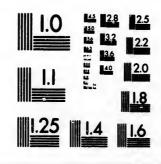


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ENGLAND.

N B. Those Persons, who have not Leisure (in the present awful and important Criss of public Affairs) to peruse this little Tract, may view the Subflance of it, in an Austract, at the End of the Book; which has References (as an Index) for more full Information of each Article.

FIFTH EDITION.

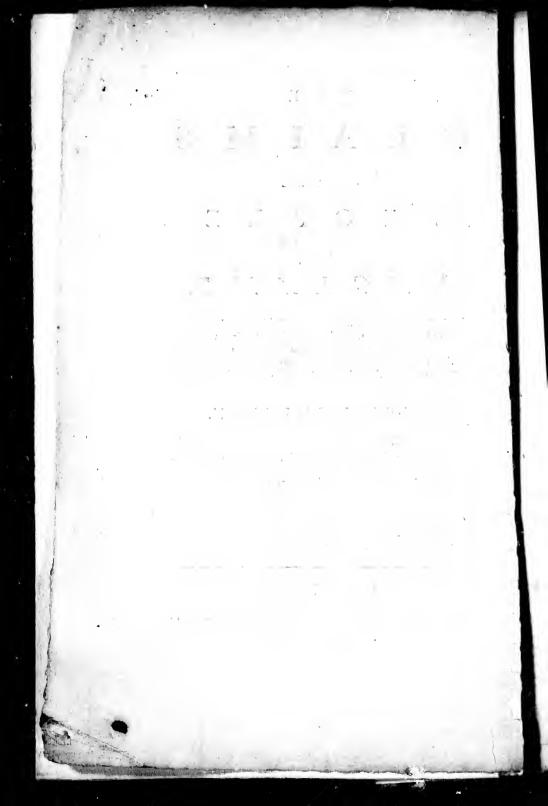
"The Work of RIGHTEOUSNESSE (which acceptivity includes the duty of refloring to all mon their RIGHTE and just Claims) " shall be PRACE; and the Effect of RIGHTEOUSNESS, Quietness and Afference for ever."

If alah xxxii. 17.

Prov. xvi. 12.) But — there is a Prace, faith ay God, to the Wicked." — Italk lyii. 21.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J.STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.
M.DCC.LXXXII.



The CLAIMS of the People of ENGLAND.

In the beginning of the present century, (anno 1701, 12 W. III.) a sensible and loyal Writer drew up a small Tract of political information, which he intitled—"THE CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND essayed in a Letter from the Country." But, before the Tract was printed, the Author had the satisfaction to hear, that the Claims, he had afferted, were in many respects established by a new Act of the Parliament then sitting; which seafonable attention to the People's Rights he most gratefully acknowledged in a Post-script to his Letter.

The Act of Settlement, by virtue of which the present Royal Family succeeded to the Crown of these Realms, was the Statute, which then so happily (in the opinion of that Writer) " secured THE CLAIMS OF

" THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND."

It is intitled, "An Act for the farther
"Limitation of the Crown, and better se"curing the Rights and Liberties of the
"Subject;"— and accordingly contains
A 2 eight

eight very excellent Articles of Limitation, agreeable to " the Claims of the People of England;" which, it seems, were enacted, " with the unanimous Concurrence of " both Houses of Parliament," for the express purpose of " securing our Religion,

" Laws, and Liberties." One of these Articles ordained-"That" - " all matters and things relating to the " well governing of this Kingdom, which " are properly cognizable in the Privy Coun-" cil by the Laws and Customs of this Realm, " shall be transacted there, and all Resolu-" tions taken thereupon shall be signed by such " of the Privy Council as shall advise and " consent to the same."

And by another of these Articles it was ordained - " That no person, who has an " Office, or Place of profit, under the King,

or receives a Penhon from the Crown, shall

" be capable of serving as a Member of the

" House of Commons."*

But,

This excellent provision would effectually prevent any secret Council, or Faction, from becoming efficient without

Responsibility.

It might perhaps have been objected at that time, as well as at present, that such a total exclusion of Placemen would withdraw from Parliament the Council and Assistance of many worthy Men in Office, (or that ought to be in Office,) whose parliamentary Abilities are the most distinguished But, as the Parliament was at that time invested with the dangerous unconstitutional power of a triennial duration without Reelection, it was impossible that the Elected (who thereby acquired a temporary independency of the Electors, and, of course, too many of them, a separate interest of their own) could long continue real Representatives of the People's Claims; and, consequently, these two most excellent provisions against undue instuence were unhappily repealed, a very

distinguished and eminent in the Kingdom. Yet there is an obvious answer to this objection, viz. That it is very easy for a free Parliament (if in their wisdom they shall think it proper) to permit the great Officers of State, or even their Secretaries or first Clerks to have feats in Parliament. and, as Members, not only to declare their opinions, but alfo, for the better information of the House, even to debate and reply upon all questions relating to public affairs; which might be allowed without any dangerous effect, provided they are duly restrained from the single privilege of VOTING. The Nation by this means may have ample benefit in the exercise of their great and shining abilities, without risque of undue influence, which cannot justly be attributed to mere argument, as that has no other weightor effect than what is tairly due to its merit; and any unreafonable length of Speech, whenever it is used with an apparent intention to procrastinate and obstruct the intention of the Majority, may be duly restrained at the pleasure of the House. But otherwise, (i. e. without some due restriction, and, more especially, without an absolute exclusion from the power of voting.) a TREASURY BENCH, or any other BENCH OF PLACEMEN, in the House of Commons, is a manifest Abomination, utterly repugnant to all just Ideas of a free uninfluenced Parliament, and consequently is highly derogatory to the honour of that House!

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few years afterwards, in the 4th year of Queen Anne (c. 8.) Which amply proves, that the most salutary provisions for ** the ** Claims of the people" cannot be securely established under triennial or septennial Parliaments; and, of course, that the antient usage of sessional Elections is a Claim, of all others the most essentially necessary for our welfare.

Since the fatal repeal above mentioned, the prevalence of undue influence hath so rapidly and enormously increased, that the ever-loyal Citizens of London thought it their duty, in the year 1770, to bear testimony against it; and accordingly they afferted, in a public declaration to the King himfelf, that "the" (then) "House of Commons "did NOT represent the people."

Subsequent Facts have demonstrated the absolute necessity we are now under to claim and promote an unequivocal abolition of all

undue Influence in Parliament.

Measures, the most unrighteous, as well as the most ruinous that could have been de-

London, 1770.

^{† &}quot;Representatives of the People are essential to the making of Laws, and there is a Time when it is morally demonstrable that Men cease to be Representatives. That Time is now arrived. THE PRESENT HOUSE OF COMMONS DO NOT REPRESENT THE PEOPLE."

Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of the City of

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vised, have been adopted and carried on under a pretended fanction of parliamentary Authority, § which have involved both King and People (whose true interests are inseparable) in the most alarming difficulties: and the ostensible Agents in the mischief have obstinately persevered to the utmost extension of ability, until public Disasters, and a happy preventive incapacity of their own, (their Heads and Funds being equally exhausted of council and resource,) have compelled them to make a temporary retreat; though the numerous

§ This must of course be understood to refer (if you please) only to former Parliaments that began the Mischief, whose presented Sauction had more of the Name than the Reality of parliamentary Authority, if a real Representation of the Commons be at all essential to constitute a true legal Parliament.

The Representatives are chosen by a very small Proportion of the People, and even that small Proportion of People is so monstrously unequal in their power of delegation, that the small Number of 5723 Borough Voters elect 254 Representatives, which is very near half the Number of Representatives that are due to six Millions of People, and more than half, or a Majority, of the Numbers that are ever known to attend at any one Time. The Injustice of such an enormous Disproportion in the Representation of the whole People cannot be parallelled by any other gross Abserdity, except the Injustic of rendering that disproportionate Representation still more contemptible and nugatory by Septennial or (what were nearly as pernicious) Triennial, instead of the ancient constitutional Usage of Sessional, Elections.

merous Corps of Placemen, Pensioners, Contractors, &c. occasionally procured them a thameful Majority almost to the last!

Hence it is evident that the Corruption of Parliament is the real fource of all our national calamities and grievances, which cannot therefore be relieved by a mere

change of Ministry.

The Minority in Parliament hath once before, in the memory of most men, become the Majority; and the worthy Oppofers of bad measures were indulged with a temporary administration of public Affairs, until the secret efficient Cabinet could recover from the surprise and dismay of their former defeat in Parliament, and, by a renewed exertion of their undue influence, were able to shackle the new Administration with the rueful alternative, either to abandon their newly-acquired dignities, or else to adopt such measures as must effectually deprive them of the people's confidence; after which they were contemptuously compelled (one by one, or as it might best suit the purposes of the reigning system of undue influence) to yield up their places for the emolument of the more pliant creatures of the secret faction.

It would be madness for Englishmen, after such galling experience, to neglect their just and indispensible Claim to some immediate and effectual precaution against similar delusions. To trust another new Administration, without insisting at the same time on a constitutional limitation of power, by a free uninfluenced Representation of the Commons, may be dangerous to our very existence as an independent Kingdom!

The reduced circumstances of the Nation cannot admit the risque of another such

credulous experiment!

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It is therefore become absolutely necesfary, for the security both of King and People, (which includes the true interest of all parties,) that the just " Claims of the Peo-" ple" be satisfied in an immediate Restoration of the antient legal and responsible Government, by a Revival of the two repealed Articles of the Act of Settlement, above recited, and by a Revival also of that most excellent Statute for Sessional Parlia-MENTS, passed in the 4th of K. Ed. III. c. 14. declaring, " that a Parliament". (meaning a newly-elected Parliament, as the writs of those times incontestably demonstrate) " shall be holden every year once, ana-" more often if need be." But this indispenfible

fible Right and Claim of the People (for the Act itself is no more than an authentic Declaration, or Acknowledgement, of an antient Right) cannot have complete effect without totally repealing an Act of the 8th year of K. Hen. VI. (cap. vii.) which, on false pretences, (whereby it is rendered unworthy the title and dignity of a Statute,) diffranchised at once by far the greatest part of the English Nation, by robbing them of their BIRTHRIGHT, ‡ the inestimable Right

In the Act of Settlement, by virtue of which the prefent King fits on the Throne, it is declared, that " the " Laws of England are the Birthright of the people thereof:" and, according to an antient Maxim of the Common Law, this our Birtbright in the Laws is to be esteemed our most valuable inheritance, superior to every other Denomination " Major Hæreditas unicuique venit a of PROPERTY. " jure et legibus quam a parentibus." Lord Coke says it - " is the Sest Birtbright the Subject hath; for thereby his "Goods, Lands, Wife, Children, his Body, Life, Honour and Estimation, are protested from injury and wrong:" and then he cites the maxim- " Major Hareditas, Go. 2 Inst. p. 56. An Act of Parliament, therefore, which sets up an inferior and mere pecuniary property as the object of representation, not only in preference, but to the total exclufion of that superior property, or personal Right, which ought to be esteemed the most valuable inheritance, or " BEST . BIRTHRIGHT the Subject hatb," &c. is fuch a " malum " in fi," fuch an iniquitous contempt and infringement of Common Right, against Reason and Justice, and against the express declaration of a fundamental principle of the English Conflicution, as cannot fail to render the Act " null and 66 quoid

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of voting for Representatives in Parliament, without which they cannot properly be esteemed Freemen, because the Laws, their BIRTHRIGHT and most valuable Property, may be changed, suspended, or entirely withdrawn from them, without their consent; 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 also for the Citi-

zens

" woid in it/elf," if the People will but unite in maintaining this just and legal plea against it; for which they have ample authority. See Doctor and Student, c. 10. wherein it is declared, that " Statutes cannot exift against REASON " or the LIAW DIVINE,"- " nec contra RATIONEM, nec " contra LEGEM divinam existunt:" for the execrable iniquity abovementioned is furely against both; and therefore as " these two Laws" (the Law of Reason and the " Law of God) " cannot abate or turn aside," - " Ha due " Leges declinari non possunt," (ib. c. 17.) it is manifest that the unjust Act is utterly unworthy to be named a Statute, and must needs be word, as it cannot otherwise be esteemed than a mere corruption, (or corruptela,) according to the express direction of the same approved Author in his 2d ch. - viz. - " Against this Law," (i. e. the Law of Reason,) " prescription, STATUTE, nor custom, may not prevail; and, if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, STATUTES, nor Customs, but CORRUPTIONS, (COR-" RUPTELE,) things void and against Justice." - Doct. et Stud. Eng. ed. 1668, p. 5.

[&]quot; Plowden has reported a variety of cases, wherein Acts of Parliament were esteemed wild in Law through the want of trast in the
'trectals. See pages 39% to 400." (Sharp's Declaration, p. 237.)

Which legal diffuolification is obvious in the preamble to the Act in question; wherein fase pretences are alleged to favour the fatal change.

See p. 10.

zens and Burgesses, elected in their respective Counties; whereby the Equality of Representation was then preserved; and may again be happily restored by some such equitable mode of transferring the representation of depopulated or notoriously venal Boroughs to the Decision of their respective County-courts. Which method of equalifing Representation deserves preserence to all others, because it is not liable to the odious charge of innovation, but, on the contrary, is authenticated by long-continued usage and legal Precedents of ancient times: and the same may be said of all the other changes already recommended in this Address.

By these approved and tried means, the just claims of the people may be amply, as well as easily, established; and the happy effects of such a perfect Reformation would be security and support to any virtuous Administration: for it would prevent their just measures from being impeded and clogged by the secret machinations of any private Cabal, or Cabinet Faction, that might otherwise be efficient without Responsibility; and it would also exclude the interested opposition of needy unprinciple, persons, who at present can introduce themselves into P--1--m--t (if they can but find credit for

the purchase-money) merely for the purposes of private interest! a Trade as dishonourable to themselves as it is baneful to the Nation; for the Representation of many Boroughs is now commonly esteemed a mere pecuniary property, and, as such, has in many instances been either notoriously bought and fold; or else is holden at the abfolute disposal of fingle Individuals, (Peers and other overgrown Landholders,) for the dangerous purpose of enhancing their own personal consequence! An " undue Influence" this (in what soever hands it is lodged) that is most detestably disgraceful to the Nation as well as fundamentally derogatory to the validity of every legislative Resolution! and, what is still more alarming, will completely ruin the Kingdom, if the constitutional Renedies here proposed are not speedily adopted.

Old Jewry, March 23, 1782.

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GRANVILLE SHARP.

An ABSTRACT of the Claims, Sc. and of the constitutional Means of redressing public Grievances, without Innovation. P. 12.

CLAIM I.

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

REMEDY. Revive a repealed clause of the Act of Settlement, " That all matters cognizable in the PRIVY COUNCIL shall be transacted there, &c. P. 4&9.

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

REMEDY. Revive a repealed Clause of the Act of Settlement: "That no person, who

who has an office or place of profit under teb King, &c. shall be capable of ferving as

" Members of the House of Commons." P. 4.

N.B. The ordinary objection to this clause may be obviated, by permitting the great Officers of State, their Secretaries, &c. to sit, debate, and inform the House, but without privilege of voting. P. 4 & 5. n.

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"are the BIRTHRIGHT of the People there"of" (p. 10, n.); yet the greater part of the People are robbed of that Birthright by an unconstitutional exclusion from any share in the Legislature; so that the Laws (the most valuable Property to EVERY MAN—"UNICUIQUE VENIT," &c. p. 10.) may be changed, suspended, or repealed, without their assent. P. 11.

REMEDY. Repeal the Act of 8 Hen. VI. c. 7. whereby the People in general were robbed of that BIRTHRIGHT. P. 10.

CLAIM IV. That the Representation of the People ought to be rendered more equal.

REMEDY. Refer the enormous disproportion of delegating power, now enjoyed by venal Boroughs, (p. 7. n.) to the decision of the County-Courts, according to antient Precedents. (P. 12.)

CLAIM

CLAIM V. Experience has demonstratede that wither the most falutary provisions, for our just Claims can long sublist, (p. b.) nor any Changes of Ministry, (p. 8.) he effectual to restore them, under triennial and Jeptennial Parliaments, p. 5: so that the antient usage of renewing the Representation BY A GENERAL ELECTION EVERY SES-SION is the most effential Claim of all others for the welfare of the Kingdom. P. 6.

REMEDY. Repeal the Acts for triennial. and feptennial Parliaments; and then, of course, the Statute of 4 Ed. III. c. 14. will recover its original efficacy, and must be construed agreeable to the ulage of the times when it was deemed fully effectual, which may be afcertained by the evidence. of Election-Writs having been issued generally "every year once," and frequently, "more often "fo that the ancient ufage, feffional Elections, is an unquestionable Right and Claim of the People. (See p. o.)

The certain Effect of these constitutional Remedies will be Security and Support to a virtuous Administration. P. 12. See also the Motto in the Title. Edge on a lange wife her of the County-Counts, according to an-

THE END

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