returned in the Stead of the said *James*
 '*Digges Latouche*. And praying the House to
 'take the Merits of the said Election into Con-
 'sideration, was presented to the House and
 'read.'

PETITIONS, on disputed Returns and Electi-
 ons, are usually published, in general Terms.
 And the inserting this one, at large, in the Votes,
 was looked upon as an impolittick Measure of
 the Managers, as it seemed to lay the House,
 under the Necessity of determining this Question,
 Whether the Allegations were proved? which, if
 carried in the Affirmative, would not have answer-

ed their End, for these would have proved,—— not that the Petitioner was duly elected, but—— that the sitting Member ought to have been expelled, and a Writ issued out for the Election of a new Member in his Stead.

BUT, with Regard to the sitting Member, whom, not content to injure in his Right and Property to a Seat in the House, they, thus, endeavoured to blacken and to hurt both in his Credit and Fortune, this Measure was looked upon as ill-natured and malicious. He was reputed to be one of the most eminent Merchants in the City; and a principal Factor to many of the most considerable Traders, as well of *London*, as of other great Cities in *Europe*. As such, he could not be supposed to want many Rivals and Competitors. Some, of whom, might have been tempted to take the Advantage of his apparent Disgrace, in order to hurt him in the Opinion of his Correspondents. And notwithstanding he might have been able to clear that Matter, sufficiently, to his Fellow Subjects, who are acquainted with the Manner of parliamentary Proceedings, in Matters of Election, yet he must have found it impracticable to have done so, to Foreigners, who look on a House of Commons, as a Court of Justice, bound, like our Courts of Law, to Letter, and to Form. Such Men must have thought, that there was not one erroneous Word, or Comma, in the whole Accusation. And that, his being voted out of the House, and his Prosecutor rewarded with his Seat, was a full declaratory Verdict of his being guilty of every Allegation against him.

IT was not believed, that the S--k-r was privy to this Publication. For, notwithstanding he may be supposed to peruse the Votes, before they are sent to the Press; yet the Hurry of Business may, sometimes, put him under a Necessity of leaving

leaving such Affairs to Clerks, and other Attendants; and, indeed, he was so far acquitted of what was irregular, or malicious, in this Proceeding, that it was rather believed he would, if not openly, at least underhand, protect and assist Mr. *Latouche*. The Party who had, for many Years, given him so much Uneasiness, was still thought to exist; and, tho' lately reconciled, to have still some Views utterly inconsistent with his Interest. It was thought that whenever, by a Dissolution, the Chair should again be vacant, they would set up one of themselves, in Opposition to him; and, it was thought, he could not, with Pleasure, see their Hands strengthened, by the Admission of a Creature of some of those Pretenders into the House, and the Power and Influence of his former Rivals, shewn in so much the greater Lustre, as the Point, they were to carry, was extremely disagreeable, not only to all those who had a Regard to Justice, and to the Honour of the House, but, even, to the Party and Friends of the Sp-k-r, who could not be pleased, to be under a Necessity of obeying, where they were accustomed to command, and of forwarding an Interest, and Influence, which, whilst in open Rivalship to theirs, they had so successfully opposed.

It was, however, believed, by those who knew little of the real Character of the Sp-k-r, that he had some Prejudices and Resentments against Mr. *Latouche*, which would counterballance, on this Occasion, the natural Regard he might otherwise be supposed to have, for his own Interest, or for the Credit of his Party. And the Truth is, that Mr. *Latouche*, when invested with no higher Character, than that, of Treasurer and Secretary to a voluntary Society of Merchants, collected and formed by his Interest and Care, and of no greater Distinction than what he acquired
by

by Solicitations of the several Petitions of the Merchants to the House of Commons, for *Bills* to regulate *Trade*, and particularly for a *Bankruptcy Bill*, had shewn more Warmth and Obstynacy, than was consistent with Discretion, or with the Interest of those he was Agent for. He himself refers to this, in his first Address, where he says, (Page 8,) ‘ That our Laws have been, and, ‘ in some Measure, continue to be, defective ; ‘ and that is the Opinion of Traders that they ‘ are so, may be concluded, from the several Ap- ‘ plications they have, for some Sessions past, ‘ made to Parliament, for Laws to regulate Sal- ‘ vages—For the Payment of Inland Bills—For ‘ the more easy Recovery of small Debts—For ‘ punishing Forgery—For restraining the Im- ‘ portation of foreign, and for the Improve- ‘ ment of our own, Manufactures—For prevent- ‘ ing Frauds committed by Bankrupts and o- ‘ thers ;’ and again, (Page 11,) ‘ what Appli- ‘ cation, or Complaint have the Merchant and ‘ other Traders made to the Commissioners— ‘ to the Privy Council— to the Government ‘ — or to Parliament, in which I did not ‘ shew myself ready to assist them ? Have I not ‘ been remarkably their Agent and their Solici- ‘ tor ?’

His Indiscretion had been the more remarka- ble, in the preceding Session, when he solicited a Bill, to prevent Frauds committed by Bankrupts, which, at the Merchants Solicitation, had been brought into the House ; but, by the Opposition of some * of the Members, who had

* Amongst those, were the Deputy Vice-Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls, and other principal Men of the Speaker’s Party. But the Consideration, that such a Bill wou’d add somewhat to the Power and Influence of the L—d Ch—l—r, with whom the Sp—k—r had been lately at open Variance, made them alter their Minds. And it was hoped, by

had at first encourag'd it, was like to have dropp'd. He had, with the Approbation of several of the Members, waited on the Speaker, to obtain Leave, that a Petition of the Merchants should be presented to the House, praying, that the Bill, might pass, and that they might be heard before the Committee, as to the Merits of it. This was thought, by the Speaker, to be unprecedented, and unparliamentary, at least contrary to the Usage in *Ireland*; and as an arrogant Presumption, that the Merchants understood their own Wants and Interests better than their Representatives in

by the Merchants, that this would have gained a Protection, for it, from the *B—b—gb* Party, with whom the *L—d C—h—l—r* was believed to be strongly united; for the Eyes of the Merchants turned on Sir *R—d C—x*, Mr. *M—g—n*, and others of that Party. They associated the latter, with the Son of the Deputy Vice-Treasurer, in bringing in the Bill. And, tho' they despaired carrying it, they hoped it would have occasioned an open Division, between the two Parties, of which they might have availed themselves, in a succeeding Session. But, herein, they were miserably disappointed; for Sir *R—d C—x*, who had, from the first, been consulted by the Merchants, and who had been one of the principal Advisers, in all the Steps they had taken, was the very Person who moved, that the Chairman of the Committee should leave the Chair. His Speech on that Occasion is too remarkable to be omitted.

Mr. G—d—r,

' The Bill before us is of very great Importance, as it relates to the Trade of this Kingdom. Our Trade, Sir, may be divided into three Parts, the Import, the Export, and the Inland Trades. The former is, by no Means, to be encouraged. The Exports do not require any Credit, since the Produce of the Country is always paid in ready Money. The Inland Traders are so poor, and inconsiderable, that, if any new Difficulty be laid upon them, by declaring them Bankrupts, and their being obliged, on every Failure, to undergo all the Difficulties imposed by this Bill, many of them wou'd be undone. So that, as this Bill is disadvantageous to the one, usefess to the other, and advantageous only to the Import Trade, I humbly move that you quit the Chair.'

Which Motion was agreed to, *Nem. Con.*

Parliament

Parliament did. And Mr. *Latouche*, his defending the Measure on Precedents from *England*, his shewing too ardent a Desire to display his Oratory, and his Skill in the political Interest of Trade, was thought to have left, with the Sp--ker, but ill Impressions of his Complaisance to any Party in the House, if ever he was admitted to sit there. But, indeed, those, who were better acquainted with the Sp--ker's Character, knew that he was of too noble and generous a Disposition to harbour any Degree of Malice or Favour, and that Mr. *Latouche* was, in his Eyes, much too inconsiderable ever to become the Object either of his Repentments, or of his Fears.

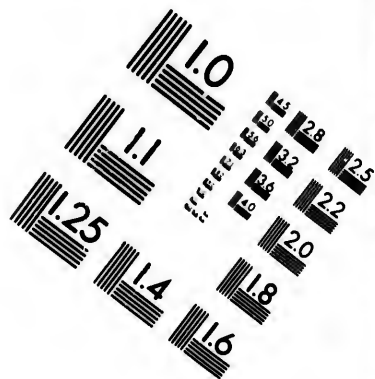
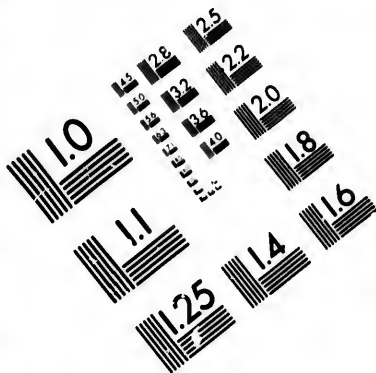
MR. *Weston*, the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, was too important a Person to be overlooked. He was known to be one of the principal Instruments in raising and supporting the Opposition to Mr. *Latouche*, in the City. But it was believed that it was less owing to any personal Dislike to Mr. *Latouche*, as he had not the least Acquaintance with him, than to the Artifices and Suggestions of one * Man, who had devised the Scheme, in order to make himself of Consequence, and who had made the Secretary, and, by him, the Lord Lieutenant, believe, that, to crush the popular Interest in the City, was the only Opportunity, which they would probably meet with, of distinguishing their Administration, and making themselves acceptable to the Ministry in *England*, who could not but look, with a jealous Eye, on a Spirit of Liberty and Independency in a conquered Country. And Mr. *Latouche* had Hopes it was only opening his Eyes, and letting him see the Truth, in order to make him as much his Friend, as he had been before his Enemy. He accordingly waited on him, and told him the

* Sir R— C—

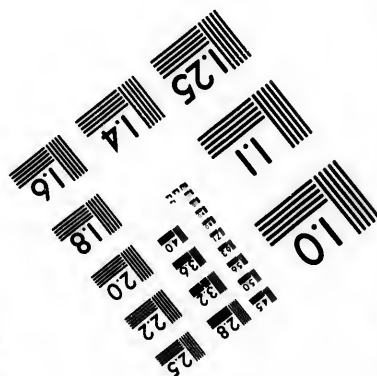
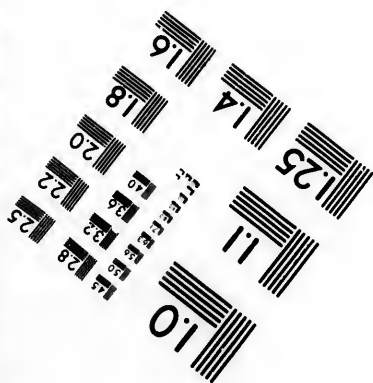
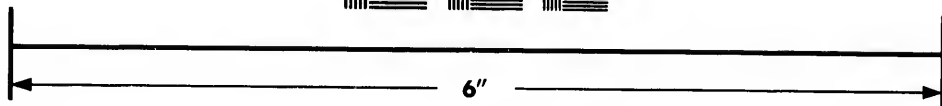
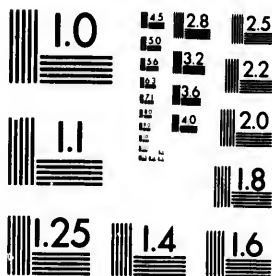
Occasion of his Visit, which was to clear up some Points, which he was convinced had been misrepresented to him, and to his Excellency. That he judged of this from the unexpected Opposition he had met with, in the City, from those very Persons, on whose Friendship and Protection he had most relied. That he had always flattered himself, that the Government would rather have encouraged than opposed his Pretensions; as he had never, willingly, given them Offence, nor had intermeddled in any publick Affairs, excepting only with Relation to the Government of the City by Aldermen, whose Powers, he confessed, he thought were exorbitant, and usurped; and he thought that he, Mr. *Weston*, was a Man of too much Probity, and Humanity, to refuse letting him know what Objections he had heard as to his Character and Conduct, and giving him an Opportunity of clearing them. Mr. *Weston* did, with a good deal of Frankness, tell him, that the only Objection made to him was, his Junction with *Lucas*, and his Endeavours to stir up a Spirit of Discontent at the present Condition and Constitution of the Kingdom. That this it was, which would be most incumbent on him to clear up; for that, as to his private Character, or his Loyalty, it never, once, was called in Question. To this the Reply was natural, that if he, Mr. *Weston*, would be at the Pains to read the Papers of Mr. *Lucas*, and what he, Mr. *Latouche*, had published, he would be convinced that Mr. *Lucas* and he had never acted in Conjunction. That Mr. *Lucas*, in order to injure him, in the Minds of his Fellow Citizens, had, in more than one of his Addresses, represented him as a Deserter of their Cause, because he had not as high Notions of the Independency of *Ireland*, as he, Mr. *Lucas*, had;—that their Principles and Notions of Liberty were, in many

Respects,





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Respects, different, and even contradictory; for that he, Mr. *Latouche*, had often opposed him, both in his Discourses and Writings, of which he begged Leave to present him a Copy, in which he had marked a Paragraph, which, he believed, wou'd convince him, or the most zealous Advocate for the Rights of the People of *England*, that he never intended to make the People of *Ireland* uneasy under their Dependency. The Paragraph pointed out was this :

* ' It is with Liberty, as with every other
' Blessing; a compleat and perfect Possession is un-
' attainable. Yet it is our Duty to use incessant
' Endeavours towards a full Enjoyment of that
' happy State; a Situation, which, I fear, is not,
' nor ever will be, found perfect in any Govern-
' ment.

' THE Constitution of *England* makes the
' closest Advances to this free Condition, and,
' next to that, ours, perhaps, may justly claim it's
' Place. While *England* has Dominion over us,
' it is not possible, in the Nature of Things, that
' we should be so free, that is, enjoy so much
' Power. Yet, I cannot think, but, that not-
' withstanding, we enjoy more Freedom and
' Power, than the Subjects of any other Govern-
' ment. If we look into *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*,
' *Italy*, or any of those States with which we are
' acquainted, where is it that the Subject enjoys a
' larger Share of Liberty than we do? What is
' their Influence, with Relation to the Admini-
' stration, or to the Legislaturè, in Comparison
' with ours? What equal Security have they of
' their Lives and Fortunes? What Barriers a-
' gainst the oppressive Insults of Tyrants? We
' may, indeed, lament, that we are not only sub-
' servient to Laws, to which we have not given

* See the Freeholder's Address.

' our Consent, but also made in direct and mani-
 ' fest Opposition to our Interests; yet, our Li-
 ' berties, in Comparison to those of other Sub-
 ' jects, are great and valuable: Whatever we
 ' suffer of Dependence, is from Men, whose own
 ' Constitution and Interests depend on their Love
 ' of Liberty; and surely we have less to dread
 ' from such, than from the Caprice and arbitrary
 ' Will of a lawless Tyrant.

' WAS any Part, or every one, of our Legi-
 ' slature, to act upon a Supposition, that we are as
 ' free and as independent as the People of *Eng-*
 ' *land*, their Procedure must be wrong and dan-
 ' gerous, because their Principle of Action wou'd
 ' be false. The People of *England*, with their
 ' Legislature, King, Lords and Commons, have
 ' but one Interest, the Good of the Whole;
 ' when any other is pursued, the People have,
 ' successfully, repelled Force by Force, and
 ' brought Things back to their proper Channel.
 ' Nor can their Liberty be longer secure, than
 ' while they are jealous of every Faction, altho'
 ' raised on the fairest Pretext of enlarging the
 ' Liberties or Power of the People. For if the
 ' Preservation of their Constitution depends upon
 ' a Ballance of Power between the three Estates,
 ' it will be as much endangered, by too great a
 ' Weight being thrown into the popular, as in
 ' the regal, or aristocratical, Party. But this
 ' Kingdom is under vastly different Circumstan-
 ' ces. There is not the like Ballance of Power
 ' to be preserved. *England* has, or thinks it has,
 ' an Interest different from ours, and exerts a
 ' Dominion, which, was it our Interest, it is not
 ' in our Power, to withdraw from; yet they can-
 ' not proceed against the Rules of Justice, without
 ' giving themselves a Wound; every Law which
 ' oppresses us, arms the Crown with Power to
 ' invade the Liberties of their own Country;

' and

' our

‘ and every Act, which restrains our Trade, has
 ‘ always given Advantages to their Enemies ;
 ‘ from this dunghill Dependence we pluck the
 ‘ sweet Flowers of Peace and Security ; we share
 ‘ in the Trade, Liberties and Priviledge of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, of which they can never deny us a Pro-
 ‘ portion, without losing Part of that Wealth,
 ‘ Consideration, and Power, which they derive,
 ‘ from being our Protectors.’

I HOPE I shall be excused for this long Quota-
 tion. But I thought it not improper to give the
 Reader some Notion what were Mr. *Latouche*'s
 Sentiments, with Regard to the Constitution, and
 in what they differed from those of Mr. *Lucas*,
 and thereby enable him to guess, what must
 have been the Principles of those, who, contrary
 to such Conviction, were the warmest and most
 violent of his Prosecutors.

It wou'd be useless, I believe, and tiresome,
 to enter into any further Detail of this and such
 other private Visits, we shall be better enabled to
 form a Judgment of the Views of the Persons,
 who compose the august Assembly of the Com-
 mons, by a more circumstantial Narrative of the
 Transactions of their Committee of Priviledges
 and Elections.

Tuesday the 28th of *November*, as we before
 observed, was appointed for hearing this famous
 Cause. The great Door, from the Courts of Re-
 quests, was effectually locked and secured, and a
 Passage left, to the Lobby, thro' one of the wait-
 ing Rooms. The principal Managers had de-
 clared, that they wou'd make no Night-work of
 it, and that they wou'd adjourn at four o'Clock
 at farthest.

THE Petitioner's Case was opened by *Edmund*
Malone, Esq; one of his Council, who informed
 the Committee, ‘ That the City of *Dublin* was
 ‘ an antient Corporation ; that their Charters had
 ‘ been

' been confirmed by Acts of Parliament ; that,
 ' in them, no Notice was taken of Aldermen,
 ' except only in the Recital of one, which says,
 ' that they are Part of the Legislature of the
 ' City ; that the New Rules had determined the
 ' whole Legislature, in the City, to be in the
 ' Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and Sheriffs and
 ' Commons.

' THAT there are, in the City, twenty-five
 ' subordinate Corporations ; that each of them
 ' have a Right to elect a certain Number of the
 ' Commons.

' THAT the Aldermen had always exercised
 ' their Authority with Justice and without Com-
 ' plaint, until the Year 1741, when Mr. *Lucas*
 ' and the worthy sitting Member were elected,
 ' by their several Corporations, to be of the
 ' Common-Council ; and that, unfortunately, the
 ' Aldermen did not put a Negative on them.

' THAT these two Gentlemen did spirit up the
 ' Commons against the Aldermen, and did ap-
 ' ply for an Information against them ; but that
 ' the Court of *King's Bench*, in great Wisdom,
 ' and from a due Regard to the Preservation of
 ' the Corporation, did refuse to receive the In-
 ' formation.

' THAT *Lucas* and *Latouche* aimed at nothing
 ' less than the Dissolution of the Corporation ;
 ' but, that being disappointed, they endeavoured
 ' to raise a Sedition, by complaining of Judges,
 ' and abusing all their Opponents ; making an
 ' ill Use of Liberty, which is, indeed, a Blessing,
 ' but which gives no Man a Right to enquire
 ' into the Character and Behaviour of others.

' THAT when their Harangues and Writings
 ' had sufficiently warmed the Minds of the Peo-
 ' ple, there unfortunately happened a Vacancy
 ' for the City, by the Death of Sir *James Somer-*
 ' *ville*, Bart.

‘ THAT Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *Latouche* set up,
 ‘ and quarreled ; when unfortunately another
 ‘ Vacancy happened, by the Death of Alderman
 ‘ *Pearson*, the 12th of *May*, 1749.

‘ THAT this reconciled the two Rivals, and
 ‘ that they raised up a Spirit among the Com-
 ‘ mons, by their Writings, and by their Speeches
 ‘ at the Corporation Halls.

‘ THAT one of the Commons wrote a Vindi-
 ‘ cation of his Brethren against Mr. *Lucas* ; and
 ‘ that this furnished the two Gentlemen with a
 ‘ fresh Opportunity to exert themselves in.

‘ THAT the Petitioner wou’d be able to prove,
 ‘ to the Satisfaction of the Committee, that,
 ‘ when the Corporations were transacting of their
 ‘ ordinary Business, Mr. *Latouche* and *Lucas* made
 ‘ a Mob break in upon them, and, by Force,
 ‘ got themselves made free ; that, in some Halls,
 ‘ the Master was pulled down from his Chair,
 ‘ or, by Violence, kept in, and obliged, against
 ‘ his Will, to put the Question ; that, in others,
 ‘ the Doors were locked, in order to starve the
 ‘ Members into a Compliance, or into Associati-
 ‘ ons, which were like Addresses of the People to
 ‘ the King, and, in which, they returned Thanks
 ‘ to the Commons of 1741, and to *Lucas* and
 ‘ *Latouche*, who were at their Head, for their
 ‘ generous Support of the Cause of Liberty ;
 ‘ that they coloured over these Associations, by
 ‘ saying, that they wou’d support their Endeav-
 ‘ ours by all legal Means.

‘ THAT the Point, now before the Commit-
 ‘ tee, was of the utmost Importance ; for that,
 ‘ on the Determination of that Day, wou’d de-
 ‘ pend the publick Peace ; that the Objections
 ‘ they had to offer, against the Validity of Elec-
 ‘ tion, wou’d not be against the Votes of Indi-
 ‘ viduals, but to the Manner of Proceeding of
 ‘ the sitting Member, ever since the Vacancy ;
 ‘ that

‘ that they wou’d prove, that he was supported
 ‘ by *Lucas*, whom the honourable House had
 ‘ voted an Enemy to his Country; that the sit-
 ‘ ting Member did avail himself of that Spirit,
 ‘ which *Lucas* had raised in the City against Al-
 ‘ dermen and others; and that some of his
 ‘ known Friends had even clapp’d some of the
 ‘ Voters on the Back, with this remarkable Ex-
 ‘ pression, *Remember Charley.*’

James Grattan, Esq; Council also for the Petitioner, opened the Manner in which they intended to proceed. He said, ‘ the Tendency
 ‘ of the Evidence, they wou’d produce, wou’d
 ‘ be to prove, that there had been undue and un-
 ‘ just Influence made Use of, in the late Elec-
 ‘ tion, both in the Manner of procuring an Inte-
 ‘ rest, and by an Odium which was thrown on
 ‘ the Petitioner; that they wou’d prove this un-
 ‘ due Influence on the sitting Member; first, as
 ‘ an immediate Actor and Principal; and, se-
 ‘ condly, as not opposing, but, on the contrary,
 ‘ abetting, of *Lucas*; that these Measures were
 ‘ illegal and punishable.——The Case he ac-
 ‘ knowledged to be new, and unprecedented;
 ‘ but the evil Tendency of any new Measure
 ‘ was punishable, which he proved from some
 ‘ Facts in the *Roman History.*’

He then offered the Charter of King *Charles I.* in Evidence, to prove, ‘ that there were Alder-
 ‘ men in the City,’ and the New Rules, to
 prove, ‘ they were Part of the Legislature of the
 ‘ City;’ and then produced Witnesses, to prove,
 that there had been Riots committed in the sever-
 al Halls.

To this the Council for the sitting Member objected, (for that this was foreign to the Matter in Hand) ‘ that unless the Petitioner’s Council
 ‘ would confine themselves to what was a direct
 ‘ Charge against the sitting Member, they wou’d

‘ hurt the Electors, who had no Opportunity of
 ‘ defending their Rights; that such Riots might
 ‘ have happened, and yet the sitting Member
 ‘ perfectly innocent of them; that he was not
 ‘ accountable for the Behaviour and Conduct of
 ‘ *Lucas*; and that all Evidence, to any Fact, in
 ‘ which the sitting Member was not immediately
 ‘ concerned, was improper to be offered.’

THIS occasioned a Debate, which lasted about half an Hour, in which several Members delivered their Opinion; six of them, that the Petitioner’s Council might proceed their own Way, and one only in Support of the Reasons of the Council for the sitting Member; and then the Evidence, one *William Powell*, a Stationer, was admitted.

HE swore, ‘ that he had attended at the several Halls of the Brewers, of the Stationers, and of the Shoemakers, where he heard Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Lucas* harangue; that they endeavoured to shew the Grievances, which the Citizens laboured under, and the Impropriety of electing Aldermen, as being the most unfit Men to redress them; that, in these Harangues, it was said, that the Citizens of *Dublin* were deprived of many of their Rights, and that Application had been made to the Court of *King’s Bench* for Redress, but that they were denied Justice; that, on such Denial, Application had been made to the Lord Lieutenant, and, on a Refusal there also, Application had been made directly to his Majesty.’ Thus, whatever either *Latouche* or *Lucas* had said, was, by this Evidence, confounded together. But, upon a further and more close Examination, it appeared, from the Mouth of this same Evidence, that he never heard any Thing improper spoken by Mr. *Latouche*.

HE further deposed, ' that it was apprehended, ' by several Persons, that *Lucas* and *Latouche* ' went upon the same Principle ;' and the Founda- ' tion of this Apprehension of the Evidence was, ' that they came often together to the Halls ; ' that ' *Latouche* always spoke first, and referred him- ' self to what *Lucas* would say after him ; and ' did not disprove what was said by Mr. *Lucas*, ' but, on the contrary, heard *Latouche* recom- ' mend at one Hall, what *Lucas*, some Weeks or ' Months before, had said at another ; that *Lu- ' cas* had called *Ireland* an enslaved Nation, and ' *Latouche* had said, that he had several Relations ' amongst the Board of Aldermen, but that this ' should not hinder his pulling them down ; that ' both of them had said the City was in Confusion, ' and the Government of it destroyed by the ' Aldermen.

' THAT *Lucas* had said they were in Slavery, ' and that it was high Time for them to shake off ' their Chains ; but that he had never heard such ' like Expressions from Mr. *Latouche*, or had ' heard him complain of any other Grievance, ' than what related to the Differences with the ' Board of Aldermen.'

THE next Evidence produced by the Petition- ' er's Council, was *Jonathan Smith*, who had been, ' the 18th of *October* preceding, that is, a Day or ' two after *Lucas*'s Condemnation by the House of ' Commons, at the Stationers Hall, where he ' heard Mr. *Latouche* say, ' that his Concern was ' so great, upon the late Accident, that he could ' not speak to them in Form ; and that he sup- ' posed their Concern was also so great, that they ' could not hear him ; that Mr. *Latouche* had ' added, that, if they voted for an Alderman, ' the Work would not be half done ; but that, ' however, he did not, that Day, make Mention

‘ of Mr. *Lucas*, but said, he came to recom-
 ‘ mend Mr. *Read*.’

ONE *Duggan*, a Taylor, and who had been one of Sir *Samuel Cooke*’s Clerks, in taking the Poll, appeared next on the Floor, and gave his Testimony as to two Riots which happened in the Taylors Hall : The one, on the 9th of *July*, when Mr. *Lucas* was made free of that Corporation ; the other, on the 9th of *October*, when their Resolutions, relating to the Proceedings of the Common-Council, were pass’d. He proved, to the Satisfaction of the Committee, ‘ that there had ‘ been some Irregularities in the former, when ‘ Mr. *Latouche* was present ; and that the Mas- ‘ ter had been forced, by the Corporation, to put ‘ the Question for admitting *Lucas* free.’ But he cleared Mr. *Latouche* from having committed any Act of Violence or Riot ; save only that he had made a Motion, ‘ that the Crowd without might ‘ be admitted into the Hall, in order to hear the ‘ Words of Truth and Liberty ;’ and that he had, as usual in his Harangues, declared against Aldermen ; and had said, ‘ that the Courts of ‘ Law had denied to hear the Information, and ‘ had refused a Trial by Juries, which was the ‘ Right of the Subject ; that he had said, no ‘ Man could vote for an Alderman, without vi- ‘ olating the Oath he had made as a Freeman ; ‘ that *Lucas* had spoke much in the same Strain ; ‘ and had said, that, whilst he had a Fibre left ‘ in it’s Strength, he wou’d pursue the Cause he ‘ had engaged in ; but that Mr. *Latouche* and ‘ Mr. *Lucas* had never, in his Hearing, recom- ‘ mended each other.’

HERE ended the first Day, to the great Disap-
 pointment of the Managers, who could not,
 without Concern, observe, that the Majority had
 neglected the best Pretext, that they, the Mana-
 gers, were able to afford them, of putting some
 Question, which wou’d have determined the
 whole

whole Affair. The Charge against the sitting Member was, in Effect, included in the Evidences already produced; and nothing more could be offered, but a Repetition of the same or like Facts, which would probably make the less Impression, as wanting Novelty. The Committee, by their patient hearing, and so narrowly examining, the few Witnesses which had already appeared, had, in some Sort, engaged themselves to hear all what the Managers had to offer, and all what the sitting Member had to reply. This afforded but a melancholy Prospect; as the Time, which would necessarily pass before all this could be done, might possibly open the Eyes of some, or alter the Resolution of others. To shorten this Time as much as possible, it was the next Day ordered, "That the Committee should sit *de Die in Diem*," and the House adjourned to the *Friday* following, and continued to meet every Day, immediately before the Committee, but were too intent on what was to do there, to transact any other Business, or even to hear the usual Prayers.—So that their Votes, for seven Days during this Election, contain nothing more than, "that the House met, and, that then, the House adjourned till To-morrow Morning, at ten o'Clock."

WE must, however, except the short Proceedings of the House against Mr. *Andrew Miller*, an Engraver and Printfeller, for advertising, in *Es-dall's News-Paper*, the Sale of Mr. *Lucas's* Picture, with this Motto,

An Exile for his Country, who, for seeking LIBERTY, lost it.

And an Address to the Lord Lieutenant, for a Proclamation against *Lucas*.

Thursday, the 30th of *November*, was the second Day's Hearing, when the Petitioner's Council

proceeded in their Evidence ; and first, *Thomas Mullock*, Notary Publick, and Clerk to the Corporation of Stationers, (who had presented both the popular Candidates, *Lucas* and the fitting Member, with the Freedom of their Body, in Silver Boxes) appeared on the Floor. He gave Testimony as to two several Meetings of the Corporation, at which the fitting Member was present ; the one, on the 8th of *August*, when the Resolutions, to censure the Commons of the City for their Proceedings against *Lucas*, and to return their Thanks to *Lucas* and *Latouche*, were entered into. He said, ‘ that there was no
‘ speaking that Day ; but that Mr. *Lucas* had
‘ proposed, that if any Brother had any Writing,
‘ relating to the Proceeding of the Common-
‘ Council, which would shorten their Debates, it
‘ might be produced ; that, accordingly, Mr.
‘ *James Esdall*, a Printer, produced a Paper, and
‘ that a great Majority were for reading it ; but
‘ he did not perceive that Mr. *Latouche* voted or
‘ moved for the reading it ; that, in this Paper,
‘ were many harsh Expressions ; such as *arbitrary*,
‘ *illegal* and *tyrannical* ; that Mr. *Latouche* got up,
‘ several Times, and moved, that those Words
‘ should be *struck out*, which was accordingly a-
‘ greed to, after a long Debate ; and that the
‘ Resolutions were pass’d in the Manner they
‘ were entered in the Book which lay on the
‘ Table.’ The other Meeting of the Corpora-
tion, to which he gave Testimony, was on the
18th of *October*. He said, to the same Purpose,
as *Powel* had done before him, of Mr. *Latouche*’s
having said, that the Work would be but half
done, if he was to have an Alderman for his
Colleague ; and that his Reason for objecting to
that Board was, that he could not expect the
Concurrence of an Alderman in the House of
Commons,

Commons, in his Designs, to restore the Rights and Liberties of his Fellow-Citizens.

THE next Evidence, Mr. *John Hankinson*, Weaver, deposed, ' that, on the 2d of *October*, ' he was at the Weavers Hall; that the Master ' and Wardens proceeded, in the usual Manner, ' to collect Quarterage; that, when the Business ' was over, he, the Evidence, moved to adjourn; ' but that *Lucas* and *Latouche* desired first to ' be heard; that the Door was thrown open, and ' the Master and Warden left the Room; that ' the Majority placed *James Mc. Connel* in the ' Chair; and that then the Resolutions of the ' Corporation, against the Proceedings of the ' Sheriffs and Commons, were proposed, but he ' did not recollect by whom; that there was no ' Violence committed; that the Resolutions pass'd ' without Opposition, except from the Depon- ' ent, who insisted they could do nothing in the ' Absence of the Master and Warden; that, ' when the Resolutions were pass'd, and entered ' in the Book, all the Members present were re- ' quired to sign it; that the Deponent would ' have willingly gone out, but could not, as there ' were many Gentlemen at the Door; that it ' grew late; and, being past three o'Clock, some ' Beef-Stakes were introduced, he knew not how, ' into the Hall; that the Deponent signed these ' Resolutions in order to procure his Liberty, but ' that he never looked upon himself as bound, ' by his signing them, to vote for *Lucas* or *La- ' touche*; that he had voted, at the Election, for ' the two Aldermen; but that, he believed, the ' greater Number of the Weavers had voted for ' Mr. *Latouche*, because of the Obligations they ' lay under to him, for the many Services he had ' done them, when he was Master of their Cor- ' poration, by building their Hall, and by soli- ' citing an Act of Parliament, to lay a heavy ' Duty

‘ Duty on foreign Silk, and a Prohibition of the
‘ Import of Gold and Silver Lace.’

THE Resolutions were then read, and the most criminal Parts of it pointed out, *viz.* “ That
“ they would support *Lucas* and *Latouche* in all
“ legal and just Means, for the Support of their
“ Rights and Priviledges.”

John Ryan, Joiner, was next examined. He had been Witness of the Transactions of his Corporation, on the second of *April*. — Here it was objected, by the Council for the sitting Member, “ That this was before the Death of
“ Alderman *Pearson*, and of Consequence before the Petitioner had declared himself a
“ Candidate.” This Objection was supported by *Mr. Cooley*, who said, the Evidence ought to be confined to Facts, which related to the Petitioner, and to the Time since he had declared himself. But the late Recorder of *Dublin* insisted, “ That any Bribery or Corruption, relating
‘ to the Election, even before the Vacancy,
“ would invalidate the Election of the sitting
“ Member.” In which he was seconded by *Mr. Whitney*, who added, “ That any illegal Contract in 1741, would effect an Election in
“ 1749.” To this was replied, by *Sir Thomas Prendergast*, and *Mr. Rowley*, “ That there was
“ no such Thing as Bribery or Corruption, or
“ illegal Contracts, offered against the sitting
“ Member; and that the Evidence, last dismissed, had denied that these Resolutions
“ were any way relative to the Votes at the Election. That he was, however, for admitting the Petitioner to put his Case in the
“ strongest Light.” The Evidence was accordingly admitted to give Testimony to the Transactions at the Joiners Hall, on the 2d of *April*, which amounted to no more than this,
“ That *Lucas* and *Latouche* were admitted free ;
“ and

“ and had made each of them a Speech to the “ Citizens.” But that it was not on that Day, it was on the second of *August*, that the Resolutions, against the Common-Council, had pass’d in their Hall. The Witness said, that these Resolutions were drawn up by *Lucas*, and that *Latouche* was sitting near him ; that the latter was retired, before they were pass’d, and had not spoke one Word about them ; that *these* Resolutions had occasioned some Debate, and had pass’d with an Order, “ that Mr. *Lucas* should “ get them printed, with such Alterations as he “ thought proper, not varying the Substance.”

It then was moved, “ That these Resolutions “ be read.” But unfortunately the Joiners had not entered them in their Books ; and the Witness had no Copy of them. To supply this, the Council for the Petitioner produced a *News Paper of the 9th of August*, in which the Resolutions were published, and the Printer’s Boy, to prove they were a fair Copy of a Paper, which had been sent by Mr. *Lucas*.

THIS occasioned some Debate. It was observed by the late Recorder, “ That if the original Paper was produced, it ought not to be “ read, because it was only a Paper of Mr. “ *Lucas*’s, in which the sitting Member, who “ had not proposed the Resolution, cou’d not “ be said to be concerned ; and that *no* printed “ Paper could be a Proof of an Original.” He shewed the evil Tendency of establishing such a Precedent ; and, whether from Shame, Fear of the Event, or a Conviction that there was nothing in the Resolutions themselves, which could affect the sitting Member, they thought proper, after a pretty long Contest, to drop this unprecedented and never before attempted Kind of Evidence.

ALL

ALL they had to offer, concerning Corporations, Associations, and Resolutions, and concerning an immediate Conjunction, between *Lucas* and the sitting Member, seemed now at an End. The next Thing, they had to offer, was Evidence in Support of that Charge, " That it " was on the Interest and at the Recommendation " on of *Lucas*, that Mr. *Read* had set up."

To this Point, Mr. *Edward Courtney*, a Surgeon, and who was believed to have been all along a Friend to Mr. *Lucas*, was examined. He deposed, that, after the Censure pass'd by the honourable House, on *Lucas*, there was a Meeting of several Freemen, to consider who they should put up, in the Room of *Lucas*; — that neither *Lucas* or the sitting Member was present at it; — that Mr. *Chapman* had proposed Mr. *Read*, and said, he believed, he would be agreeable to *Lucas*. He denied, that Mr. *Chapman* had said, that Mr. *Lucas* had recommended *Read*. He said, that he (Deponent) had been with *Lucas*, the Night preceding this Meeting; but that there was no Mention made, that Night, of any Person to succeed Mr. *Lucas*.

George Hughes, Master of the *Rose Tavern*, was next examined, in Relation to that Meeting, which was held at his House. He deposed, that there was such a Meeting on the Day mentioned, about seven o'Clock in the Evening; — that Mr. *Latouche* came very late to it. — Here the late Recorder observed, " That as the Evidence " kept a Publick House, it might be a Prejudice to him if he was obliged to disclose any " Discourse, which pass'd between Gentlemen " at his Tavern." This Objection was allowed of, by the Committee; and Mr. *Hughes* was ordered to withdraw.

William

William Chapman, Esq; Councillor at Law, came next on the Floor.—He declared to the same Purpose, that Mr. *Courtney* had done; that the sitting Member had never desired him to consult with *Lucas*, upon the Choice of a Person, to succeed the latter.—That he had nam'd Mr. *Read*, at the Meeting, without the Knowledge of either *Lucas*, or *Latouche*; but had afterwards gone from the Meeting to *Lucas*, to acquaint him of the Result; and that Mr. *Lucas* had approved of what had been agreed on.

HE deposed farther, that he had never heard the sitting Member talk disrespectfully of the Courts of Law, or of the Government; or that he had asked a Vote for *Lucas*; that he might have at sometimes recommended *Lucas*, but never that he knew of, had recommended him, on the same Day, or at the immediate Time after that *Lucas* had spoke of Chains and Slavery; nor had ever replied to him, or spoke after him, at any Corporation; but could very well recollect, that *Latouche* had gone away, from several Halls, immediately after speaking, without waiting to hear Mr. *Lucas*.

In the Course of this Evidence, Sir R—d C—x, who imagin'd him to be the deepest in the Secrets of the sitting Member, had, in order to introduce some Question of great Moment, said, “ Sir, you said just now, that you were sent from the *Rose* Tavern to Mr. *Lucas*. Now—here Mr. *Chapman* interrupted him—“ Sir, I appeal to the Chairman, and to the Committee, whether I said any such Thing.”—“ Sir, I go of no Man's Errands.”—“ I am sorry, I misapprehended you,” said the Knight; “ but pray did you not say, that you went of your own Accord to Mr. *Lucas*, to get Consent to the naming Mr. *Read*?”—“ Nor

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“ Nor that neither,” replied Mr. *Chapman*, “ if you had attended to what I said, you would have known that I said the direct contrary : I said I had named Mr. *Read*, without the Consent or Knowledge either of *Lucas* or *Latouche*.”—These short Replies, and a certain Sternness in the Speaker’s Manner, made Sir *R—rd* in a humorous Manner, apply to the Chair for Protection, and he desired “ the Gentleman might be called to Order.”—This created some Diversion ; which was the more general, as it was a moot Point, whether Sir *R—rd* was in Jest or Earnest.

THESE Evidences, of the Meeting at the *Rose*, did not bid fair for the Petitioner. It could not be made out that the sitting Member was there, whilst any Business was transacting, and the Truth is, that he did not come until the whole Affair was over. But as it was natural that the Petitioner and his Friends should be ignorant of all the Transactions there, they proceeded on Conjecture and Guess ; and could have no other Evidence to produce, but the Friends of the sitting Member. So they dropped any further Enquiry into this Meeting, and seemed now at a Loss what to offer further ; when, after a Consultation of a few Minutes behind the Bar, the Council for the Petitioner did, at Length, produce a Copy of Mr. *Latouche’s* second Address to the Citizens of Dublin, as a full and strong Evidence of the whole Charge against him.

THE Printer of this Address was accordingly called for ; and he was asked, if he knew that Paper ? for though Mr. *Latouche’s* Name was prefixed, and subscribed to it, the Committee were too nice, in a Matter of Form, to take any Fact on Publick Notoriety, which could be proved by legal Witnesses. The Answer

was,

was, that he could not positively say, that this was a Copy of the Address, which he had printed for Mr. *Latouche* ; but that if he was permitted to go home, he would get one that he could swear to. But Mr. *Latouche* himself did save him that Trouble; he stood up, and told the Chairman, ‘ That he had not wrote any Thing ‘ that he was ashamed or afraid of, and that he ‘ had brought a Copy of his Addresses, and other political Tracts, in his Pocket ; and he ‘ was very willing to leave the whole Matter to ‘ this Issue, that there was not one single Sentence ‘ in them, which could be wrested into any seditious or malicious Meaning.’ Upon which he ‘ delivered the Book to the Clerk ; and at the Desire of the Petitioner’s Council, the following Paragraph was read out of the second Address, (Page 12) ‘ Such a Spirit, a proper Jealousy ‘ of Infringements on our Rights, must at all ‘ Times be seasonable.—It is the Nature of ‘ Power to be grasping; and therefore always to ‘ be watched. Who can tell what new Invasions ‘ are machinated against us? What Attempt ‘ may be made to despoil us of some of our ‘ remaining Rights? We know no more of the ‘ Day, or of the Hour, when the Enemy shall ‘ come, than what he designs to make his Attack.— ‘ We know that new Laws are often ‘ enacted, to the Prejudice of our Trade, or ‘ of our Liberties.—To the Charge of the ‘ late War we have contributed ; and if we ‘ escaped the Disgrace of having Money raised, ‘ in this Kingdom, without the Consent, and ‘ Authority of it’s own Legislature, it was, in ‘ a great Measure, owing to the Virtue and ‘ Resolution of *one* of our own Countrymen— ‘ a noble Peer of this Realm—who stood in ‘ the Gap ; and, at the Hazard of his own ‘ Liberty, bravely contended for the Liberty ‘ of

‘ of his Country. But what Weight could
 ‘ your Petitions have, unless you be respected ?
 ‘ and what Respect would you be entitled to,
 ‘ if you should tamely submit to the Usurpati-
 ‘ on of your *Equals* ? or those who are, but
 ‘ one Degree, raised above you ? and yet mur-
 ‘ mur at Oppressions from *those*, whose Station
 ‘ and Rank give them the Temptation, as well
 ‘ as the Means and Opportunity, to enslave ?
 ‘ Must not a mean Submission, to an inferior
 ‘ Degree of Tyranny, encourage the Attempts
 ‘ of those who wait but an Opportunity, from
 ‘ the *Want of Spirit* in the People, to extend
 ‘ their Influence and Authority ? There is, in
 ‘ the Spirit of Liberty, something too respecta-
 ‘ ble to be trifled with ; a certain Stubbornness,
 ‘ which the most powerful Minister will always
 ‘ be in Awe of ; and which would give a Check
 ‘ to the Designs of the most arbitrary Prince.’
 This did not produce any Effect, and some of
 the Members moving that the Whole should be
 read, and the Hour of Four being at Hand, it
 was thought proper to adjourn.

THE very visible Marks of Confusion and
 Disappointment, which had appeared in the
 Countenance of the Managers, when they seem-
 ed to have closed their Evidence, the little No-
 tice that was taken of the produced Writing ;
 notwithstanding Mr. S—j—t T—d—l, Representa-
 tive for the U—nty of D—n, and who
 owed his Seat and Parliament, to much such a
 Right as the Petitioner pretended to, (to wit, to
 an Interest in the House, and a Complaint against
 the elected Member for undue and secret Influ-
 ence and Writings) had, before reading of the
 Address, affirmed, ‘ There was sufficient Mat-
 ‘ ter in it, to prove the whole Charge against
 ‘ the sitting Member :’ and the sudden Adjourn-
 ment made all Spectators and Hearers believe,
 that

that the Petitioner would have withdrawn his Petition. It has been since, we cannot say on what Foundation, reported, that the Right Honourable Mr. P——y, one of the C——si——rs, who was supposed to be one of the principal Promoters of the Petition, on Account of his Brother-in-Law, the Petitioner's Nephew, did wait, that very Evening, on the Sp—ker, and told him, that, if he would give Leave, the Petition should be withdrawn; but the Sp—k—r, well knowing that such a Step would recover, to Mr P——y, that Respect, amongst the Minority, which this Prosecution had, in some Measure, made him forfeit, did peremptorily refuse it, and told, to some of his own Friends, who came to solicit on the same Subject, ' That since Mr. P——y had brought him into the Dirt, he should wade up to his Neck in it; or, that he would let the World see, he was yet able to carry even such a Point as this, without the Assistance of his new Associates.'

THE next Day, the Committee resuming the Consideration of the Address, it was moved, by Mr. Forster, ' That the whole Address should be read; ' on which he was seconded by Sir Thomas Prendergast; and supported by Mr. Stannard, who said, ' That, as all the Electors were accused, by the Petitioner, of being under undue Influence, and that the Address was directed to them all, the whole as well as the single Paragraph read the Night before, ought to be taken into Consideration.' To this a Reply was attempted by Sir Richard Cox; and Mr. Ponsonby said, ' That the Facts, advanced in the Paragraph, already produced, were sufficient to determine his Opinion; for that they were false and villainous.' On which there was a feint Cry, *to Order*, and a louder of, *well moved*,

Sir. Upon this, Mr. *Macartney*, Member for *Belfast*, stood up, and said, ‘ That there were
 ‘ some Allegations in that Paragraph, which he
 ‘ could not understand; and that the sitting
 ‘ Member should be desired to explain them.’
 Mr. *Latouche* then stood up, and said, ‘ That he
 ‘ was extremely obliged to the worthy Member,
 ‘ for giving him an Opportunity of clearing his
 ‘ Innocence and Veracity to the honourable Com-
 ‘ mittee; that he had, indeed, advanced, that
 ‘ we had contributed to the Charge of the late
 ‘ War; and that he was warranted to say so from
 ‘ the *Act*, pass’d in *England*, for the taking off of
 ‘ the Drawback heretofore paid on the Exportation
 ‘ of Tea, and for laying a new Duty on it in *Eng-
 ‘ land*, of one Shilling a Pound, and twenty five per
 ‘ Cent. on the Value which was paid there by the
 ‘ Exporters of what Tea was imported into this
 ‘ Kingdom; that, by the *Act* of Navigation, we
 ‘ could not import any Tea, from any Place,
 ‘ save from *Great-Britain*; and that the Price of
 ‘ Tea, by the new Tax, was raised to the Con-
 ‘ sumer about fifty per Cent. and that, by the
 ‘ Consumption of it here, the Taxes in *England*
 ‘ had been raised about 25,000 *l.* per Annum;
 ‘ that this Tax was evidently raised to support
 ‘ the War; for that, immediately after the
 ‘ Peace, the Duties on the Export were taken
 ‘ off; that he could not see in what such an Al-
 ‘ legation was either false or villainous, as a wor-
 ‘ thy Member had been pleased to call it.

‘ THAT the Duty now made on the making
 ‘ of Glass in *England* was, as he was informed,
 ‘ at first designed to be laid on all Glass made in
 ‘ *Ireland*, which, he apprehended, was raising
 ‘ Money in this Kingdom, without the Consent
 ‘ of it’s Legislature; and that altho’ this Clause
 ‘ did not pass in *England*, yet, by Virtue of that
 ‘ *Act*, the People here had paid, in this Respect
 ‘ also,

' also, towards defraying the Expence of the
 ' War, since, by that Act, the Importation of
 ' Glafs, from any other Place than from *Eng-*
 ' *land*, was prohibited, and the People in *Ireland*,
 ' who had no Glafs-Houfes, were obliged to pay
 ' the *English* Tax for all the Glafs they could
 ' make Ufe of.—That this Act was executed
 ' in *Ireland* with more than ordinary Rigour ;
 ' infomuch, that the Glafs on the Watches of
 ' Travellers from *England* was, at first, looked
 ' upon to be included in the Prohibition, unlefs
 ' a Permit was brought with it ; and that the Of-
 ' ficers of the Revenue had even refused to Sea-
 ' men and Passengers to take with them any
 ' Wine in Bottles, even for long and dangerous
 ' Voyages ; and that, until a more favourable In-
 ' terpretation was made of the Meaning of the
 ' Act by the Attorney General of *England*, the
 ' Import of medicinal Waters had been suspend-
 ' ed in *Ireland*.'

To this, Mr. *Ponsonby* made Answer, ' That
 ' he was sorry he had made Ufe of Words, which
 ' were too strong and too harsh ; but that he had
 ' been, out of Degree, warmed by some Expres-
 ' sions, which, he thought, reflected on the Peo-
 ' ple of *England*, to whom we were, in every
 ' Respect, obliged, and who deserved nothing
 ' from us, but the greatest Marks of Gratitude.
 ' That, he believed, the fitting Member was mis-
 ' informed, as to the Means by which the Clause
 ' in the Glafs Act was dropp'd. That he knew
 ' it came from the Ministry in *England*, who had
 ' no Design to raise Money in *Ireland*. That
 ' their Design was only to enforce the raising the
 ' Tax in *England* ; but that, on a Representa-
 ' tion of it's affecting the Rights of the People of
 ' this Kingdom to tax themselves, they had vo-
 ' luntarily dropp'd the Clause complained of.'

COL. A—*d-ll* said, ‘ He did not well understand what it was the House was amusing themselves about. That enough, in all Conscience, had been said of Glafs-Bottles, Tea and Tobacco-Pipes; and that it was Time to return to the Business in Hand.’ Upon which, the whole Address was read without any further Opposition.

BUT, here again, the Managers were put to a Stand; no one stood up to point out the Malignity or evil Tendency of it. Mr. *H—w—d* did, indeed, say, ‘ That there was one Part of it, which he could not hear without Indignation; and that was a Reflection on one of the most virtuous and eminent Judges that had ever sat on the Bench, who had, from very good Reason, refused an Information against the Aldermen, who were Men of Honour, and excellent Magistrates; and that this was stirring up the People against their Judges and Magistrates.’ The Part he referred to was the following Paragraph. ‘ It (the ensuing Election) will determine, whether the Majority of you do acquiesce under the present Encroachments on the Constitution of this City; or whether you will generously resolve to bring, before the Legislature, a Question, concerning which you have vainly sought a Determination in the Courts of Law; a Question of the highest Importance! since it is no other, than whether or no you will be free; whether you will have in yourselves the Election of your Magistrates and Council; or whether you will continue under Subjection to Magistrates, who are created and appointed independently of any Choice or Approbation of yours.’

THIS short Speech was received with much Approbation by both Sides; some imagining he was in Earnest, and that he had been brought over

over to the Majority; but those that knew him better, looked upon it as a better Sarcasm on the Proceedings of the Managers, who had produced an Evidence, from which they were not able to draw a Conclusion, nor to offer one single Point in Charge, but what he, one of the best Advocates for the sitting Member, had furnished them with; and which Point was so trifling as not to merit the least Consideration.

THE Council was then desired to proceed in their Evidence; and, all other Batteries failing, they were under a Necessity of returning to, what had already almost worn out the Patience of their Judges, the Proof of illegal Practices and Combinations in the Corporations.

William Lawrence, Clerk to the Shoemakers, was called on for this Purpose; he produced a Paper, wrote by the sitting Member at the Corporation Hall, and delivered to the Witness to get printed. This Paper contained the Resolutions of that Body, in Regard to the Common-Council, and to returning the Thanks of the Corporation to *Lucas* and *Latouche*; he deposed, 'That, on the 21st of *August*, Mr. *Lucas* came to the Hall, and had spoke a long while before the Arrival of Mr. *Latouche*; that both of them addressed the Corporation on the Grievances they suffered, from their Rights and Privileges being taken away by the Board of Aldermen; and hinted, that whoever voted for an Alderman, would be guilty of a Breach of his Oath as a Freeman; that they were both of them admitted to their Freedom that Day; but that the Hall was cleared of all Strangers, before the Question for their Admission was proposed or put.'

MR. *Scriven*, one of the Agents and Clerks of the Petitioner, was next produced, and he proved, to the Satisfaction of the Committee, that many

of the Weavers would have voted for the Petitioner, if they had not been influenced by Mr. *Latouche*: He deposed, that many of them had told him, ' that they could not in Conscience ' vote for the Petitioner, as he was an Alder- ' man; and so had declared many Carpenters, ' and others.'

AND now the Managers, grown more bold by the Assurances, which were privately given them, that all Scruples and Doubts were quitted, and that it was determined, at all Adventures, to vote the sitting Member unduly elected, attempted from Generals, which concluded nothing, to come down to Particulars, and to invalidate the Votes of a Number of Weavers and Carpenters, who had voted for the sitting Member. This would have done the Business at once; and it was only voting, that any Man, who signed a Resolution of Thanks to any Candidate, should be incapable to give his Vote for that Candidate, though he might give it against him.

To introduce this, or a like Kind of Vote, Mr. *Scriven* produced a List of 86 Persons, who had subscribed the Declaration of the Weavers, and who had voted for the sitting Member: This, being compared with the Poll Books, was found to be just; and, on a Supposition that they would vote these Votes invalid, there remained only a Majority of two Votes for the sitting Member, which, as it still would leave a Majority, though a small one, was likewise to be taken off.

FOR this Purpose was produced, the principal Agent and Clerk of the sitting Member, Mr. *Edward Challoner*, Clerk to the several Corporations of Weavers, Dyers, Carpenters, and Hatters.

It was thought a little absurd, that the Managers should pitch upon him, rather than on some of their own Friends, to prove the Association of the Carpenters, &c. since the Books of all those, with the Associations and Subscriptions, were all on the Table, and the Hand-writing of the Subscribers could have been proved by any one or two of them: And it appeared, that, of thirty-nine Carpenters, who had subscribed the Declarations, only twenty-six voted for Mr. *Latouche*, but, Drawcanfir-like, they did this, because they dared.

MR. *Cballoner* deposed, ‘ That the Corporation of Carpenters had come to the Resolutions, which were in the Books produced to him, and that the Names, at the Bottom of it, were the Hand-writing of the Subscribers; that they had at first resolved, that the Thanks of the Corporation should be returned to *Latouche* and *Lucas*, for their Endeavours to revive and restore the antient Rights and Liberties of the Subject in general, and of this Corporation in particular; but that after the Hall was over, the Deponent not being satisfied as to the Propriety of those Words, of the Subject in general, did apply to Counsellor *Bradstreet* for his Opinion, and upon his Advice did expunge those Words; that Deponent went to Mr. *Latouche* who readily approved the Alteration.’ He deposed further, ‘ That Mr. *Latouche* did not sign those Resolutions, and that the Corporation did not come to any Resolution to vote for Mr. *Latouche*; that he never understood that the Subscribers, to those Resolutions, did, in any Measure, thereby design to engage themselves to vote for Mr. *Latouche*, but that the Corporation of Weavers had, long before the Vacancy, to wit, in the Year 1745, voted Thanks, and a Piece of Plate, to the Value of forty

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‘ *Pounds*, to Mr. *Latouche*, for his good Services, during the two Years of his Mastership.
 ‘ That the Division, between the Citizens and Aldermen, had been, for many Years, subsisting in the City ; that, above twenty Years ago, Mr. *Howard* had carried the Election for the City, by taking part with the Citizens against the Aldermen ; and that Mr. *Howard* was prepared, and would have brought in a Bill to repeal the New Rules, had he not been prevented by Death ; that it was not an unusual Thing for Candidates to harangue the Corporations ; that Mr. *Howard* had practised this Method with Success ; and had, in the same Manner with the sitting Member, promised the Citizens to endeavour to relieve them from the Oppressions of the Aldermen.’

THE further Consideration of this Affair was adjourned to the next Morning, when it was again opened by the Council for the Petitioner, who recapitulated the Proofs of the undue Influence of the eighty-six Weavers, and twenty-six Carpenters, who had voted for the sitting Member ; which, if declared to be bad Votes, would leave the Majority to be plainly on the Side of the Petitioner.

THE Petitioner’s Case being now stated, the Council for the sitting Member were required to make out theirs.

IT was opened by Mr. *Fitz Gibbons*. He said,
 ‘ That the Charge against the sitting Member, amounted to nothing more than *that he had succeeded by undue Influence* ; that he would forbear making any Remarks on the Evidence already produced, but would endeavour to produce such as would shew who it was, that had made Use of undue Influence ; that the Petitioner had pursued quite different Methods from those made use of by the sitting Member ;
 ‘ for

' for that the former never promised to do the
 ' Citizens any Service, or to redress any of their
 ' Grievances, but had, on the contrary, made
 ' Use of Threats, told them he would undo them,
 ' make their Names so publick, that none of the
 ' Quality would deal with them, and that their
 ' Families would fall to Ruin, in Case they did
 ' not vote for him ; that he had made Use of
 ' very improper Arguments, and boasted of his
 ' Interest in another Place, if he could not suc-
 ' ceed in the City ; that Mr. *Bathers*, his known
 ' Agent, had made an improper Use of the Pro-
 ' ceedings of the House of Commons, and had
 ' wrote Letters to the Masters of Corporations,
 ' menacing them with the Censures of the House
 ' of Commons, in Case they did not vote for the
 ' Aldermen ; that many Menaces, of this kind,
 ' were made Use of, in the County Court, to the
 ' Freemen who came to poll ; that he omitted
 ' many Particulars which would better appear
 ' from the Testimony of the Witnesses he would
 ' produce ; that the Persons who signed the De-
 ' clarations did, in no Sort, think themselves
 ' bound by them to vote for the sitting Mem-
 ' ber ; that it would appear, that Mr. *Latouche*
 ' was far from being in Conjunction with *Lucas* ;
 ' that he had, on many Occasions, opposed him.'

He was going to call on a Witness, when
 he was interrupted by Mr. Serjeant *T--d--l*,
 who said, ' That any Objection against the Peti-
 ' tioner, was nothing to the Question ; that the
 ' material Point was to prove that the sitting
 ' Member was not joined in Interest with *Lucas*.'

UPON which Sir *Thomas Prendergast* stood up,
 and said, ' It was best to let the Council go on
 ' their own Way ;' in which he was supported
 by Mr. *Cooley* and Mr. *Rowley*. The latter said,
 ' It was impossible to determine, with any Kind
 ' of Equity, until both Parties were heard ; that
 ' he

‘ he would not now enter into the Merits of the
‘ Case, but reserve himself until all the Evidence
‘ was produced.’

HERE again Mr. Serjeant *T--d--l* stood up, and, with some Shew of Impatience at the Contradiction his Discourse had met with, repeated again, ‘ That the Conduct of the Petitioner was
‘ nothing to the sitting Member ; that the Evi-
‘ dence already produced by the Petitioner, was
‘ fully applicable to the Case before them, and
‘ did fully prove all Allegations of the Petition ; ’ and therefore moved to put a Question on it.

IN this he was supported by Sir *R---d C---*, who said, ‘ That the Question was, whether the
‘ sitting Member had done properly ; and that
‘ it lay on the sitting Member, in the first Place,
‘ to clear himself, but that Recrimination would
‘ do him no Good.’

SIR *Thomas Prendergast* then observed, that the putting a Question, ‘ whether the Petitioner had
‘ proved all the Allegations of the Petition,
‘ would do well ; for, he believed, that the
‘ greatest Part of the House was convinced, that
‘ *no one* single Allegation of it was proved.’

MR. *Gore*, Council to the Commissioners, and Mr. *Flood*, the Solicitor General, joined in Opinion, that the sitting Member should answer first, and then recriminate if he thought proper : The latter, indeed, added, that no Question should be put until both were gone through ; and that the Chairman ought to declare the Method, which he did ; and then the Council for the sitting Member offered to produce one of the 86 Weavers to give Testimony concerning the Influence he was accused to be under.

DURING the Course of this Debate, and when the Motion of Mr. *T---l*, for putting the Question, seemed to be supported, Mr. *Rowley* had, with some visible Marks of Indignation, said,
‘ That,

‘ That, if they proceeded in that Manner, he did not care if they expelled him the House; for that it was better not to sit there, than to act contrary to Justice:’ Upon which Mr. T—l called out, to Order; and moved, that Mr. Rowley should explain himself. Mr. Rowley replied, ‘ That he had said nothing but what he was ready to make good, and that his Words did sufficiently explain themselves.’

THE calling on one of the influenced Weavers for his Testimony, occasioned a warm and interesting Debate. Mr. Malone, one of the Council for the Petitioner, introduced it, by objecting to hear them. He said, ‘ That Mr. Latouche had poisoned their Minds, and that Persons, in such Circumstances, could give no Testimony: For that swearing they were not influenced, would only prove that their Minds were poisoned:’ To which Mr. Grattan added, ‘ That they could not be Witnesses in this Case: In the first Place, because they were interested; and, secondly, because they were criminal.’

To this the Council for the sitting Member replied, ‘ That the eighty-six Weavers were no more concerned in the Event of the Cause, than any other Citizens of Dublin; that neither the Interest nor the Right of the Witness could be affected by the Determination of the Question, “ whether they had, in one Instance, been under undue Influence;” which was now to be examined, and none but themselves could be proper Judges of the Motives on which they acted.’

THE re establishing the Votes of the eighty-six Weavers, was a Matter of too great Moment, to be slightly agreed to, and the Committee took the Consideration of it to themselves; so, opening the Bar, Mr. Harward declared himself, for admitting

mitting these Weavers to give Evidence for one another. He said, ' That the House would be ' Judges, from their Behaviour, whether they ' were competent Witnesses; that the Majority ' of the Citizens had been represented, by the ' Petitioner, as a Parcel of influenced or mad ' Men; that the Accusation was now confined to ' some Weavers, and others, whose Names were ' known, and who, he believed, were most of ' them attending in or about the House; ' that he was himself very curious, and he be- ' lieved it would be Matter of Entertainment to ' other Gentlemen, to see one of these influenced ' Persons; to see what Appearances this Influ- ' ence had put on their Countenance, Behaviour ' and Language; that it was not pretended that ' this Influence made them dangerous, or outra- ' geous; and that he was desirous to see under ' what Kind of Madness this same Influence ' ought to be ranked.'

Mr. Serjeant *M* ——ll replied, ' That the ' Question now before them was, "*Whether the* ' *eighty-six Weavers were interested in it?*" that ' surely no Man could be for denying this, who ' knows that the highest Priviledge of the Subject, ' is his Right of voting in the Election of Mem- ' bers of Parliament; that the Testimony of a ' Freeman is not admitted in Law in any Case ' relating to his Corporation, for this Reason, ' because he has an Interest and Property in that ' Corporation, by his Freedom of it, and how ' much less should he bear Testimony in a Case, ' in which his most important Right, as a Free- ' man, is concerned?'

To this, Sir *Thomas Prendergast* replied, ' That ' Freemen of Corporations were always allowed ' or required to give Evidence in Cases of Elec- ' tion.'

Mr.

MR. *Tenison*, one of the Judges of Appeal, produced Instances, where the Freemen of the Corporations of *Carrickfergus* and *Clonmell* were refused to be admitted Evidences in such a Case as this ; but Col. *Archdall* observed, ‘ That in the Case of *Carrickfergus*, it was not undue Influence, but the Qualification of the Votes, that was in Question ; and in the Affair before them, it was undue Influence, which the Weavers were accused of, and he thought the Petitioner ought to produce one Man, at least, whom he could prove to be under undue Influence.’

Mr. *Stannard*, the late Recorder, then stood up. He said, ‘ This was the first Time he had ever heard Influence complained of, and the Petitioner declining to produce Instances of it ; that this Influence was not confined to the Writings or Declaration, which the Weavers had signed ; for, in that Case, they ought not to be heard ; for it would, in that Case, be unnecessary to hear them, as to the Fact ; and the House were the best Judges of the Crime or Innocence of these Writings : But the Charge of Influence was extended to the Addresses, Speeches and Writings of the sitting Member, which the Petitioner complained had influenced the Minds of the People : Now it might possibly happen, that some of these People had never read any of those Addresses or Writings, nor heard these influencing Harangues ; and, if so, they could not be influenced by them ; that the Committee had examined some of these People already, in Behalf of the Petitioner, and he could see no Reason why they should not do the same in Behalf of the sitting Member ; that to refuse to hear what those Persons had to say for themselves, would be going farther than what was intended ; for, as all the Voters for the

‘ the sitting Members were accused of undue In-
 ‘ fluence, as well as the subscribing Weavers
 ‘ and Carpenters, they would not leave Room
 ‘ for the sitting Member to produce one single
 ‘ Witness ; that it was establishing a very dan-
 ‘ gerous Precedent, which would debar the House
 ‘ henceforward from examining any Person ac-
 ‘ cused of Bribery ; that the Law receives the
 ‘ Vote of a Freeman when he is not to lose or
 ‘ gain half a Farthing by it ; that the Case of the
 ‘ eighty-six Weavers, is the Case of every pub-
 ‘ lick Voter, who is admitted, nay required, to
 ‘ give Evidence on Oath, with Relation to his
 ‘ Freehold and his Right of voting ; that, in this
 ‘ Case, it is not his Right which is called in
 ‘ Question, and that if the Committee refused to
 ‘ hear those Carpenters and Weavers, they can
 ‘ have no Evidence at all.’

MR. *Richard Malone*, observed, ‘ there was
 ‘ no Difference between Corruption and undue
 ‘ Influence, with Relation to their evil Tenden-
 ‘ cy, but that the former was capable of Proof,
 ‘ whereas it was impossible to prove the latter ;
 ‘ that the Question was, “ Whether or no the
 ‘ Writings of the sitting Member, his Speeches,
 ‘ &c. were undue Influence ;” for, as to the
 ‘ Consequence of them, and whether the People
 ‘ were actually influenced by them, was not
 ‘ worth regarding, for it could never be proved,
 ‘ either that the People were or were not influ-
 ‘ enced ; that People under Influence did not
 ‘ know it, and the Testimony of those Weavers
 ‘ would not, in any Manner, clear up the Ques-
 ‘ tion.’

MR. *Harward* observed, ‘ that the Commit-
 ‘ tee was going from the Question in Hand, which
 ‘ was, not to enquire into the Writings or Infl-
 ‘ uence of the sitting Member, but, related singly
 ‘ to a Point of Law and Equity, “ Whether
 ‘ “ Persons,

“ Persons, whose Votes were impeached, ought
 “ to be admitted as Evidences, with Relation to
 “ the Causes which determined them to vote in
 “ the Manner they had done ;” that it was im-
 “ possible to determine the Motives of any Man’s
 “ Actions any way better than by hearing him ;
 “ that, from his Words and Behaviour, it was
 “ easy to judge whether he had acted from Mo-
 “ tives, or by the Impulse of Madness and Influ-
 “ ence ; that, indeed, he could not determine
 “ what Idea was affixed to the Terms, *undue Influ-*
 “ *ence* ; that he had heard, indeed, of great Mis-
 “ chief being caused by private and secret Influ-
 “ ence ; but, for his Part, he could not see any
 “ Danger from an Influence, which was said to
 “ be so open and publick, as that by which the
 “ sitting Member had succeeded ; that if the new
 “ Doctrine, which is now promulged, should
 “ prevail, it would be dangerous for any Man to
 “ write a Letter to his Friend, to desire his Vote,
 “ or Interest ; and every Untruth, spread by any
 “ indifferent Person, might void the Election of
 “ a Person, however innocent of that Report.’

To this, Serjeant T——l replied, ‘ That the
 ‘ Consequence could not happen, unless it was
 ‘ proved, that the Letter contained something
 ‘ criminal, or that the false Reports owed their
 ‘ Original to the sitting Member ; that secret In-
 ‘ fluence had often voided an Election ; and that
 ‘ open Influence, destructive to the Constitution,
 ‘ ought to meet the same Fate ; that the sitting
 ‘ Member had complained of the small Rem-
 ‘ nants of Liberty, and had appealed to the Po-
 ‘ pulace ; that there may be publick as well as
 ‘ private Application ; and that those, who had
 ‘ proceeded on misguided Consciences, could
 ‘ not, and ought not, to be heard in their own
 ‘ Defence,’ which Mr. W——y, one of the
 Commissioners

Commissioners of Appeals, confirmed by Precedents in Chancery Proceedings.

SIR *Thomas Prendergast* observed, ' That if
' the Influence, which the sitting Member had
' made Use of, could invalidate the present, the
' same Influence might also invalidate any fu-
' ture Election; for as it was not precisely known
' what Day it had began, neither could it be de-
' termined when it will have ceased.'

AFTER some further Debate, the Chairman proposed this Question, ' *That the eighty-six Weavers who had signed the Resolutions, be admitted to give Evidence, in this Case, and thereby establish their own Votes.*'

MR. *Stannard* objected to this Question being put, because it was argumentative and complicated; and he was supported, in his Motion for an Alteration, by Mr. *Forster*, and others: But the Chairman said, that it was by no Means argumentative, but the Substance of the Debate, as well as he could collect; and in this, Sir *R—d C—x*, Mr. *T—l*, Mr. *M—sb—ll*, and others, supported him, calling out, *Chair, Chair*, the former even moved for an Amendment, which would have determined the whole Affair; but no one seconding him, he withdrew that Motion, and then the Question was put, and carried in the Negative, on a Division,

AYES, 41

NOES, 86

IN the Debate about the stating or wording of the Question, Mr. *Burton*, Nephew to the Petitioner, had distinguished himself by his Declaration in Favour of the Liberties of the People; he had modestly professed his Ignorance, how far the Law, which prohibits any Man to be Evidence in a Suit, in which he was interested for 20 s. might affect the present Case; but he thought it reasonable, that where a higher Interest than that

that of a small Sum was concerned, a Man ought not to be permitted to give Evidence; adding, with some Warmth, ' That he looked upon the Right of voting for Representatives in Parliament to be so valuable an Interest, so good a Property, that, for his Part, he would sooner be deprived of his whole Estate than to part with it.'

Nobody doubted of his Sincerity, but it seemed strange, that the Value he himself set upon this Right, should be brought as an Argument to deprive others of it, and to refuse them the Opportunity of vindicating themselves from a Guilt, to which was to be annexed so heavy a Punishment.

It is scarce conceivable with what Indignation the People without Doors received the News of these Proceedings. The Case of the accused Weavers and Carpenters was the Case of the Generality of the Freemen of *Dublin*, and of every Man in the Kingdom, who would, at any Time hereafter, vote for a Man he had before, or during a Vacancy, shewn any particular Marks of Respect to, or to one, who might become obnoxious to a Majority in the House, for, perhaps, no other Reason than what had made *Aristides* obnoxious to the *Athenian* Clown, who *could not bear to bear him spoken of every where as a just Man.*

THE refusing to hear People merely because they were interested, in Respect to their Share in a Right, common with every Elector in the Kingdom, was looked upon as a violent Stretch of the Law; and refusing to hear People accused of a punishable Crime, was looked upon to be both illegal and unjust; and both together a manifest Violation of the Constitution, and an open Attempt on the Liberties of the Subject. It was acting, at best, with the Ignorance of the *American* Savages, who, we are told, cut down the

Tree in order to gather the Fruit, which they cannot otherwise reach : And this was greatly aggravated by it's being done by the very Men, who owed the very Power they so wantonly abused, to that Constitution they were laying the Axe to ; to the Freedom of Elections, which they were endeavouring to destroy.

I AM afraid I shall be thought too severe in these Reflections, or rather too exact in relating the Reflections of other People ; but I declare I have not the least Intention of giving Offence, and that I do not bear any ill Will to any of the Majority, who gave occasion to them. I have, on the contrary, the greatest Veneration for the personal Qualities, both of Heart and Mind, of a great Number, who voted in the Majority during this Election, and am truly satisfied that they did not act with any evil Intention ; but do believe, that the Principals were led, into what they did, by Artifices and Misrepresentations, until, having engaged too far, Shame or Pride prevented their Return, and that many, who were accustomed to vote with them, remained to the last, under the most invincible Prejudices, and ingeniously mistook, for Fact and Reason, what, in their cooler Hours, they have since found to be no more than a Misrepresentation of Fact, and a specious Pretext, to wit, That the sitting Member was connected with *Lucas*, and *Lucas* with the Papists and Rebels ; that what was expedient was more to be consulted than what was just ; ‘ and that an honest Man in private
 ‘ Life, may, and ought, in publick Matters, to
 ‘ do many Things according to the State and
 ‘ Condition of his Country, as frequently requi-
 ‘ ring Acts of Injustice. *’

* This was one of *Aristides*' Maxims, as stated by *Plutarch* in his Life.

THE next Day, being *Sunday*, was, probably, employed, by the Agents of the sitting Member, in searching out for Evidences to prove the Intentions of the 86 Weavers, who were not allowed to be, themselves, Judges of the Motives on which they had acted, or of the Meaning of the Declaration upon which their Votes were to be set aside. Many were the Consultations, and various were the Opinions, what was now to be done; some advised, that a Petition of the Weavers should be presented to the House, desiring to be heard by their Council, against the Crimes laid to their Charge, and this they were every one ready to sign, and to abide the Consequences; but the Consideration that this would only take up Time, and would be of no Effect, as it was but too evident that the House would support the Determination of their Committee in any Thing, made this Proposal drop. Another was to have a Petition presented to the House, from the Citizens in general, complaining of an undue Election with Relation to Sir *Samuel Cooke*, for his having made Use of undue and corrupt Means for procuring Votes, and for being in Conjunction with Mr. *Burton*, who had spoken certain Words, which, in other Times, might have been judged treasonable. This Proposal was well received by the Citizens, and it was believed, that not only all, who had voted for the Merchants, but a great Majority of those, who had voted for the Aldermen, would have signed it.

BUT the principal Gentlemen of the Minority, who had all along shewn themselves such strenuous Advocates for the Constitution, and so warm in the Defence of the sitting Member's Cause, did not seem to relish it: They were of Opinion, that such a Step would only tend to exasperate Men, who were already but too much

resolved; and that possibly Mr. *Latouche* would be the Victim of a Resentment, which, the being proved to be in the Wrong, will naturally cause in the Minds of desperate People. So that it was determined to act merely on the Defensive, and to endeavour to re-establish the Votes of the 86 Weavers, which the Vote of the preceding Day seemed to have destroyed.

ACCORDINGLY, on *Monday*, the Council for the sitting Member opened the Case, by telling the Committee, ' That, since they were precluded from producing the 86 Weavers, as Evidences of the Meaning of the Resolutions which they had signed, and of their own Intention when they pass'd them, they would produce Evidence to prove, that every one of these 86 Weavers had declared their Resolutions to vote for the sitting Member, not only previous to the Time their Association was signed, but previous (which is the more remarkable) to the Death of Alderman *Pearson*, and before the Petitioner had Thoughts of setting up, and in Opposition even to *Lucas*, and, at a Time, when *Lucas* and the sitting Member were so far from being in Conjunction, that they were in open Rivalship and Contention with each other.' This seemed to occasion some Surprize, and, to this Surprize, was perhaps owing, that there was no Opposition to the producing of Evidence to this Point.

AND, first, *John Forsyth*, Beadle to the Corporation of Weavers, appeared on the Floor. He said, he could name above 80 Weavers, who had promised, in his Presence, to vote for the sitting Member, before the Death of *Pearson*; but that he would not take upon him to swear to above 30, which he named one by one; and the Clerk of the House having taken down their Names, he answered, from his Memory, so very circumstantially,

circumstantially, to all the different Places and Times in which he heard these People declare themselves for the sitting Member, as was really astonishing. He was asked, how he could take upon him to swear so particularly to Conversations which had happened so many Months ago? He answered, ' that he was Beadle of the Corporation, and had served in that Office when Mr. *Latouche* was Master of the Corporation; that he had a Value for Mr. *Latouche*, and that, when he set up for Member of Parliament, he, the Witness, had made it his Business to do him what Service he could; that he had summoned a Hall of the Corporation of Weavers, for the 1st of *October*, 1748, which was Quarter-Day; that he had asked most of the Weavers he had met with, whether they would not vote for their late Master, Mr. *Latouche*? and most of them made Answer, that the Weavers would be ungrateful if they did not; that he would swear, that 29 of the 30 Persons, he had named, had positively promised, before *Pearson's* Death, that they would vote for Mr. *Latouche*.'

UPON a Cross-Examination, he acknowledged, that Mr. *Challoner*, the Agent for the sitting Member, had told him, that the 86 Weavers would not be allowed to be examined, and that their Declarations must be proved by other Witnesses; and that he had told *Challoner*, he could prove, that 30 of them had promised to vote for Mr. *Latouche*; but Mr. *Challoner* had not given him a List, nor named the Persons, which he, the Witness, was to vouch for.'

He was asked, whether *Lucas* and *Latouche* had joined in the same Interest on the Election? He said, ' he believed they had not; that Mr. *Latouche* had a good Right to the Votes of the Weavers, because he had been a good Master, and done them very considerable Services, be-

‘ sides building a Hall ; but that Mr. *Lucas* had never done any Services to the Corporation that ever he heard of ; and for all he ever knew of *Latouche* and *Lucas*, he knew they were not Cater-Cousins.’

Mr. *James Jennings*, an eminent Weaver, and a Person of good Credit and Consideration in his Corporation, was next produced ; he gave Testimony as to the Declarations of four Weavers, that they wou’d vote for the sitting Member ; he enlarged on the Services the Corporation of Weavers had received from Mr. *Latouche*, and that it was no Wonder if the Weavers had a great Regard for him. To the same Purpose deposed every Witness that was brought on the Floor, and many of them, with hearty Declarations of Mr. *Latouche*’s Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty King *George*, and of his shewing great Zeal for the true Cause, at the Time of the Rebellion, when, by his Persuasion and Influence, he procured an Association, to be signed by the Body, of which he was Master, whereby they promised to provide Arms at their own Expence, and to hazard their Lives and Fortunes, in Defence of his Majesty, and of the Protestant Succession in his royal House. Most of them declared they did not look upon *Lucas* and *Latouche* to have been joined ; that some of the Weavers had declared against *Lucas*, but were warm in Mr. *Latouche*’s Interest ; many of them swore, that they had not been desired not to vote for the Aldermen, and all and every one declared, they never heard the sitting Member say any Thing to the Prejudice of any Body, nor never heard him call the Aldermen, Robbers. Some, indeed, deposed, that they had heard the sitting Member say, ‘ That no Man, consistently with his Oath, cou’d vote for an Alderman.’

THERE

THERE were no less than twenty-six Witnesses produced and examined, as to the Declaration of the Weavers before the Death of Alderman *Pearson*, and the Candidateship of the Petitioner, who cleared up, to the Satisfaction of every Body, that the Weavers had not entered into any Association, which cou'd injure their Right of voting on the late Election.

THESE Witnesses were all so full in Favour of the sitting Member, that the Managers thought they could not do the Petitioner any better Service, than by getting out of the Mouths of those sanguine People, some Instances of Conjunction and Friendship between *Lucas* and the sitting Member. To this, they found themselves under a Necessity of returning—as it was not otherwise possible to justify the setting aside the Votes of the Weavers and Carpenters. Whereas a Junction with an Enemy to his Country, tho' before he ever was suspected to be such, was a Colour and Pretext, which might impose on the Weak, and afford some Argument and Excuse to the Willing.

IT was, therefore, asked, to most of these Witnesses, whether there had not been a Junction between *Lucas* and *Latouche*? Two of which said, they believed, there had been such, but all the rest said, they believed to the contrary. Even some deposed, they knew they were not joined. Mr. *Joseph Litton* deposed, that *Lucas* had denied to the last, of his ever having been in Conjunction with Mr. *Latouche*, and that he, moreover, never wou'd; for that he and Mr. *Latouche* were of different Principles.—Some of these Witnesses were examined, as to the Transactions of the *Rose Tavern*, but they declared, ' that neither Mr. *Latouche* or Mr. *Lucas* had, that they knew of, any Share in the Nomination of Mr. *Read*.'—They asked one of these Witnesses,

whether he and Mr. *George Thwaites* were not related to the sitting Member? He answered they were. He was asked, whether Mr. *George Thwaites's* Coach did not attend in the Procession, which carried *Lucas* to the Parliament House? He said it did, but he knew the sitting Member did not go to the Parliament House that Day.

THIS Examination of Witnesses, to Points different from what they were called upon to prove, gave the sitting Member, his Council and Friends, an Opportunity likewise of asking Questions, which were not connected with the Point in Hand; so that some were questioned, as to the Behaviour and Conduct of the Petitioner. *John Cross* deposed, as to this, 'that he had been 'at the Carpenters Hall, the last Quarter-Day 'but one, and that he heard Alderman *Burton* 'speech there in his own Behalf; that he told 'the Corporation, he did not come to harangue 'them out of their Votes, but that he would wait 'on them for that Purpose at their own Houses; 'that he was not eloquent, but that if he did 'them no Good, he wou'd certainly do them 'no Hurt.' Mr. *Joseph Litton* did depose to the same Purpose. 'And that the Alderman had 'said, that Eloquence was no Qualification for a 'Member of Parliament, but that he had a great 'many Friends in the House of Commons, and 'that they might, without Danger, make a Trial 'of him; for that ——— could not possibly ——— 'above a Session or two longer.'

THE Words I have suppressed, gave great Offence to the House, and the Witness was ordered to withdraw; Sir *Richard Cox* moved that, as this was no Part of the Business to which the Witness was called, the Question ought not to have been put to him, and, therefore, this Part of his Evidence ought not to be taken Notice of. In which Opinion, the whole House, even some
of

of the Minority, joined, so tender were some of the Character of the Petitioner, so fearful were others of anticipating a Grief, which all honest and loyal Subjects must one Day feel.

WHEN the 86 Weavers were thus cleared of the Objection made to their Votes, because of their having signed certain Resolutions and Thanks, the Council for the sitting Member offered Evidence, in order to clear the Votes of these same Weavers, and of others, against the Objection made against them, in the County Court, of undue Influence.

To this Purpose, Mr. *Thomas Green*, an eminent Attorney, and who had been Clerk to Mr. *Read*, during the Election, was produced.

HE deposed, ' that he attended at the Court, ' during the whole Time of Election, excepting ' only about two Hours ; that when the Weavers ' came to offer their Votes, the Agents for the ' Aldermen did make Objection to many of ' them, as having used undue Influence to procure Votes for Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Read* ; ' that many Persons so objected to, desired, they ' might be told when, where, and with whom, ' they had made Use of this same undue Influence ; but that the Agents refused to give any ' Instance of it, but said, " they would hear of ' it in a proper Place ;" that the Court would ' not receive the Objection ; that this Deponent ' had observed to the Court, and desired them ' to take Notice, that the Objection was for making Use of undue Influence, and not for being unduly influenced.'

He was asked, whether he did not remember any one Voter being objected to, for being under undue Influence ? He answered, ' He could ' not remember *one*, on the Side of the Aldermen, but that he, the Deponent, had made ' such an Objection in Behalf of the Merchants, ' particularly

‘ particularly against Mr. *Bradley* *; and told
 ‘ the Court, that he objected to that Gentleman’s
 ‘ Vote; not as the Aldermen objected, because
 ‘ he had made Use of undue Influence, but be-
 ‘ cause he was persuaded, and could prove, that
 ‘ he, Mr. *Bradley*, was unduly influenced to vote
 ‘ for the Aldermen.’

ON Cross-Examination he owned, ‘ he had
 ‘ been at the *Rose*, at the Meeting of the Free-
 ‘ men, when Mr. *Read* was put up,’ but denied,
 ‘ there was any Subscription proposed there for
 ‘ *Lucas*, or that any other Resolution was come
 ‘ into, but the Advertisements that were publish-
 ‘ ed the next Day:’ He said, ‘ that *George*
 ‘ *Swaites*, Brother in-law to the sitting Member,
 ‘ was in the Chair at the Time they came to the
 ‘ Resolution of setting up Mr. *Read*; that Mr.
 ‘ *Latouche* was there some Time that Evening,
 ‘ but does not recollect that he was there when
 ‘ the Resolution was agreed to.’ He was asked,
 whether he had wrote down, in the Poll Book
 at the *Tholfel*, the Objections made to the Weav-
 ers and Carpenters? He said, ‘ he had not, and
 ‘ thought it needless so to do, as the Sheriffs
 ‘ would not receive them; that he spoke from
 ‘ Memory.’ He was then asked, whether he,
 the Witness, would have voted for *Lucas*, in Case
 he had stood the Poll? To which he answered,
 ‘ that he had never engaged his Vote to him, or
 ‘ any Body else, on this Election.’ And, upon
 his being asked the Question a second Time,
 there arose a short Debate, whether he ought to
 answer that Question? And, being withdrawn,
 Sir *Thomas Prendergast* said, ‘ that the Commit-
 ‘ tee ought not to enter into any Enquiry into
 ‘ the Votes for *Lucas*; that they were making the

* This Mr. *Bradley* was, at this Time, made King’s
 Stationer, and Printer to the honourable House of Com-
 mons.

‘ Committee of Elections, a Court of Inquisition, by requiring People to discover, upon Oath, their most secret Motives and Inclinations, and making a Crime of their Thoughts.’ Serjeant *Tisdal* and Sir *Richard Cox* argued faintly on the other Side; but the Chairman declaring, that the Witness’s answering in the Affirmative was in some Sort criminating himself, the Question was not insisted on, and Mr. *Green* was again called in.

BEING asked, whether Mr. *Latouche* was in the Guild Hall at the Time the Guild of Merchants voted a Gold Box to *Lucas*? He answered, he believed he was. Whether Mr. *Latouche* had voted to make *Lucas* free? Answered, he believed he had voted for his being free, but does not know whether he had voted for giving the Freedom in a Gold Box, or whether he staid and was in the Hall when the Box was moved for. Whether he did not know of a Junction between *Lucas* and *Latouche*? Answered, he knew of no such Junction between them. What he believed? Answered, that he did not know what to believe; but, from the Evidences which he heard made before them, he did not believe they ever were joined in Sentiment or Interest.

He was then again questioned concerning the Objections made at the Tholsel Court, to the Votes of the Carpenters and Weavers, and whether it was objected to them, that they had voted for *Lucas* in their Corporations? Or that *Lucas* and *Latouche* were joined? Which he answered in the Negative.

WHETHER any Objection had been made at the Poll against Mr. *Latouche*’s Writings, Addresses and Speeches? He answered, he never heard them mentioned in the Court. Whether there had not been a Suit of Law by the Guild against the Board of Aldermen, and whether

Lucas’s

Lucas's Interest in that Corporation was not owing to his having taken Part in that Dispute? To which he answered in the Affirmative, and added, that the Majority of the Guild of Merchants had been, for a long Time, extremely dissatisfied with the Proceeding of the Board of Aldermen. He was asked further, whether the sitting Member had recommended, or speeched in Behalf of, *Lucas*? He answered, never that he knew of.

SIR *Thomas Prendergast* hereupon observed, that it plainly appeared there had been two opposite Parties in the City, and that the Supposition of the sitting Member's having been in Conjunction with *Lucas*, had no other Foundation than that they were both of them supported by the same Party; by the Merchants and others, who were in Opposition to the Board. But this cou'd not well be accounted for, without supposing they had acted conjunctly, and upon the same Principles and Designs.

THE Council for the Petitioner did then desire Leave to produce an Evidence, in Contradiction to what the last Witness had advanced, in Relation to the Behaviour of the sitting Member in that memorable Affair of voting a Gold Box to *Lucas*, and, in order, to prove, that the sitting Member did not only vote, but made the Motion, for it. Upon which, in Behalf of the Petitioner, Mr. *Edmund Huband* was sworn and produced.

THIS Gentleman keeps a Toy-Shop in *Dublin*, is reputed to be a Man of Substance, and his Character, as to Honesty, hitherto unimpeached. He is of a sanguine Disposition, warm in his Temper, ambitious of City Honours and Preferments, and, as such, a Favourer of the Board of Aldermen, who have the sole Disposal of them. He is reputed one of the best Speakers, on their Side, in the Common-Council, of which he has been a Member these several Years, by the Favour and Election

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Election of the Aldermen. He was an Enemy to *Lucas* and *Latouche*, not only on a political Consideration, but from private Resentment, as the former had severely treated him in some of his Writings, and as the latter had succeeded him, (Mr. *Huband*) in the Office of Warden of the Guild, which Mr. *Huband* had been voted out of, about a Week before it would, in common Course, have ended. Under these Prejudices, and with these Dispositions, was he introduced on the Floor of the Committee of Privileges and Elections *.

He deposed, ' that he was at the Guild Hall, ' the 17th of *July* last. That there was a great ' Dispute there, whether the Candidates should ' be heard before or after the Corporation went ' through their accustomed and necessary Business. That there were a great Number of ' Strangers in the Hall, and he, (the Deponent) ' was for having the Hall cleared of them, and ' that the Candidates might not be admitted to ' speech until the Business was over, and then ' whoever had Curiosity or Leisure might stay to ' hear them; but that the Cry of the People, ' especially of the Strangers, was so great for ' hearing the Candidates, that there was no resting; and that the Master adjourned the Hall ' for half an Hour. That, thereupon, Mr. Alderman *Burton* and Mr. *Latouche* made Speeches to the Corporation; and, after them, Mr. ' *Lucas* stood up, and made long Invectives against the Aldermen, whom he called Tyrants,

* I have been the more particular in introducing this Gentleman to the Acquaintance of my Readers, that they may be the better enabled to judge of the Weight of his Evidence, which was in direct Contradiction to all that had been said by any of the Witnesses, produced by either the Petitioner, or the sitting Member; by any that preceded or followed this remarkable Testimony.

and

‘ and against all Men in Power. That he spared
 ‘ not even the Clergy, whom he called Black-
 ‘ guards, and said, he hoped to see the Day,
 ‘ when they wou’d be pulled from their unhal-
 ‘ lowed Sanctuaries, and dragged about the
 ‘ Streets. He said, that Mr. *Lucas* had spoke a
 ‘ great deal of the Fear of God, and *such like Stuff*,
 ‘ and had said, that no honest Man cou’d vote
 ‘ for an Alderman.

‘ THAT, after this Speeching was over, and
 ‘ they had proceeded on admitting Freemen,
 ‘ and on other Business, a Petition of Mr. *Lucas*’s
 ‘ was introduced, desiring to be admitted free.
 ‘ That there were great Numbers, who cried out,
 ‘ *Allowed*, and many, who cried out, *Not allowed*.
 ‘ That the Corporation divided upon it, and that
 ‘ the Petition was carried in the Affirmative, by
 ‘ a Majority of a few Votes. That when this
 ‘ was carried, there was a great Cry of, *A Gold*
 ‘ *Box, a Gold Box*. That the sitting Member,
 ‘ and his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Thwaites*, seconded
 ‘ that Motion. That the Cry was so loud, and
 ‘ the Noise so great, there was no distinguishing
 ‘ of Voices; but he could positively swear, that
 ‘ both Mr. *Latouche* and Mr. *Thwaites* had called
 ‘ out for a Gold Box, and had voted for it.’

So far, all is well. But now came on the
 Cross-Examination, which did not exactly agree
 with the first Deposition. He was asked, whether
 Mr. *Latouche* had spoke any Thing he thought im-
 proper? He answered, that Mr. *Latouche* had not
 been so extravagant in his Discourses as *Lucas* had
 been; but that he had said, that the Aldermen
 were Tyrants, and that any Man wou’d be per-
 jured, who should vote for them. To the Ques-
 tion, whether *Lucas* and *Latouche* were in Con-
 junction? he answered, that he always understood
 that they were. Whether he had ever known
 that *Lucas* had ever asked Votes for *Latouche*?

he

he said, No. Or that *Latouche* had asked Votes for *Lucas*? No. Did he ever hear that they had asked for one another? No. How could he then say that they were joined? Because he believed so. Since the Noise was so great, that he could not distinguish Voices, how could he swear that Mr. *Latouche* had voted for the Gold Box? He could see that, he said, by the Motion of his Lips. At which Side of the Room did I stand? said Mr. *Latouche*, (bursting with Indignation at an Evidence, so contrary to what he knew was Fact.) At the Right Hand of the Master, replied Mr. *Huband*. At the Right Hand! when I voted, you say, for the Gold Box! says the sitting Member. I do not want to surprize you, Mr. *Huband*, but I would have you recollect, because I do design to controvert your Evidence. To the Right Hand of the Master are the Windows of the Room, and the Chimney is to the Left. Was I near the Chimney, or near the Window, when you saw, by the Motion of my Lips, that I voted for the Gold Box? Near the Window, said Mr. *Huband*, to the great Joy of the Majority of the House, who, from the Confidence with which the Evidence had answered, were convinced of his Integrity, or, at least, that so positive an Evidence could not be controverted.

THE Hearing of the Witnesses to re-establish the Votes of the eighty-six Weavers, had taken up a Day and a half; and that of Mr. *Green* and of Mr. *Huband*, the Remainder of the *Tuesday*, when the Committee thought proper to adjourn to the next Day, *Wednesday*, at which Time the sitting Member was allowed to proceed in his Defence.

HIS Business was to prove, that he was not, at any Time of the Vacancy, in Conjunction with *Lucas*. It required no Pains to convince the World that he was not so, during the first Vacancy,

cancy, and when *Lucas* and he were contending for the same Seat ; but to prove that they had acted separately, even after the Death of *Pearson*, was not so easy a Matter, as it was demonstrable, they had been, each of them, supported by the same Interest ; and that, what they had not done themselves, some of the Well-wishers of either had done, that is, joined their Interest with that of the Well-wishers of the Candidate, whom they would otherwise have opposed, but upon a Supposition, that this Coalition would strengthen the Interest of their own Friend ; the Difficulty of disapproving this Allegation of the Petitioner seemed to be the greater upon the sitting Member, because the former had not produced one single Evidence of it, except only Mr. *Huband's*, which would have merited no Credit, had not the Committee resolved to rest a great deal upon it. We shall presently see what Judgment they must in their own Minds have pass'd over it.

HOWEVER, tho' it be at all Times difficult, often impracticable, and seldom required to disprove a Negative, yet certainly nothing cou'd ever be so fully made out, as was before this Committee, the Reverse of the Allegation, that *Lucas* and *Latouche* were joined Partners, and in Conjunction of Interests, on this Election ; at least, if the Declarations of both of them, separately made, at a Time when it was undoubtedly their Interest to have appeared united, can be of any Weight.

THE first Evidence to this Point, was the Reverend Doctor *Roger Ford*, an eminent Divine of the Church of *England* ; one reputed to have as high Notions of High-Church, and it's Hierarchy, as may be consistent with the Character of a good Christian, and a zealous Whig, both which Characters the Doctor does deservedly bear

bear amongst all Parties. He deposed, “ that in
 “ *July* last, that is to say above two Months af-
 “ ter the second Vacancy, he had been with Mr.
 “ *Lucas*, and asked him, why he did not join
 “ with Mr. *Latouche* ? and that *Lucas* had re-
 “ plied, it is what I never can or will do, I am
 “ extremely dissatisfied with him for departing
 “ from the Principles of Liberty and Independ-
 “ ence with which he first set out.”

HE was asked, whether he did not believe, that
Lucas and the sitting Member were joined, since
 the Time of that Conversation ? He replied,
 ‘ that he believed not ; for that he never knew
 ‘ that Mr. *Latouche*’s Friends were zealous for
 ‘ Mr. *Lucas* ; but he knew many of them, who
 ‘ were zealous against him.’ He was asked,
 ‘ Whether *Lucas* and the sitting Member had
 ‘ not formerly been on good Terms ? He re-
 ‘ plied, ‘ there had been a great Intimacy between
 ‘ them some Years ago, when they were carrying
 ‘ on a Corporation Law-suit ; but that he ne-
 ‘ ver heard, or believed, that they solicited
 ‘ Votes for each other ; —that he had known
 ‘ Mr. *Latouche* for many Years, and he knew
 ‘ him to be a *thorough Friend to the Constitution*
 ‘ both in Church and State.’

MR. *Joseph Litton* was next called in, and de-
 posed, ‘ that he did not believe that *Lucas* and
 ‘ the sitting Member were joined ; —that he
 ‘ had himself pressed Mr. *Lucas* to join with
 ‘ Mr. *Latouche* after the Death of Alderman
 ‘ *Pearson* ; but that *Lucas* had replied, he would
 ‘ never hunt in Couples, and that he had heard
 ‘ him several Times make the same or like De-
 ‘ clarations in the publick Halls.’

THE next Evidence was Mr. *Henry Rainsford*,
 Weaver, a Man of good Consideration in his
 Corporation. He deposed, ‘ That he was in
 ‘ Company with several Freemen at the Drapi-

' er's Head in *Francis-street*, a long Time since
 ' the Death of *Pearson* ; that both *Lucas* and
 ' *Latouche* were there ; that they did not sit near
 ' each other, nor seem to be particularly inti-
 ' mate ; that the Conversation was general ;—
 ' that the Deponent sat next to Mr. *Latouche*,
 ' and they had some private Discourse concern-
 ' ing Mr. *Lucas* ; and, from what Mr. *Latouche*
 ' had said, he judg'd he had no great Opinion
 ' of, or Affection for, Mr. *Lucas* ;—that he,
 ' the Deponent, knew very well that *Lucas* had
 ' us'd Mr. *Latouche* and his Friends very un-
 ' kindly, before and since the Death of Alder-
 ' man *Pearson* ;—that he heard Mr. *Latouche*
 ' several Times disapprove some of *Lucas's* Wri-
 ' tings and Behaviour ;—that he had known
 ' the sitting Member several Years, and knew
 ' him to be a very zealous Whig ;—that
 ' he, the Deponent, had subscribed the Thanks
 ' of the Corporation to *Lucas*, and to *I* *ouche*,
 ' because of their Endeavours to recover the
 ' Rights and Priviledges of the Citizens, from
 ' the Board of Aldermen ;—that the Weavers
 ' were, in a particular Manner, oblig'd to Mr.
 ' *Latouche* for the Services he had done that
 ' Body.'

THESE Evidences, all three Men of Reputa-
 tion and Credit, would have been thought suf-
 ficient to disapprove the Accusation brought a-
 gainst Mr. *Latouche*, of his having joined with
Lucas : But that there might not the least Pre-
 text remain of a Belief to what Mr. *Huband* had
 depos'd, concerning Mr. *Latouche's* voting for
 the Gold Box to Mr. *Lucas*, in the Guild of
 Merchants, Mr. *Benjamin Litton*, a Member of that
 Corporation, as well as of that of the Weavers,
 was produced in Behalf of the sitting Member.

HE depos'd, ' That he was present at the
 ' Hall, in which the Freedom was voted to
 ' Mr.

• Mr. *Lucas* in a Gold Box; that, upon that Motion being made, there was a strange confused Noise; some crying out, *I second that Motion*, others, *I second it, third it, fourth it, &c.* and that it was impossible to distinguish who was for it, or against it; that Mr. *Latouche* was at the Left Hand of the Master, and near the Chimney, when the Box was moved for and carried; that he had not heard him say any Thing either for or against it, and he believed he did not speak at all in that Question; that there were two Questions that Day in Relation to Mr. *Lucas*; the one for his Admission on any Terms, the other for presenting him with a Gold Box; that the first was carried on a Division of the House, but on the latter there was no Division; that Mr. *Huband* was appointed one of the Tellers on the first Question; that he had told *twenty* Votes short, on the Side of Mr. *Lucas*; and that he was so moved, and so disturbed, and his Hand shook so much, when he told the Numbers on the Poll Paper, that he blotted it in several Places; that, upon his, the Deponent, looking over said *Huband's* Shoulder, and perceiving his Mistake, he made him count over again, and that it then appeared Mr. *Lucas* had a Majority of fifteen Votes; whereas Mr. *Huband* had before declared, that he was rejected by a Majority of five.

He deposed further, ' that he had known Mr. *Latouche* for many Years, and had often heard him disapprove of Mr. *Lucas's* Behaviour.' Being asked, whether this was before or since the second Vacancy? He deposed, ' it was after the second; for that he, the Deponent, was in *England* when Alderman *Pearson* died; and that it was after his Return that he heard Mr. *Latouche* speak very slightly of *Lucas*; that

‘ this Deponent had, in the Corporation of
 ‘ Weavers, voted Thanks both to *Lucas* and *La-*
 ‘ *touche* ; and his Reason for so doing was con-
 ‘ fined to their Endeavours to recover the Rights
 ‘ of the Citizens, which had been usurped by
 ‘ the Board of Aldermen ; that he never heard
 ‘ Mr. *Latouche* call the Aldermen, Tyrants ;
 ‘ but, on the contrary, had always heard him say,
 ‘ that they were good Men enough in private Life,
 ‘ but that he would oppose his best Friends, who
 ‘ usurped the publick Rights of their Fellow-
 ‘ Citizens ; that he had the Advantage of being
 ‘ very intimate with the sitting Member ; that
 ‘ he had often dined at his House ; and that he,
 ‘ Mr. *Latouche*, had always toasted, after Din-
 ‘ ner, his Majesty’s Health, and never rose until
 ‘ he had drank *The glorious Memory of King WIL-*
 ‘ *LIAM.*’

SIR R—*d C-x* then asked him, ‘ whether
 ‘ or no, and by Virtue of his Oath, he did not
 ‘ use to drink also, at Mr. *Latouche*’s Table, a
 ‘ Health to Mr. *Lucas* ?’ To which he shortly
 replied, ‘ No ; never that he remembered.’

It was observed by some of the Managers, that
 this Witness had said nothing to the Junction of
 Mr. *Lucas* and the sitting Member ; observing,
 with great Reason, they might have joined, not-
 withstanding they might have an Aversion and
 Contempt for each other. And he was asked,
 whether he did not know of their being joined ?
 He said, he did not know that they were. What
 he believed ? I have no Foundation for Belief,
 besides what I have declared. I have a Right,
 Sir, and do insist upon it, that you answer as to
 your Belief. I do not form any Belief about it,
 replied the Evidence. Not form a Belief ! that
 is impossible ; you must form a Belief ! and I do
 insist upon your declaring it, urged the Member,
 until Mr. *Litton*, pulling his Hand from his Pock-
 et,

et, and holding it shut to the Member, replied, ' Sir, I beg Pardon, but I cannot express my Meaning and Belief better, than by asking you, " Whether you believe that I have a Shilling or " a Farthing in my Hand?" ' The Boldness and good Sense of this Reply, astonished the House, and silenced the importunate Questioner, and Mr. *Litton* was ordered to withdraw.

THE Allegations of the Petitioner being thus disproved, at least in the Opinion of the Friends of the sitting Member, what was now to be proceeded upon was, to prove, ' that the Petitioner ' had made Use of sinister and undue Influence ' to procure Votes.' And first, as to his Harangues and Speeches, and the improper Arguments he had made Use of.

To this, Mr. *Joseph Litton* was again called; he repeated what he had before given in Evidence, and which we have already related, to the no small Mortification of the Majority, who could not but admire the Resolution of the Man, who did dare to repeat the Words of Mr. *Burton*, which had so lately given such Offence, and for which he, the Witness, had scarcely escaped Censure; if we may call that an Escape, when the bare Opinion of one Man's Loyalty and Prudence did outweigh the positive and solemn Testimony of an unblemished Evidence.

MR. *Thomas Green* was again called in, and deposed, ' that he had heard Mr. *Burton* say, ' at the Guild Hall, that, &c. &c. &c.' and repeated the very Words that Mr. *Litton* had twice done before him.

BUT whether their Ears were now better accustomed to *those shocking Words*, or whether they apprehended the sitting Member would, if he found it grating to them, bring in more Evidence to this Point, they seemed to take no No-

tice of them, when coming out of the Mouth of *Green*, and asked him no Questions.

THE next Charge against the Petitioner was; ' for having made Use of Threats, &c. to procure Votes; ' and for this was produced, a Letter of Mr. *Bathers's*, Clerk to the Corporation of Sadlers, to Mr. *Smithson*, the Master, dated during the Time of the Poll; in which Mr. *Bathers* tells him, ' That the Books of the Corporation were before the House of Commons, ' and that he, Mr. *Smithson*, had no other Way ' to escape Punishment, for having voted Thanks ' to *Lucas* and *Latouche*, but by his voting for the ' two Aldermen.' A Witness was produced, to prove the Hand-writing; but it was said, ' That ' the Council must first prove that Mr. *Bathers* ' was a known Agent for the Petitioner.' Upon which, Sir *Samuel Cooke* stood up, and said, ' Upon his Honour, (his usual Oath) that Mr. ' *Bathers* was his Clerk, and not Mr. *Burton's*.' Upon which, the Council for the sitting Member left that Matter for the next Day, and proceeded, for the Remainder of that, with examining other Witnesses.

IT may appear strange, that the same Committee, who had, for four or five Days, examined Witnesses, touching the Behaviour of *Lucas*, and his Friends, upon a Supposition, that he and the sitting Member were in Conjunction, should now refuse to hear or enquire into the Behaviour of the Agent of the Person, who was professedly in Conjunction with the Petitioner: For what it is to be in Conjunction, besides being Agents one for the other, procuring one and the same Interest, and making Use of the same Instruments and Means, is what, I profess, I do not understand; nor can I believe that the Words, Conjunction and undue Influence, had ever any determined Idea affixed to them, in the Minds

Minds of those, who so often made Use of them in this whole Debate.

MR. *John Clarke*, Tallow-Chandler, was produced to give Evidence, as to the Attempt made on him, not by the Agent, but by the Principal, by Mr. *Burton* himself; he deposed, ' that Mr. *Burton* had called to him in his Brother's Coach; and that, upon *Clarke's* refusing his Promise to vote for him, he, Mr. *Burton*, had told him, " That, if he would not vote for him, he would ruin him and his Family. That he would take Care that none of the Quality should deal with him; and would have his Name posted up in Capitals, that all his Friends might avoid his Shop. That, upon the Deponent's telling him he was engaged to Mr. *Latouche*, the Alderman told him, he ought to break his Promise, ay, or an Oath, if he had given it rashly."

THE Managers did not think proper to ask this Evidence any Questions. Nothing of what he had deposed against the Petitioner was thought criminal, or to come under the Denomination of undue Influence, which seemed now to be confined to the Influence of Argument and Reason; the Manner of Mr. *Burton's* Application was thought to be rather familiar than rude, humorous rather than serious; so that the Citizens in the Gallery, and a very few of the Committee excepted, the Generality of the Audience, looked upon this Evidence of Mr. *Clarke* to be rather trifling than interesting.

As the Letter, wrote by Mr. *Bathers*, Clerk to Sir *Samuel Cooke*, was not suffered to be produced, for want of Proof that he was Agent also to the Petitioner, it was thought necessary to produce other Proof, besides the Letter itself, to shew that he had acted as well for the Petitioner as for Sir *Samuel*, and, to this, Mr. *Yeoman Sinclair*,

claire, one of Mr. *Latouche's* Clerks and Agents, was, the next Morning, produced. Upon his going into the Evidence, Sir *Samuel Cooke* stood up, and called, *to Order*, Mr. Chairman, *to Order*. This caused an universal Silence and Surprise, as it was thought he was attacking not the Evidence or the Council of the sitting Member, but the Chairman himself. Sir *Samuel* soon relieved them, by saying, ' Sir, I gave it Yesterday upon my Honour, that Mr. *Bathers* was my Agent, and they are now going into Proof against what I averred on my Word and Honour.' But the Chairman soon relieved his Apprehensions, by telling him, that the Question did not in the least affect him; for, though Mr. *Bathers* was undoubtedly his Agent, he might also have acted for Mr. *Burton*, which pacified Sir *Samuel*, and Mr. *Sinclair* was permitted to give his Evidence, which was no more than, that he had seen Mr. *Bathers* solicit Votes, and act for the Petitioner, with the same Assiduity as for Sir *Samuel Cooke*. Upon which, Mr. *Smithson*, Master of the Corporation of Sadlers, was called to give Evidence with Relation to the Letter he had received from *Bathers*. The Letter was then produced, and he was asked, whether he knew that to be the Hand-writing of *Bathers*? But this occasioned a Debate, touching the Validity of *Sinclair's* Testimony, and, it growing late, the further Consideration was deferred to the next Day.

It was easy to judge, from what had already pass'd, how this Question, which so nearly affected the Petitioner, would be carried. Had it gone against him, and that the sitting Member had been suffered to have gone into Proof of the illegal Practices made Use of, by the Agents for the Aldermen, there could have remained no Manner of Pretext of excluding the sitting

Member,

Member, for undue Influence, and of establishing the Petitioner, who had used much worse Means to procure Votes. There was not the Tenth-part of the Witnesses examined, on Behalf of the sitting Member, as had been summoned; among those who were summoned, and who were not produced, there were some Persons, respectable for their Cloth, who had made themselves particularly remarked by their Solicitations in Favour of the Aldermen: As they shewed great Uneasiness at being examined, it left Room to suspect that they were afraid to expose the whole Truth, and to discover by what Directions they had acted; and whether there had not been a Combination and Agreement among them, by the Order and Authority of their A——p, who, by the Law of the Commons, could not interfere, without an open Violation of the Rights and Priviledges of the House: But all these, and all the Petitioner's Friends, were, the next Morning, relieved from their Perplexities; for no sooner was the Committee opened, than the Council for the sitting Member told them, that, as the House seemed of Opinion not to admit any Evidence, before that the Persons complained of were proved to have been known Agents to the Petitioner, and that the Committee had thought it insufficient what had been offered to prove Mr. *Bathers* to be such, they would rest the Case of the sitting Member on what had been already offered.

UPON this, Mr. *Cowper*, one of the Masters in Chancery, pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and moved, 'that it be resolved, that *James Digges Latouche*, Esq; is not duly elected for 'the City of *Dublin*;' but upon the Chairman's reminding him that it was not yet Time, and that the Council might, if they thought proper, each state the Case of their Client, and that the sitting

fitting Member ought also to be heard in his Place, Doctor *Cowper* put the Paper again in his Pocket.

AND now it became a Kind of Dispute between the Lawyers at the Bar, who should first state their Client's Case : The Petitioner's Council insisted to be heard the last ; and the Council for the fitting Member insisted, that the others ought to state their Case before they, the fitting Member's Council, should state theirs : The Truth is, that the Council for the Petitioner did not care to go into the Merits. It was not on that they relied ; they could safely trust what they had to say to the Managers within Doors : Whereas the fitting Member and his Friends had nothing to rely on, but the Merits ; and they expected, from his Council, a full and exact Recapitulation of the Charge——of the Evidence——of his Justification and Innocence. The Lawyers, whom he had employed, were Men of noted Eloquence and Capacity ; and, it was reported, they had promised to exert all their Talents on this Occasion.

BUT this Promise, if any such there was, proved to have been only conditional, the Council for the fitting Member did, probably, expect, that the opposite Party would have endeavoured, by specious Reasonings and Bar Sophistry, to puzzle the Case, and that their own Talents would have been more successfully employed, had they exerted them in unraveling such Reasonings ; whereas, as nothing was now left them but to sum up Evidence, and to state Facts, they seemed to be disconcerted at the Facility of the Task ; and, (notwithstanding they were told by Mr. *Stannard*, that, since the Council for the Petitioner refused to speak to their Case, they should not be heard in Reply) they persisted in
their

their Refusal to state the Case of the sitting Member.

THE Reader may easily conceive in what a Situation must have been the sitting Member, during this little Interval: And when he found himself under a Necessity of entering immediately into his Defence, without any the least Preparation, moved, however, with Indignation, at the Behaviour of those he had committed his Cause to, he gave a forced Consent to the Silence of his Council, and, being called on by the Chairman, he made the following Speech.

‘ S I R,

‘ I AM called upon much sooner than I expected. I was in Hopes that my Council would have prepared Matters for my Defence, by stating the Case, and bringing, in one View, the Substance of what Evidence has been laid before you. I am unprepared for this Task; and since they have thought proper to decline it, I must rely on the Memory of my Judges, and on the Notes you have taken, as containing the best Proofs of my Innocence, and of the Insufficiency of the Evidence produced by the Petitioner to make good his Complaint. So much Time has besides been already employed in this Enquiry, and I am so loath to trespass more upon it, that I should conclude, in the usual Manner, by submitting myself and my Cause to the Honour and Candour of this Committee: Had the Petitioner, Mr. *Burton*, been satisfied to have petitioned, in the usual Way, by a Complaint of an unfair Election and Return. But, Sir, his Petition is, properly, an Indictment of high Crimes and Misdemeanors; Crimes,

‘ which,

' which, if I was even suspected to be guilty of,
 ' would make me unfit to sit as a Member of
 ' this House ; and which, if proved against me,
 ' would make me liable to Punishment and
 ' Exile. I am accused of having acted, in Con-
 ' junction, with a Person, whom you have voted
 ' an Enemy to his Country,——of having stirred
 ' up Animosities against our Governors, and
 ' Jealousies against our Neighbours,——of writ-
 ' ting seditious Libels,——of raising Riots and
 ' Tumults, and disturbing the Peace of the
 ' City. I believe, Sir, it must have appeared,
 ' through the Course of this Enquiry, that not
 ' one of these Accusations has been proved. It
 ' must have appeared, that the only *one* Fact,
 ' which had a Tendency to cause, or could any
 ' Way justify, a Suspicion of that Sort, has been
 ' disproved, by Evidence of as much Reputa-
 ' tion and Credit as the one only Witness who
 ' had the Temerity to swear it.

' It is not alone my Right to a Seat in this
 ' House, but it is, together with it, my Credit,
 ' and Property, as a Merchant, which is at-
 ' tacked. My Property, my Well-being, my
 ' Fortune, Sir, depends upon my Credit, upon
 ' what Share of Reputation I may have for Ho-
 ' nour and Integrity, not alone in the limited
 ' Sphere of my own Country, but in the most re-
 ' mote Parts of *Europe*. With my own Coun-
 ' trymen, I need not clear myself from the
 ' Charges brought against me, they all of them
 ' know how ill-founded and frivolous they are.
 ' But what shall my Correspondents abroad think
 ' of me, if they find, by your Resolutions, that I
 ' have lost my Seat in this House, in Conse-
 ' quence of an Accusation, which has been pub-
 ' lished in your Votes, and which contains
 ' Crimes, of which they must have the greatest
 ' Abhorrence : They will be inclined to believe
 ' that

• that every Title of this Accufation has been fully proved: They will not, they cannot, diftinguifh *it* from an Indictment, nor, this Houfe, from the inferior Courts, where the leaft Flaw, or Mifnomer, would be fufficient to quafh it. I muft therefore request, and I hope no lefs, from your Humanity and Candour, that you will be fo good as to *report, efppecially* to the Houfe, the whole Evidence, as you have taken it, that, whatever may be my Fate, with Relation to my Seat in this Place, I may at leaft be faved from Difcredit and Ruin, Difhonour and Shame.'

ON which he retired, and the Debate began upon the Motion, ' That he was not duly elected, and returned Member of Parliament for the City of *Dublin*.'

THIS Debate was opened by the Gentleman we have had already occafion to mention, * as one of the few who had espoufed Mr. *Latouche's* Party, merely out of Regard to Juftice, and had honoured him with his Protection and Friendfhip on Motives, quite different from thofe, which generally prevail in the World. He faid, that he had, from the Commencement of the Committee, attended with all the Application he was Mafter of, and with that Anxiety of Mind every Man muft feel, when his Opinion is to affect the Rights or Property of other Men.

' THAT the Cafe of the Petitioner appeared to him, to be ftated with Confufion of Facts, and that the readier to come at Truth, he would endeavour to place the Facts in their proper Order of Time. That, from what he had collected, from the Evidence, the fitting Member was the firft Perfon, who had offered himfelf as a

* Mr. P——n, *Supra-Page*.

' Candidate, in the Room of Sir *James Somerville* ;
 ' that some few Days after, Sir *Samuel Cooke* and
 ' Mr. *Charles Lucas* declared themselves Can-
 ' didates on that single Vacancy ; that it was e-
 ' vident, from the Rivalship between the sitting
 ' Member, and Mr. *Lucas*, and from the At-
 ' tack Mr. *Lucas* made on the sitting Member
 ' for differing with him, that there could have
 ' been no Connection between them, at least at
 ' that Time, in his System of Politicks.

' THAT it must be admitted, that the City of
 ' *Dublin* has been, for upwards of twenty Years,
 ' divided into what is called the Aldermen's Party,
 ' and the Party of the Free-Citizens ; that the
 ' recovering of those Rights, the Citizens concei-
 ' ve themselves deprived of, had been, for
 ' many Years, a popular Topic, as appeared from
 ' the Election of Councillor *Howard*, and others.
 ' That, on this first Vacancy, Sir *Samuel Cooke*
 ' was supported by the Aldermen, and the sit-
 ' ting Member and Mr. *Lucas* were Rivals on
 ' the popular Interest.

' THAT, in *May*, 1749, Alderman *Pearson*
 ' died, and that the Petitioner did, then, offer
 ' himself a Candidate on the same Interest with
 ' Sir *Samuel Cooke*. That, from this Time,
 ' each Party had their two Candidates, and that
 ' this was the only Connection, he cou'd perceive,
 ' and the only Ground for supposing a Conjun-
 ' ction of Interest, between the sitting Member,
 ' and Mr. *Lucas*, and, that, as a further Proof,
 ' the sitting Member had challeng'd any one to
 ' prove, that he ever asked a Vote for Mr. *Lucas*,
 ' or Mr. *Lucas* for him. That this Connection
 ' seem'd to proceed not from any Friendship,
 ' between the Candidates, but, from the Determi-
 ' nation of the Voters ; and we all know how sub-
 ' missive

‘ missive Gentlemen are to the Will of their Electors, before they are elected.

‘ THAT the violent Attacks, made by Mr. Lucas’s Writings on the Aldermen, occasioned those extraordinary Proceedings in Common-Council, in Favour of the Aldermen, and that they were thought extraordinary, appears from the Censures, past in the several Corporations, on their Representatives in Common-Council, from their disavowing their Proceedings, and from the dissatisfied Members of each Company having entered into Declarations of their several Sentiments. That this was the Foundation of what are called Associations in Favour of Mr. Lucas. That most of the Corporations complimented Mr. Lucas, but that no Compliments were made to the sitting Member, but by those Corporations, only, to whom he had been a useful and faithful Friend, and was therefore justly entitled to their grateful Acknowledgments.

‘ THAT the Suggestion of undue Influence, in the Petition, was founded on these Meetings, and on the Addresses and Speeches of the Candidates. But that, in the Course of the Evidence, nothing material had been objected to the Speeches of the sitting Member: But that, nevertheless, this undue Influence was pointed at no less than to eighty-six Voters, being about *like Majority on the Poll Book*. That such a Charge against a Body of Men, to deprive them of their Votes, when not one of them complains of being seduced by undue Means, must appear as extraordinary as new, and that it required the most serious Consideration, before the House should introduce a Precedent, that may vacate every Election in the Kingdom, and make the Votes in a Committee, not the

Votes

‘ Votes of the People, requisite to sit in Parli-
‘ ment.

‘ THAT the depriving the People of their
‘ Rights and Privileges, could not be done
‘ without a Breach of Trust. The not admit-
‘ ting the eighty-six Voters to declare their Sen-
‘ timents, upon Oath, (for he did not apprehend
‘ there was any Doubt but that they were Free-
‘ men of the City) “ whether they were unduly
‘ influenced, or deluded in the Disposal of their
‘ Votes,” was an additional Difficulty put upon
‘ the sitting Member to prove the Negative. Yet
‘ that such is the Power of Truth, that these
‘ Votes are not only cleared from all Suggestion
‘ of undue Influence, by creditable Witnesses to
‘ their early Declarations, in Favour of the sit-
‘ ting Member, and prior to any Associations
‘ or Speeches, but also by one natural Circum-
‘ stance, which was, that it is hardly possible to
‘ suppose, that the particular Friends of the sit-
‘ ting Member, to whom he had been such a
‘ Benefactor, should have remained in such a
‘ State of Insensibility, as not to have declared in
‘ his Favour, during nine Months Rivalship be-
‘ fore the Death of Alderman *Pearson*.

‘ , THAT the Committee were not to attend to
‘ general Suggestions, or Charges, but that the
‘ Evidence to affect any Man, ought to be clear
‘ and particular, in what his Actions, Addresses,
‘ or Conduct had been criminal, the Illegality of
‘ such Proceedings should be proved, and that
‘ it should be also proved, that they were such as
‘ might be punishable in a Court of Law.

‘ THAT the People were allowed Liberty of
‘ Speech and Writings, and as Liberty of Speech
‘ and Writing is not yet prohibited by Law, it
‘ looked like laying Traps for People, should a
‘ Censure be passed in a House of Commons for
‘ Things

‘ Things not punishable by the known Laws of
‘ the Land.

‘ THAT happy was the Man who can answer
‘ for his own Conduct in all Points, and it must be
‘ a very extraordinary Case, where he is answerable
‘ for the Conduct of another. That an Ac-
‘ complice in Law, implies some joint Act,
‘ and that he never heard of any Man’s being
‘ attacked for what Opinions he harboured in his
‘ Mind, except in an Inquisition.

‘ THAT he had not heard one Fact proved,
‘ that a Judge would suffer a Jury to go out upon
‘ —no, not even if we were cursed with a
‘ *Jeffries*—nor any Proof or Matter, on
‘ which the worst Jury could find for the worst
‘ Judge—and should these, who sat in a House
‘ of Commons, by a Confidence reposed in their
‘ Integrity, and who are under the most sacred
‘ Tie, to adhere to Truth and Justice, deviate
‘ more from Law and Justice, than a Judge or
‘ Jury? that what was even virtuous on other
‘ Occasions, ought now to give Place, (to wit)
‘ private Friendship.

‘ THAT he had before him an illustrious
‘ Instance of that true Spirit of Patriotism, which
‘ justly distinguishes between the Attachment
‘ of private Friendship, and that superior Duty
‘ we owe our Country, in the Distribution of im-
‘ partial, of uninfluenced Justice.

‘ As to the personal Charge, against the sit-
‘ ting Member, and which affects his Fortune,
‘ his more than Life, his Character, his supposed
‘ former Junction, with one, since declared an
‘ Enemy to his Country, as it did not relate to
‘ the Petitioner’s Election, so, had there been
‘ Room for such Enquiry, it ought to have been

* Meaning probably *Eaton Stannard*, late Recorder of
Dublin.

' brought in a more solemn Manner, before Par-
 ' liament. That, in his Apprehension, Attacks
 ' of this Kind, are no trifling Matters; that, in
 ' inferior Courts, an Attack upon Character
 ' exposes the Accuser, if the Prosecution be found
 ' malicious, to an Action, with Costs and Dama-
 ' ges. That, from that noble Spirit which pre-
 ' vails thro' our whole Constitution, and for
 ' the Benefit arising from good Policy, People
 ' of happier Climates dispense with superior Be-
 ' nefits of Nature. That what makes *England*
 ' so glorious and so much the Envy of other Na-
 ' tions, was the Safety and Security of Individuals,
 ' who were not subject to the Caprice of Power,
 ' but that every Man, who suffers, is supposed to
 ' have acted against Conviction, and to have
 ' transgressed some known Law. That extraor-
 ' dinary Cases, indeed, have sometimes required
 ' the Interposition of the Legislature, but, that
 ' there were but few such Instances, and those
 ' justified by publick Good.

' THAT when he reflected on the Consequen-
 ' ces of such a Precedent as was before him, he
 ' was touched to the Quick, that Self, called up-
 ' on him; for what Security could he, or any
 ' Man have, against the Attacks of Power and
 ' Malice? That to our Prince we owed our Loy-
 ' alty, which could never be better expressed,
 ' than by a pious Regard for the Liberties and
 ' Properties of his Subjects, that from him they
 ' ought to take the great Example of blending
 ' Mercy with Justice. That the Commons were
 ' accountable to the Sovereign, for the Preserva-
 ' tion of his People, and were accountable to
 ' God, for the just Discharge of the Trust re-
 ' posed in them, by the People; and that he could
 ' not, for these Reasons, agree with the Resolu-
 ' tions now before them.'

He

HE was supported by many others. Mr. *Croote*, Mr. *Digby*, and Mr. *Stannard*, declared, that they had all of them voted for the Petitioner at the *Tholsel*; the first added, he was his Friend and his Relation, but that it was one Thing to give a Vote, and another to give Judgment; that there was nothing proved against the sitting Member, which in any Respect affected his Character; but that, on the contrary, it was surprizing how he had kept himself so clear of any Sort of Connection. — Mr. *Harward* said, “ that the Petition was false, scandalous and malicious.” Upon which, there was a loud Cry, *to Order*; but he said, he knew the Orders of the House as well as most other Gentlemen; and he insisted, it was not contrary to Order to speak Truth, and that nothing was so true, as that the Facts, alledged in the Petition, were, what he had spoke them to be.’ Mr. *Cowley*, Mr. *Rowley*, and Sir *Thoma: Prendergast*, did also distinguish themselves; but I am not able to set down their Arguments, greater Part of the Notes taken by a Friend in the Gallery having miscarry’d, which I am the more concerned for, as I may be thought guilty of Partiality, in not giving the Substance of what was said in Favour of the Petition; but I can with Truth and Sincerity declare, that I did not hear any one Argument offered in Behalf of the Petition, excepting only that Mr. Serjeant *T——l* insisted strongly on the sitting Member having availed himself of *Lucas’s* Popularity——and that Sir *R——d C-x* argued from the Benefit it would be to the sitting Member to be excluded, that he might have the Time to follow his most useful Profession of a Merchant.

I SHALL, probably, some Day or other, make my Readers some Amends for this Chasm, when I come to the Debate in the House, on the spe-

cial Report, which was not made to the House till the 18th of *December*.

BUT it is here to be noted, that after a long Debate in the Committee it was carried,

‘ THAT *James Digges Latouche*, Esq; is not duly elected, and returned a Citizen to serve the City of *Dublin*, in the present Parliament, on a Division,

AYES 116

NOES 52

And as it grew late, the Minority declined entering into any Argument concerning the next Question, reserving to debate on it, in the House, so it was carried without Opposition,

‘ THAT *Charles Burton*, Esq; is duly elected a Citizen, to serve the City of *Dublin*, in this present Parliament.’

It will hardly be believed what Artifices were used to avoid the special Report, which the sitting Member had desired, which was insisted on, in the Debate, by all his Friends, and which was at length promised by the Chairman. It was given out that the Majority would, if such a Report came into the House, call Mr. *Latouche* as a Criminal before them, because of his Writings, and other Matters, which they said, should be proved against him; but, what those Matters were, were not said. Some of his Friends were intimidated, and advised him to let the Report drop, but he was of a different Opinion, and unwilling to lose any Part of that Reputation he had acquired by his Steadiness and Resolution, he resolved to run any Hazard, rather than that the Monument of his Innocence should not remain on Record, against his Persecutors. Or, perhaps, he might imagine, that the Time it would necessarily take, to draw up this Report, would have given Opportunity for Reflection and Repentance. That
the

the Report itself would have afforded a strong Argument to some of the Majority for altering their Opinion.

ON the 18th of *December*, this famous Report was brought into the House, and, that the Minds of the Majority might be prepared for it's Reception, and all Apprehensions of Danger from *Lucas's* Faction revived, a Complaint was, that very Morning made to the House, " of a
" scandalous and malicious anonymous Letter,
" (directed to Sir *Richard Cox*, Bart. a Member
" of the House,) highly reflecting on the Pro-
" ceedings of the House, which Letter was read
" at the Table, and is as follows :"

S I R, Dublin, December 11th, 1749.
YOUR most extraordinary and unprecedented Pro-
ceedings in the House of Commons, in Relation to Mr. *Latouche*, is looked upon to be such a Violation of the Rights and Priviledges of a brave and loyal People, who inhabit this City, as not to be bore with; and as you are considered as the principal Agent in that Affair, and the Head of the Faction, there is a deep Scheme laid to take away your Life; tho' I cannot help thinking it very justifiable, to cut off such a wicked Member of Society, however, I could not be easy, without informing you thereof; and you have no other Way to escape, but immediately to leave Town in the most private Manner you possibly can. ———

I AM, A CITIZEN.

P. S. It is not impossible but some more of your infernal Majority, may meet with the same Fate.-----
Is there a M——n and two S——ts in the House ?

ORDERED, that *James Seagrave*, Joiner, who delivered the Letter, do attend this House, on the Morrow Morning, at Ten o'Clock; this was

next Day referred to a Committee, and nothing more has been since heard of it.

THE special Report was then read, which took up about three Hours in the reading, and after some Debates, the Resolutions of the Committee were agreed to ;

THAT *James Digges Latouche* is not duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the City of *Dublin*.

AYES 112

NOES 59

THAT *Charles Burton*, Esq; is duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the City of *Dublin*.

AYES 113

NOES 57

A N

A N
Alphabetical L I S T
 O F T H E
HOUSE of COMMONS
 I N
I R E L A N D.

THOSE marked (1) voted that the Weavers should be admitted to give Testimony one for the other.

THOSE marked (a) voted in the Negative.

THOSE marked (2) voted in the Committee, that *James Digges Latouche, Esq;* was duly elected.

THOSE marked (b) voted in the Negative.

THOSE marked (3) voted in the House against the Resolution of the Committee.

THOSE marked (c) voted for agreeing with the Committee.

THOSE marked (n) did not divide in the Question.

THE absent Members are marked by Capitals, *E.* in *England, C.*-----*Country, T.*-----*Town, S.*-----*Sick, D.*-----*Doubtful.*

A.

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|----------|---|
| <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | S I R Archibald Achefon, Bart. University of Dublin. |
| | | | <i>n</i> Nicholas Archdall, Esq; County of Fermanagh. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | <i>J</i> a n e s Ager, Esq; Borough of Gowran. |
| | | | <i>n</i> Nicholas Aylward, Esq; Bor. of Thomas Town. |
| | 2 | 3 | <i>J</i> o s e p h A s h e, Esq; Bor. of Trim. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | <i>W</i> i l l i a m A n n e s l e y, Esq; Bor. of Middleton. |
| | | | <i>D</i> Richard Aldworth, Esq; Bor. of Lismore. |

B.

- b c* **P**HILIP Bragg, Esq; Borough of Armagh.
a b c Robert Burton, Esq; County of Catherlough.
a b c Sir Richard Butler, Bart. Coun. of Catherlough.
a b Hon. Thomas Butler, Esq; Bor. of Belturbet.
a b c Hon. Robert Butler, Esq; Bor. of Belturbet.
c Samuel Bindon, Esq; Bor. of Ennis.
a b c David Bindon, Esq; Bor. of Ennis.
a b Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle, Esq; Speaker of the Hon.
 House of Commons, Coun. of Corke.
c Stephen Bernard, Esq; Town of Bandon Bridge.
a b c Bellingham Boyle, Esq; Town of Bandon Bridge.
E Francis Bernard, Esq; Bor. of Cloghnikeily.
a b c Edward Barry, Esq; Bor. of Charleville.
a b c Hon. Edward Brabazon, Esq; Coun. of Dublin.
1 2 3 Edward Bolton, Esq; Bor. of Swords.
a b c Hon. John Butler, Esq; Bor. of Newcastle.
T Henry Brooke, Esq; Coun. of Fermanagh.
c Hon. Thomas Bermingham, Esq; Coun. of Galway.
a b c Robert Blakeney, Esq; Town of Achunry
T John Bingham, Esq; Bor. of Tuam.
a b c John Blenerhasset, Esq; Bor. of Tralee.
a b c Arthur Blenerhasset, Esq; Bor. of Tralee.
1 2 3 Sir Kildare Dixon Borrowes, Bart. Coun. of Kildare.
a b c John Bourke, Esq; Bor. of Naas.
a b c Thomas Burgh, Esq; Bor. of Naas.
 John Blundel, Esq; City of Kilkenny.
a b c Benjamin Burton, Esq; Bor. of Knoctopher.
a b c Thomas Burgh, Esq; Bor. of Laneshorough.
 William Blakeny, Esq; Bor. of Kilmallock.
S Henry Bellingham, Esq; Coun. of Louth.
e 2 o Sir John Bingham, Bart. Coun. of Mayo.
a b c John Browne, Esq; Bor. of Castlebar.
c Hon. Thomas Bligh, Esq; Bor. of Athboy.
a b c William Blair, Esq; Bor. of Monaghan.
a b c John Barrington, Esq; Bor. of Ballynakill.
C Jonah Barrington, Esq; Bor. of Ballynakill.
C Samuel Barker, Esq; City of Waterford.
a b c Richard Boyle, Esq; Bor. of Dungarven.
 Redmond Barry, Esq; Bor. of Tallagh.
T William Bristow, Esq; Bor. of Lismore.
a b c Anthony Brabazon, Esq; Coun. of Wicklow.

C.

- 1 2 3* **E**DWARD Cary, Esq; Coun. of Londonderry.
4 Robert Colvil.

Hugh

- a b c* Hugh Crofton, Esq; Coun. of Leitrim.
E Hon. Henry Conway, Esq; Coun. of Antrim.
n Robert Cope, Esq; Coun. of Armagh.
E Hon. John Caulfield, Esq; Bor. of Charlemount.
a b c Thomas Carter, jun. Esq; Bor. of Old Leighlin.
2 3 Charles Coote, Esq; Coun. of Cavan.
D Courthope Clayton, Esq; Town of Mallow.
a b c Sir Richard Cox, Bart. Bor. of Cloghnikelty.
E Rt. Hon. William Connolly, Esq; Bor. of Ballyshannon.
E Rt. Hon. Henry Conyngham, Esq; Bor. of Killybeggs.
a b c Abraham Creighton, Esq; Bor. of Lifford.
S Rt. Hon. Thomas Carter, Esq; Bor. of Hillsborough.
a b c William Cooper, Esq; Bor. of Hillsborough.
a b c Sir Samuel Cooke, Bart. City of Dublin.
1 0 3 *John Cole*, Esq; Bor. of Inniskillen.
a b c Sir Maurice Crosbie, Knt. Coun. of Kerry.
T William Crosbie, Esq; Bor. of Ardfert.
C David Chaigneau, Esq; Bor. of Gowran.
C Henry Cary, Esq; Bor. of Colerain.
1 2 3 *Edmund Leslie Corry*, Esq; Bor. of Newtown-Limavady.
C James Cusse, Esq; County of Mayo.
a b c Nathaniel Clements, Esq; Bor. of Duleek.
1 2 3 *Thomas Cooley*, Esq; Bor. of Duleek.
T St. George Caulfield, Esq; Bor. of Tullsk.
1 2 3 *Joshua Cooper*, Esq; Coun. of Sligo.
1 2 3 *William Carr*, Esq; City of Cashel.
John Cleare, Esq; Bor. of Feathard,
1 2 3 *Shapland Carew*, Esq; City of Waterford.
E Rt. Hon. Walter Cary, Esq; Bor. or City of Clogher.
a b c John Colthurst, Esq; Bor. of Tallagh.
a b c Cæsar Colclough, Esq; Coun. of Wexford.

D.

- a b c* **R** T. Hon. Sir Compton Domville, Bart. Coun. of Dublin.
a b c Arthur Dobbs, Esq; Coun. and Town of Carrickfergus.
1 2 3 *Sir Matthew Deane*, Bart. City of Cork.
a b c James Daly, Esq; Bor. of Athunry.
1 2 3 *John Digby*, Esq; Bor. of Kildare.

Robert

- a b c* Robert Downes, Esq; Bor. of Kildare.
E Rt. Hon. William Lord Duncannon, Coun. of
 Kilkenny.
2 3 *Richard Dawson*, Esq; Bor. of St. Keny's, alias Irish-
 town.
a b c Edward Deane, Esq; Bor. of Ennisteege.
1 2 3 *Thomas Dawson*, Esq; Coun. of Monaghan.
C William Henry Dawson, Esq; Bor. of Portarling-
 ton.
a b c Nehemiah Donnellan, Esq; Coun. of Tipperary.
a b c Robert Doyne, Esq; Town of Wexford.
a b c Philip Doyne, Esq; Bor. of Feathard.
E James Lennox Dutton, Esq; Coun. of Meath.
a b c Michael O'Bryen Dilkes, Esq; Bor. of Castlemar-
 tyr.

E.

- a b c* **T**HOMAS Evans, Esq; Bor. of Castlemartyr.
a b c John Eyre, Esq; Town of Galway.
1 2 3 *Richard Edgeworth*, Esq; Bor. of Longford.
C Henry Edgeworth, Esq; Bor. of St. Johnstown.
1 2 3 George Evans, Esq; Queen's County.
3 Charles Echlin, Esq; Bor. of Dungannon.
E Eyre Evans, Esq; Coun. of Limerick.

F.

- a c* **S**IR John Freke, Bart. Bor. of Baltimore.
a b c John Folliot, Esq; Bor. of Donegal.
1 2 3 *William Forward*, Esq; Bor. of Johnstown,
E Robert Fitzgerald, Esq; Bor. of Dingle-Icouch.
a b c Sir William Fownes, Bart. Bor. of Dingle-Icouch.
a b c Warden Flood, Esq; Bor. of Callen.
a b c John Folliot, Esq; Bor. of Granard.
o o C William Henry Fortescue, Esq; Coun. of Louth.
T Thomas Fortescue, Bor. of Dundalk.
1 2 3 *Anthony Forster*, Bor. of Dunleer.
C Chichester Fortescue, Esq; Bor. of Trim.
a b c John French, Esq; Coun. of Roscommon.
a b c Arthur French, Esq; Bor. of Boyle.
o 2 3 Rt. Hon. George Lord Forbes, Manor of Mullin-
 gar.
1 2 3 Hon. John Fitz Maurice, Esq; County of Kerry.
a b c Daniel Faulkner, Esq; Bor. of Balinglas.

G.

- a b c* **S**IR Ralph Gore St. George, Bart. County of Donegal.
T Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Gore, Bart. Bor. of Donegal.
 Henry Gore, Esq; Bor. of Killybeggs.
3 John Graham, Esq; Coun. and Town of Drogheda.
a b c John Graydon, Esq; Bor. of Harristown.
a b c Ralph Gore, Esq; City of Kilkenny.
a b c Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner, Esq; Bor. of Thomastown.
a b c William Gore, Esq; Coun. of Leitrim.
a b c John Gore, Esq; Bor. of Jamestown.
a b c Arthur Gore, Esq; County of Longford.
a b c Frederick Gore, Esq; Bor. of Tullsk.
c Richard Gorges, Esq; Bor. of Augher.
a b c Charles Gardiner, Esq; Bor. of Taghmon.

H.

- a b c* **J**AMES Hamilton, Esq; Bor. of Catherlough.
a b c Robert Hickman, Esq; Coun. of Clare.
C Arthur Hyde, Esq; Coun. of Cork.
1 2 3 *William Harward*, Esq; Bor. of Doneraile.
E Hon. George Hamilton, Esq; Bor. of St. Johnstown.
E Hon. Arthur Hill, Esq; County of Down.
2 3 *Alexander Hamilton*, Esq; Bor. of Killyleagh.
1 0 Edward Herbert, Esq; Bor. of Ennisteage.
E Henry Hamilton, Esq; City of Londonderry.
E John Hamilton, Esq; Bor. of Dundalk.
2 3 Charles Hamilton, Esq; Bor. of Ratoath.
E Hon. Charles Hamilton Esq; Bor. of Strabane.
C William Hamilton, Esq; Bor. of Strabane.
C Gustavus Handcock, Esq; Bor. of Athlone.
a b c Nicholas Loftus Hume, Esq; Bor. of Bannow.
 Walter Hore, Esq; Bor. of Taghmon.
 Richard Hull, Esq; Bor. of Carysfort.

J.

- a b* **H**ON. Robert Jocelyn, Esq; Bor. of Old Leighlin.
 Anthony Jephson, Esq; Town of Mallo.
a b c Thomas Jackson, Esq; Bor. of Coleraine.

Baptist

- 3 *Baptist Johnston*, Esq; Bor. of Monaghan.
 2 *Matthew Jacob*, Esq; Bor. of Feathard.

K.

- 2 3 **T** *HOMAS Knox*, Esq; Bor. of Dungannon.
 C *Andrew Knox*, Esq; Coun. of Donegal.
 a b c *Maurice Keating*, Esq; Coun. of Kildare.
 c *Gilbert King*, Esq; Bor. of Jamestown.
 C *Edward Knatchbull*, Esq; Bor. of Armagh.
 S *Edward King*, Esq; Bor. of Boyle.

L.

- a b c **J** *OHNS* *Lysaght*, Esq; Bor. of Charleville.
 c *Joseph Leeson*, Esq; Bor. of Rathcormuck.
 1 3 *Francis Leigh*, Esq; Coun. and Town of Drogheda.
 T *Henry Lyons*, Esq; King's County.
 a b c *Henry L'Estrange*, Esq; Bor. of Banagher.
 E *Peter Ludlow*, Esq; Coun. of Meath.
 1 3 *Gorges Lowther*, Esq; Bor. of Ratoath.
 C *Galbraith Lowry*, Esq; Coun. of Tyrone.
 C *Charles Lambert*, Esq; Bor. of Kilbeggan.
 n *Gustavus Lambert*, Esq; Bor. of Kilbeggan.
 a b c *Nicholas Loftus*, Esq; Coun. of Wexford.
 a b c *Thomas Le Hunt*, Esq; Town of Wexford.
 a b c *John Leigh*, Esq; Town of New Ross.
 a b c *Henry Loftus*, Esq; Bor. of Bannow.
 1 2 3 *Thomas Loftus*, Esq; Bor. of Clomines.

M.

- R** *OBERT Maxwell*, Esq; Bor. of Lisburne.
 C *George Macartney*, Esq; Bor. of Belfast.
 1 2 3 *William Macartney*, Esq; Bor. of Belfast.
 3 *John More*, Esq; Bor. of Charlemount.
 o 2 3 *John Maxwell*, Esq; Coun. of Cavan.
 E *John Magil*, Esq; Bor. of Rathcormuck.
 T *Thomas Montgomery*, Esq; Bor. of Lifford.
 T *Acheson Moore*, Esq; Bor. of Bangor.
 a b c *Sir Robert Maude*, Bart. Bor. of Bangor.
 Hon. *Byffe Moleworth*, Esq; Bor. of Swords.
 a b c *Edmund Malone*, Esq; Bor. of Ardfert.
 a b c *Marcus Anthony Morgan*, Esq; Bor. of Athy.
 a b c *Harvy Morres*, Esq; Bor. of St. Keny's, alias Irish-
 town.
 Hon. *William Moleworth*, Esq; Bor. of Philips-
 town.

Richard

- n* Richard Maunfell, Esq; City of Limerick.
T James Macartney, Esq; Bor. of Granard.
a b c Anthony Marlay, Esq; Bor. of Laneborough.
c John Macarell, Esq; Bor. of Carlingford.
a b Henry Michell, Esq; Bor. of Castlebar.
1 2 3 *Alexander Montgomery*, Esq; Coun. of Monaghan.
a b c Thomas Mahon, Esq; Bor. of Roscommon.
a b c Stephen Moore, Esq; Coun. of Tipperary.
a b c Robert Marshall, Esq; Bor. of Clonmell.
a b c Aland Mafon, Esq; Coun. of Waterford.
c Anthony Malone, Esq; Coun. of Westmeath.
a b c Richard Malone, Esq; Bor. of Fore.
a c Francis Macartney, Esq; Bor. of Blessington.

N.

- C* **T**HOMAS Nesbit, Esq; Bor. of Cavan.
E Robert Needham, Esq; Bor. of Newry.
a b c Alexander Nesbit, Esq; Bor. of Newton-Limavady.
T Sir Arthur Newcomen, Bart. Coun. of Longford.
c Thomas Newcomen, Esq; Bor. of St. Johnstown.
 William Naper, Esq; Bor. of Athboy.

O.

- 1 2 3* **P**HILIP Oliver, Esq; Bor. of Kilmallock
a b c Francis Ormsby, Esq; Bor. of Sligo.
1 2 Charles O'Neil, Esq; Bor. of Randalstown.
a c Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart. Coun. of Clare.
T Hon. James O'Brien, Esq; Town of Youghal.

P.

- T* **C**ROMWELL Price, Esq; Bor. of Downpatrick.
a b c Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby, Esq; Bor. of Newtown.
a b c Emanuel Pigott, Esq; City of Cork.
a b c Richard Ponsonby, Esq; Town of Kingfale.
a b c Hon. Richard Ponsonby, Esq; Bor. of Knocktopher.
a b c Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart. King's County.
1 2 3 Thomas Pakenham, Esq; Bor. of Longford.
1 2 3 Robert Parkinson, Esq; Bor. of Atherdee.
a b c Nathaniel Prestor, Esq; Bor. of Navan.

John

- a b c* John Preston, Esq; Bor. of Navan.
1 2 3 *Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Prendergast*, Bart. Bor. of Clonmel.
a b c Richard Pennefather, Esq; City of Cashel.
C Robert Perceval; Esq; Bor. of Fore.

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- C* **A** RTHUR Rochfort, Esq; Coun. of Westmeath.
3 *Robert Roberts*, Esq; Bor. of Dungarven.
C William Ruxton, Esq; Bor. of Atherdec.
1 2 *William Richardson*, Esq; Coun. of Armagh.
1 2 3 *William Richardson*, Bor. of Augher.
b c John Rochfort, Esq; Manor of Mullingar.
C Robert Ross, Esq; Bor. of Newry.
1 2 3 *Robert Ross*, Jun. Esq; Carlingford.
1 2 3 *Hercules Langford Rowley*, Esq; Coun. of Londonderry.
E Abel Ram, Esq; Bor. of Newborough, alias Gorey.
E Humfrys Ram, Esq; Bor. of Newborough, alias Gorey.

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- a b c* **R** ICHARD St. George, Esq; Bor. of Carrick.
a b c Hon. Hugh Skeffington, Esq; Co. of Antrim.
2 3 *Edward Smyth*, Esq; Bor. of Lisburne.
1 2 3 *Janes Smyth*, Esq; Bor. of Antrim.
n William Sharman, Esq; Bor. of Randalstown.
C Jonas Stawell, Esq; Town of Kingsale.
1 2 3 *Eaton Stannard*, Esq; Bor. of Middleton.
a b c Hon. Hayes St. Leger, Esq; Bor. of Doneraile.
1 2 3 *Usher St. George*, Esq; Bor. of Carrick.
E Rt. Hon. Edward Southwell, Esq; Bor. of Downpatrick.
1 0 3 *James Stevenson*, Esq; Bor. of Killyleagh.
1 0 3 *Robert Sandford*, Esq; Bor. of Newcastle.
C James Saunderson, Esq; Bor. of Inniskillen.
E Thomas Staunton, Esq; Town of Galway.
a b c Hon. Henry Southwell, Esq; Coun. of Limerick.
a b c Charles Smith, Esq; City of Limerick.
2 3 *William Scott*, Esq; City of Londonderry.
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- 1 2 0 **R** *T. Hon. James Tynte*, Esq; Town of Youghal.
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 a b c *Philip Tisdal*, Esq; University of Dublin.
 a b c *Frederick Trench*, Esq; Coun. of Galway.
 a b c *Richard Trench*, Esq; Bor. of Banagher.
 a b c *Edward Taylor*, Esq; Bor. of Askeyton.
 a b c *Thomas Tenison*, Esq; Bor. of Dunleer.
 3 3 *Sir Thomas Taylor*, Bart. Bor. of Kells.
 1 2 3 *Thomas Thor*, Esq; Bor. of Kells.
 T *Charles Tenham*, Esq; Town of New Ross.
 T *William Tighe*, Esq; Bor. of Clomines.
 C *Thomas Theaker*, Esq; Bor. of Wicklow.
 a b c *Stephen Trotter*, Esq; of Carysfort.

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- a b c **S** *IR John Denny Vesey*, Bart. Bor. of Newtowna.
 E *Arthur Upton*, Esq; County and Town of Car-
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 T *William Vesey*, Esq; Bor. of Tuam.
 a b c *Agmondisham Vesey*, Esq; Bor. of Harristown.
 Richard Vincent, Esq; Bor. or City of Clogher.
 a b c *Beverly Usher*, Esq; Coun. of Waterford.
 T *Charles Usher*, Esq; Bor. of Blessington.

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- a b c **R** *T. Hon. Edward Weston*, Esq; Bor. of Cavan.
 E *Rt. Hon. Edward Walpole*, Esq; Bor. of Bal-
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 E *Walter Weldon*, Esq; Bor. of Athy.
 a b c *Patrick Wemys*, Esq; Coun. of Kilkenny.
 Henry Wemys, Esq; Bor. of Callen.
 a b c *Boleyn Whitney*, Esq; Bor. of Philipstown.
 a b c *John Minchin Walcott*, Esq; Bor. of Askeyton.
 E *Richard Warburton*, Esq; Queen's County.
 C *William Wall*, Esq; Bor. of Maryborough.

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- E Warner Westenra, Esq; Bor. of Maryborough.
1 2 3 Owen Wynne, Jun. Esq; Coun. of Sligo.
1 2 3 Owen Wynne, Esq; Bor. of Sligo.
1 2 3 Richard Chapel Whaley, Esq; Coun. of Wicklow.
E James Whithead, Esq; Bor. of Wicklow.
Sir Richard Wolfely, Bart. Bor. of Catherlough.

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