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# THE <br> CLALMS <br> 61 TH1 P E O P 1 E ENGLAND. 

N B. Thofe Perfou, tho haye noo Leifaro (in the prefent awfar and importapc Crifis of poblic 4 fitir) to pervico this litgle Tract, may viewtholyance of it, in an Nistanct, at the End of the Hopl , which has Refe. Kence (as an Yibx) for more full Information of cach Anicile.
FTFTHEDITION
 cludes the duty of rettoring po dh mensthtacars

 - Iaiah xxxii. 7.

-     - For tbe Tbrons is efablibol b RionTzousirase



> LONDON:

Petnespfor J.STOCKDALE, PicczDruti M.DCC.LXXXII.

## (3)

## The Claims of the People of England.

IN the beginning of the prefent century, (anno 1701, 12 W. III.) a fenfibie and loyal Writer drew up a fmall Tract of political information, which he intitled "The Claims of the People of "England effayed in a Letter from the "Country." But, before the Tract was printed, the Author had the fatisfaction to hear, that the Claims, he had afferted, were in many refpects eftablifhed by a new Act of the Parliament then fitting; which feafonable attention to the People's Rigbts he moft gratefully acknowledged in a Roîfcript to his Letter.

The AEF of Settlement, by virtue of which the prefent Royal Family fucceeded to the Crown of thefe Realms, was the Statute, which then fo happily (in the opinion of that Writer) "fecured the Claims of "the People of England."

It is intitled, "An AE for the fartber "Limitation of the Crown, and better Se"curing the Rigbts and Liberties of the "Subject;" - and accordingly contains

A 2 eight

## (4)

eight very excellent Articies of Limitation, agreeable to " the Claims of the People of "England;" which, it feems, were enacted, "witb the unanimous Concurrence of " both Houfes of Parliament," for the exprefs purpofe of " fecuring our Religion, "Laws, and Liberties."

One of thefe Articles ordained-"That" - " all. matters and tbings relating to the "well governing of tbis Kingdom, wbicb "are properly cognizable in the Privy Coun"cil by the Laws and Cufioms of tbis Realm, " Sball be tranfacted there, and all Refolu"tions taken thereupon fall be figued by fucb "of the Privy Council as Ball advife and "confent to the fame." $\|$

And by another of thefe Articles it was ordained - "Tbat no perfon, who bas an "Ofice, or Place of profit, under the King, " or receives a Penfion from the Crown, Jaall " be capable of ferving as a Membir of the "Heufe of Commons."*

But,
IThis excellent provifion would effectually prevent any Fecret Council, or Faction, from becoming efficient without Refponfibility.

- It might perhaps have been objected at that time, as well as at prefent, that fuch a total exclufion of Placemen would withdrav/ from Parliament the Council and Affiftance of many worthy Men in Office, (or that ought to be in Office, whofe parliamentary Abilities are the moft diftinguihed
tation, ople of re enonce of exligion,

That" to the wobicb CounRealm, Refolu$y$ fuch and
t was
as ant
King,
Jlaall of the

But, nt any without il and ought le moft uifhed

But, as the Parliament was at that time invefted with the dangerous unconftitutional power of a triennial duration without Reelection, it was impoffible that the Elected (who thereby acquired a temporary independency of the Electiors, and, of courfe, too many of them, a separate interef of their own) could long continue real Reprefentatives of the People's Claims; and, confequently, thefe two moft excellent provifions againft undue influence were unhappily repealed, a very
ditinguifhed and eminent in the Kingdom. Yet there $i^{8}$ an obvious anfwer to this objection, viz. That it is very eafy for a free Parliament (if in their wifdom they fhall think it proper) to permit the great Officers of State, or even their Secretaries or firf Clerks to have feats in Parliament, and, as Members, sot only to declare their opinions, but alfo, for the better information of the Houfe, even to debate and reply upon all queftions relating to public affairs; which might be allowed without any dangerous effeft, provided they are duly reftrained from the fingle privilege of Voting. The Nation by this means may have ample benefit in the exercife of their great and Mhining abilities, without rifque of undue influence, which cannot jufly be attributed to mere argument, as that has no other weight or effect than what is tairly due to its merit; and any unreafonable leugth of spectb, whenever it is ufed with an apparent intention to procraftinate-and obftruet the intention of the Majority, may be duly reftrained at the pleafure of the Houfe. But otherwife, (i, e. wishout fome due reftriction, and, more efpecially, witkout an abfolute exclufion from tbe porver of voting,) a Trbasury. Bench, or any other Bench of Placemen, in the Houfe of Commons, is a manifef Abomination, utterly repugnant to all juft Ideas of a free uninfuenced Parliament, and confequently is highly derogatory to the henour of that Houfe!
few years afterwards, in the 4th year of Queen Anne (c. 8.) Which amply proves, that the mot falutary provitions for "the "Claims of the people" cannot be fecurely eftablifhed under triennial or feptennial Parhiaments; and, of courfe, that the antient ufage of filional Elbetrons is a Claim, of all others the moft effentially neceffary for our welfare.

Since the fatal repeal above mentioned, the prevalence of undue influence hath fo rapidly and enormoufly increafed, that the ever-loysl Citizens of London thought it their duty, in the year 1770, to bear teftimony againft it; and accordingly they afferted, im a public declaration to the King himrelf, that "the" (then) "Houfe of Commons " did not reprefent the people." $\dagger$

Sublequent Facts have demonitrated the abfolute neceffity we are now under to claim and promote an unequivocal abolition of all uxdue Influence in Parliament.

Meafures, the moft unrigbteous, as well as the moft ruinous that could have been de-vifed,
$\dagger$ "Reprefentatives of the People are effential to the " making of Laws, and there is a Time when it is morally "demonitrable that Men ceafe to be Reprefentatives. athat Time is now artived. The present House " of Commons do not represent the People." -Addrefs of the Mayor, Aldermen; \&c. of the City of London, 1770.
vifed, have been adopted and carried on under a pretended fanction of parliamentary Autberity, § which have involved both King and Yeople (whofe true interefts are infeparable) in the mof alarming difficulties: and the oftenfible Agents in the mifchief have obftinately perfevered to the utmoft extenfion of ability, until public Difafters, and a happy preventive incapacity of their own, (their Heads and Funds being equally exhaufted of council and refource, ) have compelled them to make a temporary retreat; though the nuA 4 merous
5 This muft of cqurfe be underflood to refer (if yon pleafe) only to former Parliaments that began the Mifchief, whofo preternded Sention had more of the Name than the Realizy of parliamentary Autbority, if a real Refrefematicica of the Commons be at all effential to conflitute a true legal Parliament.
The Reprefentatives afe chofan by a reery. Small. Propontion of the People, and even that fmall Proportion of People is to monflrounly unequal in their poower of delegation, that the fmall Numter of 5723 Barough Vorers elect 354 Reprefentatives, which is very near half the Number of Reprefentatives that are due to fix Millions of People, and mpors than balf, or a Majority, of the Numbers that are ever known to atcend at any one Time. The Injustice of fuch an enormpus Difprepertion in the Reprefencation of the whole People eannot be parallelled by any other grofs $A b-$ furdity, except tas lyiquity of rendering that difproportionate Reprefentation fill more contemptible and nugatory by Septennial or (what were nearly as pernicious) Triennial, indead of the'ancient conditutional Ufage pf Sessional, Elictions.
> ( 8 )
> merous Corps of Placemen; Penfioners, Contractcrs, \&cc. occafionally procured them a thameful Majority almoft to the laft!

Hence it is evident that the Corruption of Parliament is the real fource of all our national calamities and grievances, which cannot therefure be, relieved by a mere cbange of Mini/lry.

The Minority in Parliament hath once before, in the memory of moft men, become the Majority; and the worthy Op pofers of bad meafures were indulged with a temporary adminiftration of public Affairs, until the fecret efficient Cabinet could recover from the furprife and difmay of their former defeat in Parliament, and, by a renewed exertion of their undwe influence, were able to thackle the new Adminiftration with the rueful alternative, either to abandon their newly-acquired dignities, or elfe to adopt fuch meafures as mult effectually deprive them of the people's confidence; after which they were contemptuoully compelled (one by one, or as it might beft fuit the purpores of the reigning fyftem of undue influence) to yield up their places for the emolument of the more pliant creatures of the fecret faction.

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It would be madnefs for Englifbmen, after fuch galling experience, to neglect their juft and indifpenfible Claim to fome immediate and effectual precaution againft fimilar delufions. To truft another new Adminiftration, without infifting at the fame time on a conftitutional limitation of power, by a free uninfluenced Reprefentation of the Commons, may be dangerous to our very exiftence as an independent Kingdom!

The reduced circumftances of the Na tion cannot admit the rifque of another fuch credulous experiment!

It is therefore become abfolutely neceffary, for the fecurity both of King and People, (which includes the true intereft of all parties,) that the juft "Claims of the Peo"ple" be fatisfied in an immediate Reftoration of the antient legal and refponfible Government, by a Revival of the two repealed Articles of the ACt of Settlement, above recited, and by a Revival alfo of that moft excellent Statute for Sessional Parliaments, paffed in the 4 th of K. Ed. III. c. 14. declaring, " that a Parliament". (meaning a newly-elected Parliament, as the writs of thofe times inconteftably demonftrate) " Sall be bolden every year once, ana "" more often if need be.", But this indifpenfible


#### Abstract

fible Rigbt and Claim of the People (for the Act itfelf is no more than an authentic Declaration, or Acknowledgement, of an'antient Right) cannot have complete effect without totally repealing an $A C B$ of the 8th year of K. Hen. VI. (cap. vii.) which, on falfe pritences, (whereby it is rendered unworthy the title and dignity of a Statate,) diffranchifed at once by far the greateft part of the Englif Nation, by robbing them of their Birthright, $\ddagger$ the ineftimable Rigbt


$\ddagger$ In the Act of Settlement, by virtue of which the prefent King fits on the Throne, it is declared, that "the "Larus of Exgland are the Birtbright of the people thereof:" and, according to an antient Maxim of the Common Law, this our Birtbright in the Lawes is to be efteemed our moft valuable inberitante, fuperior to every other Denomination of Property. "Major Haredites unicuique venit a " jure et legibus quam a parentibus." Lord Coke fays it -" is the Beff. Birtbright tbe fubjece hath; for thereby bis ": Goods, Lands, Wife, Cbildren, bis Body, Life, Honour ": and Eftimation, are proteised from injury and swrong:" and then he cites the maxim- "Major Hareditas, Ưe. 2 Infl. P. 56. An Act of Pariiament, therefore, which fets up an inforior and mere pecuniary property as the object of reprefertation, not only in preference, Eut to the total excluFoon of that fingerior property, or perfonal Right, which ought to be efteemed the moft valuable inberitance, op " best - Birtaright the fubject batb," \&c. is fuch a "malum " in $\mathcal{\delta}$," fuch an iniquitons contempt and infringement of Common Rigbt, againlt Reafon and Yuftiec, and againft the exprefs declaration of a fundamental principle of the Englifh Confitution, as cannot fail to render the ACt "null and " void
of voting for Reprefentatives in Parliament; without which they cannot properly be efteemed Freemen, becaufe the Lawes, their Birthright and moft valuable Property, may be shanged, fufpended, or entirely withdrawn from tbem, without their confent; whereas, in antient times, they enjoyed not only the privilege of voting, in plen Countie, (i.e. the full County-court or Parliament of each County,) for the Knights of the Shire, but frequently alfo for the Citi-
zens
"void in itfelf," if the People will but unite in maintaining this jult and legal plea againft it; for which they have ample authority. See Doctor and Student, c. 10. wherein it is declared, that "Statutes cannot exift againf Renson "" or the Law Divine,"- "nec contra Rationen, nee " contra. Legem divinam exifunt:" for the execrable iniquily abovementioned is furely againft botb; and therefore as "thefe two Laws" (ths Law of Roafon and the " Laww of God) " cannot abate or turn afide"," "Ha the "Leges declinari non pofunt," (ib. c. 17.) it is manifeft that the unjuft Act is utterly unworthy to be named a Statute, and mufl needs be void,* as it cannot otherwife be efteemed. than a mere corruption, (or corruptela,) according to the exprefs direction of the fame approved Author in his $2 d$ ch. - viz. - "Againft tbis Laww," (i. e. the Law of Reafom) " prejeription, Statute, nor ciftom, may not prevail ${ }^{\text {aned, }}$, "if any be brougbt in againft it, they be not prefriptions, * Statetes, nor Cufoms, but Corruptions, (Cod-
 et Stud. Eng. ed. 1668, p. 5 .

[^0]zens and Burgeffes, elected in their refpect tive Counties; whereby the Equality of Reprefentation was then preferved; and may again be happily reftored by fome fuch equitable mode of transferring the reprefentation of depopulated or notorioully venal Boroughs to the Decifion of their refpective County-courts. Which method of equalijing Reprefentation deferves preference to all others, becaufe it is not liable to the odious charge of innovation, but, on the contrary, is authenticated by long-continued ufage and legal Precedents of ancient times: and the fame may be faid of all the other changes already recommended in this Addrefs.

By thefe approved and tried means, the juft claims of the people may be amply, as well as eafily, eftablithed; and the happy effects of fuch a perfect Reformation would be fecurity and fupport to any virtuous Adminiftration: for it would prevent their juft meafures from being impeded and clogged by the fecret machinations of any private Cabal, or Cabinet Facticn, that might otherwife be efficient without Refponfbility ; and it would alfo exclude the interefted oppofition of needy unprinciplic perfons, who at prefent can introduce themjelves into P-1--m-tt (if they can but find credit for the

## ( 13 )

the purchafe-money) merely for the purpofes of private interefl! a Trade as difbonourable to themfelves as it is baneful to the Nation; for the Reprefentation of many Boroughs is now commonly efteemed a mere pecuniary property, and, as fuch, has in many inftances been either notorioully bougbt and fold; or clle is holden at the abfolute difpofal of fingle Individuals, (Peers and other overgrown Landholders,) for the dangerous purpofe of enhancing their own perfonal conjequence! An "undue Infuence" this (in whatfoever hands it is lodged) that is moft deteftably difgraceful to the Nation as well as fundamentally derogatory to the validity of every legilative Refolution! and, what is ftill more alarming, will completely ruin the Kingdom, if the conftitutional Renedies here propofed are not fpeedily adopted.

Old Firwry, Marcb 23, 1782.
GRANVILLE SHARP.

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An ABSTRACT of the Claims, $\mathfrak{o}^{\circ} c$. and of the conftitutional Means of redreffing public Grievances, without Innovation. P. 12.

## Claim I.

TH A T neither the Privy Council, nor any fecret Cabinet for State Affairs, ought to be efficient without refponjibility. P. 4. n. and p. 12.

Remedy: Revive a repealed claufe of the Act of Settlement, "Tbat all matters cognizable in the Privy Council Jall be tranfacted tbere, E̛C. P. $4 \& 9$.

Claim II. That all undue influence of the Crown ought to be totally excluded from Parliament, p. 6. and that a "Ireafury-bench," or any other Bench of Placemen, in the Houfe of Commons, (unlefs duly reftrained from the privilege of voting,) is an Abomination! utterly repugnant to all juft ideas of a free uninfluenced Parliament! P. 5. n.

Remedy. Revive a repealed Claufe of the Act of Settlement: "Ibat no perfon,

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" who kas an office or place of profit under teb "King, Ec. Joall be capable of ferving as "Members of the Houfe of Commons." P. 4. N.B. The ordinary objection to this claufe may be obviated, by permitting the great Officers of State, their Secretaries, EOc. to fit, debate, and inform the Houfe, but without privilege of voting. P. $4 \& 5$. n.

Clatm III. That "the Lawes of Emgland " are the Birthright of the People there" of" (p. 10, n.) ; yet the greater part of the People are robbed of that Birtbrigbt by an unconftitutional exclufion from any fhare in the Legillature; fo that the Laves (the mof valuable Property to every man - "unicuicue venit," Ěc. p. 10.) may be changed, fufpended, or repealed, without their affent. P. 11 .

Remedy. Repeal the ACt of 8 Hen . VI. c. 7. whereby the People in geaeral were robbed of that Birtariget. P. 10.

Claim IV. That the Reprefentation of the People ought to be rendered more equal.

Remedy. Refer the enormous difproportion of delegating power, now enjoyed by venal Boroughs, (p. 7. n.) to the decifion of the County-Ciourts, according to antient Precedents. (P. 12.)

Claim

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CLAM V: Experience has detoporan


 effectuat to reftore them, under triennia Gand Septennial Parlaments, P. 5 fo that the an fient ufage of renewing the Reprefentation BY A" GENERAL EIECTIONEVERY SES: SION is the moft effential Claim of all offers for the welfare of the Kingdom. $\cdot \mathbf{P} \cdot 6::^{\circ 2}$

REMEDY Repeal the Agt for trienninh and feptemial Parliaments, and then of Coute, A e Satute of 4 Ed IL $\mathrm{c}, 14$ will recover is original efficacy and murt be contrued agreable to the ugge of, the times "hen it was decene fuhly effectual: which may be arcertaned by the evidence, of Election-Writs having been iffued generatly "every year once, and frequently is thate oftent: fo that the antient ujage Sefional Elėclions, is an'unquettiofablekight and Claim of the People. - (See pı 9 )

The certain Effect of thefe confitutignal Remedies will be Security and support of a virtuous Adminiftration. P. 12. Sediflo the Mote in the Title.
 THE.END
H:A 13



[^0]:    *" Plowden has reported a variety of cafes, wherein Acta of Para liament were efteemed vid in Lavv through the want of srutb in the "racitalt. See pages 398. to 4c0." (Sharp's Declaration, p. 239.) Which legal difqualification is obvious in the preamble to the Aat in eveltion; whereia faife pretences are alleged to favour the fatal change. Ser p. so.

