AN

ADDRESS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE of ASSOCIATION

OF THE

COUNTY of YORK,

T O T H E

ELECTORS of GREAT-BRITAIN.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

The RESOLUTIONS of that COMMITTEE,

At their M E E T I N G S,

Held on the 3d and 4th of JANUARY, 1781,

ANDTHE

INSTRUMENT of INSTRUCTIONS

TO THEIR

DEPUTIES

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RESOLUTIONS of the COMMITTEE of ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
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COUNTY OF YORK,

At their Meetings held on the 3d and 4th Days of January, 1781.

YORK TAVERN, Jan. 3, 1781.

PRESENT,

At a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of ASSOCIATION,

Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Chairman The Earl of Effingham Sir George Strickland
Sir James Norcliffe
Mr. H. Duncombe Rev. Mr. Mason Mr. Hildyard Mr. Chaloner Rev. Mr. Zouch General Hale Mr. Morritt Mr. Strickland The Dean of York Mr. Tooker Mr. St. A. Ward Rev. Mr. Robinson Mr H. Osbaldeston Lieut. Col. Thornton Mr. Grimston Mr. Marriott Mr. Dalton Mr. Cradock Mr. T. Weddell Mr. Dring Mr. Croft Mr. Croft, jun. Mr. Edmunds Mr. St. Quintin Rev. Mr. Preston Mr. Dixon Mr. Hayes

Mr. Elfley Sir John Legard Mr. P. Milnes Mr. R. S. Milnes Rev. Fred. Dodsworth Rev. Mr. Wilkinson Mr. Place Mr. Stansfield Mr. Wolrich Dr. Swainston Mr. Comber Mr. Walker Mr. Walker, jun. Mr. John Milnes Mr. Maude Mr. Courtney Mr. Shore Rev. Mr. Cayley Mr. R. Wilson Rev. Mr. Bourne Mr. Wentworth Mr. Withers Mr. Sykes Rev. Mr. Lawson Mr. Yorke elected this Mr. Battle Day Sir William Milner Mr. H. Thompson Mr. Garforth Mr. Hill

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RESOLVED,

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RESOLVED, That the following Members be added to this Com-

John Yorke, Esq; of Richmond Thomas Fenwick, Esq; of Burrow Rev. Charles Dalton, of Hawkswell—Willis, Esq; of Sedbergh Rev. Mr. Gawthorpe, of Sedbergh William Battle, Esq; of Welton.

RESOLVED, That three Deputies be appointed to attend in London, to communicate with the Delegates of other petitioning or affociated Bodies, on the Means of carrying into Effect the Objects of their Petitions or Affociations.

RESOLVED, That the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, Samuel Shore, Esq; and Sir James Norcliffe, Bart. be nominated and appointed Deputies for the several Purposes before-mentioned.

RESOLVED, That a Copy of the following Instrument of Nomination, with Instructions to the above-named Deputies, be transmitted by the Clerk to each Deputy.

See the Form of this Instrument, p. 6.

RESOLVED, That the following Address from this Committee to the Electors of Great-Britain, be printed and published as the Act of this Committee; and that Copies thereof, and of the Instructions to the Deputies, be transmitted to the Chairmen of the several petitioning and associated Bodies in this Kingdom.

See the Address, p. 9.

RESOLVED, That the Thanks of this Committee be given to the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, for drawing up the foregoing Address.

RESOLVED, That the Thanks of this Committee be given to David Hartley, Efq; for his unwearied and difinterested Services

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in the Public Cause; and also their particular Acknowledgments for his Address to this Committee, dated this Day.

RESOLVED, That this Committee be adjourned till To-morrow Morning at Ten o'Clock.

C. WYVILL, Chairman.

YORK TAVERN, Jan. 4, 1781.

At the adjourn'd Meeting of the COMMITTEE of ASSOCIATION,

The Rev. Mr. WYVILL in the Chair,

RESOLVED, That the Thanks of this Committee be given to the Armed Affociation of this City, for their resolute and well-timed Exertions in Support of the Laws of their Country, and the Peace and Sasety of the City, during the wanton and unprovoked Riots which immediately followed the last Election for the County.

RESOLVED, That David Hartley, Esq; be requested to permit this Committee to publish his excellent Address to them, dated Jan. 3, 1781.

RESOLVED, That if Mr. Hartley shall give his Permission to this Committee to publish his Address, Copies thereof be immediately transmitted, with their Recommendation, to the other petitioning and associated Bodies throughout the Kingdom.

RESOLVED, That this Committee be adjourned till Wednef-day the 9th Day of May next, at Ten in the Forenoon.

C. WYVILL, Chairman.

INSTRU-

INSTRUMENT

Appointing Deputies, with Instructions from the Committee of Association for the County of York, to meet and deliberate with Deputies from other Counties, Cities and Boroughs, &c. and, in Concurrence with them, to take the most effectual Measures, consistent with Law and the Constitution, to promote the Objects of that Association. Dated at York, January 3, 1781.

General Meeting of the County of York, held on the 28th of March, 1780, to take such legal and constitutional Measures as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the Objects of the Association adopted by that Assembly, doth nominate and appoint you the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, Samuel Shore, Esq, and Sir James Norclisse, Bart. to be their Deputies, with sull Power, on the 20th Day of February next, or as soon after as conveniently may be, to meet in London or Westminster, and to confer with such Persons as may attend the proposed Meeting of Deputies, who shall have received Authority for that Purpose from any County, City, or Borough within this Kingdom, or from any Committee appointed by the same.

And this Committee doth hereby impower and direct you the faid Christopher Wyvill, Samuel Shore, and Sir James Norclisse to act on the Part and Behalf of this Committee, in such Matters, and in such Manner as in this Instrument are specified or allowed, and in no other Matter or Manner.

You shall concur with the Deputies from other Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, &c. or the Majority of them, in any proper Application to Parliament, during the Continuance of your deputed Authority, for correcting the gross Abuses in the Expenditure of Public Money, and for reducing the increased and increasing Influence of the Crown, which ought to be diminished, provided the Redress of Grievances, proposed as the Object of such Application, shall be equivalent to the Occonomical Reform requested

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by the Petition of this County to the last Parliament. And when this important Measure for correcting public Profusion, and reducing the undue Influence of the Crown, shall have been taken into Consideration, and in some competent Degree advanced, you shall also move the Deputies aforesaid to consider the extreme Inequality in the Parliamentary Representation of this Kingdom, and to endeavour, in the present Session, by Bill, by Petition, or by any other advisable Mode of applying to Parliament, to obtain a more adequate Representation of the People, by the Introduction of at least One Hundred additional County Members; without which necessary Counterpoize to the numerous Representatives of venal, hereditary, or otherwise unduly influenced Boroughs, no lasting or effectual Check can be given to the baneful Progress of Corruption, now manifestly tending to the Ruin of our happy Constitution.

And this Committee confidering, according to the Principles of the Affociation, that material Advantage would more clearly refult to the Constitution, if the Duration of Parliament were shortened, when a more frugal Management of the Public Purfe, a Reduction of the undue Influence of the Crown, and a more equal-Representation of the People have taken Place; and not expecting that Abuses, profitable to Individuals, however injurious to the Community, can be corrected without many Difficulties and much laborious Exertion, will not positively direct you the said Deputies to move the Concurrence of the other Deputies, in a farther Application to shorten the Duration of Parliament to a Term. not exceeding three Years; but fully confiding in your Judgment and Fidelity to the Public Cause, commits to your Discretion to determine according to the actual Circumstances which may arise in the Course of your Conference, whether such Motion may be prudent and advisable, or premature and inconvenient at present, and fit to be postponed to a future Session of Parliament; and to, act therein accordingly.

And this Committee, anxious to guard against every Attempt to misrepresent their Views of public Reformation, by peaceful and legal Means, and wishing to obviate Imputations injurious to the intended general Deputation, by which the just and necessary

cessary Purpose of that Assembly may be defamed and finally defeated, doth hereby most strictly require you the said Deputies, to confine your Propositions in the general Meeting of Deputies, to the Reform specified in this Instrument, or to Regulations by plain and necessary Connection immediately dependent upon them.

And this Committee doth most expressly require you the said Deputies to promote the several Objects of public Reformation, signified in this Instrument, to the best of your Judgment, and to the utmost of your Power, by orderly Means alone, by dutiful Application to Parliament, or by such other prudential Measures as may be perfectly consistent with Law and the Constitution.

And if any farther Regulations for restoring the Constitution shall be suggested by the Deputies of any other County or City, &c. this Committee not being empowered itself, and therefore unable to empower their Deputies to accede to any Resolution concerning such new Proposal, doth hereby authorise and require two or more of you the said Deputies, in such Case, to call an extraordinary Meeting of this Committee, giving a sufficient Notice thereof in the public Papers, and to report such new Proposition to the Committee, in order that the Propriety of calling a County Meeting to consult the general Body of Freeholders on the Subject may be duly considered.

Lastly, This Committee doth resolve, that the Authority hereby given to you the said Deputies shall cease and determine on the first of May, 1781; and doth require, that at the next Meeting of the Committee, after the Expiration of this Authority, a Report of the Proceedings of the General Meeting of Deputies be laid by you before the Committee.

THE

T H E

A D D R E S S

OF THE

COMMITTEE of ASSOCIATION for the COUNTY of YORK,

TO THE

ELECTORS of the COUNTIES, CITIES, and BOROUGHS WITHIN

The KINGDOM of GREAT-BRITAIN.

AFTER much dispassionate Resection on the multiplied Grievance of our Country, on the Necessity of some substantial Redress, and the most prudent mode of attempting to obtain it, the Committee of Yorkshire have appointed the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, Samuel Shore, Esq; and Sir James Norclisse, Bart. their Deputies, with full Power to meet and deliberate with Deputies from other Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, and in Concurrence with them to take the most effectual Measures, consistent with Law and the Constitution, to promote that political Resorm which the County of York has associated to support.

The Committee are perfectly fatisfied that fuch Deputation is strictly legal, and confonant with every Principle of the Constitution. The Right to petition Parliament for a Redress of Grievances, is a fundamental Right of the British People; and the Exercise of that Right, in any Mode which is prohibited by no positive Statute, cannot be unlawful. Let it be acknowledged then, that this Deputation is an uncommon Appointment; uncommon Diftress has called it forth; and when new Dangers arise to Public Liberty, new Modes of Defence, adapted to refift the Attack, are not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary for its Preservation. The Truth of this Observation will hardly be contested by those, who, understanding the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty, have the Spirit to support it, by a strenuous Exertion of their legal Powers. But it may be expected that much Misrepresentation and artful Suggestion will be employed by the Obstructors of Reformation, to calumniate

During the Reigns of the four Princes of the House of Stuart, frequent Attempts were made, by those weak but ambitious Monarchs, to overturn the Constitution, to abolish Parliaments, and to assume by Force an unlimited and despotic Authority. Succeeding Princes, warned by the repeated Miscarriages and final Ruin of that Family, at the Revolution, feem to have adopted a milder but not less dangerous Mode of Attack. From that Period, instead of violent Usurpation, and declared Hostility to Parliaments, it has been the prevailing Policy of Government to employ the Arts of Seduction, and by creating a corrupt Dependence in those Assemblies, virtually to emancipate the Crown from all Controul. For almost a Century Corruption, with few Exceptions, and short, very short Interruptions, has been the avowed Principle of our Government. The Tendency of this fatal System has long been seen and deplored by the wife and virtuous Part of the Community. But while the Restoration of the Stuart Line was an Event within any Degree of Probability,

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the Return of undifguised Despotism was the immediate Danger, against which the growing influence of the Crown was unwarily cherished as the only adequate Desence. In later Times, in the full Flow of national Pride and Prosperity, to stem the Torrent of Corruption, had been a vain and unprofitable Attempt.

But now, by the unspeakable Infatuation of our Councils, the Scene of national Glory is changed; with much of our foreign Trade our Naval Superiority is lost; our American Provinces are difinembered from the Empire; and our ancient Foes, aided by our once friendly Ally, and encouraged by almost every other European Power, are proudly infulting over this wretched Country. At home, Agriculture and Manufactures decline, as the Load of Taxes and our public Debts increase; the national Substance is wasting fast away by the Profusion of Expence in this rash and unfortunate War; and the Influence of the Crown fed by that very Prodigality, and increased in full Proportion to it, is now fwoln to a most alarming Magnitude. The System of Corruption has reached to its Maturity; and the Crifis of our Country is at length arrived. The Amputation of that poisonous Tumour, the Excrescence of our vitiated Constitution, must, therefore, be resolved on, or political Dissolution must soon be the unavoidable Consequence.

With an Alternative like this before them, the Choice of Freemen is soon determined. The Committee, therefore, took an early and an active Part in Support of that Petition to the House of Commons, which was agreed to at a General Meeting of the County of York, on the 30th of December, 1779, and which was soon after presented to that House. With great Satisfaction they observed the singular Unanimity of so many Counties and Corporate Towns, who honoured this County with their Concurrence in that Measure, supporting their Proposition for an Oeconomical Reform, and adopting, not unfrequently, the Language of their Petition. The Satisfaction of the Committee arose not from a fond parental Partiality for their own Production, but from the just Hope that Concurrence seemed to afford, that so temperate a Reform, requested by the general Voice of the People,

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The Committee may be shocked, but they are not discouraged, by those evident Proofs of the Prostitution of that Assembly. On the contrary, they are more fully convinced that the Abuses of Parliament itself are become the principal Object of public Reformation. Among these the Inequality in the Representation of the People may justly be pointed out as the fundamental Abuse.

cure Place has been abolished; nor a single Pension unmerited by

public Service struck off the List. Even the Motion of the ex-

cellent Representative of Yorkshire, for the Production of that

List, was negatived by a corrupt Majority.

The Balance of our Constitution had been wifely placed by our Forefathers in the Hands of the Counties and principal Cities and Towns; but by the Caprice and Partiality of our Kings, from. Henry VI. down to Charles II. it was gradually withdrawn from them, and by the Addition of Two Hundred Parliamentary Burgesses, was wholly vested in the inferior Boroughs. From that latter Period, the Mischiess of this irregular Exercise of Royal Authority have been farther increased by the silent Operation of Time. Many unrepresented Towns have risen into Population, Wealth, and Consequence, in the Kingdom; many Boroughs have funk into Indigence, or have even totally disappeared, without a Trace of their Existence left behind them, except the Privilege of nominal Representation. In these decayed Boroughs, the Crown and a few great Families notoriously nominate Representa[13]

gives, who form a clear Majority of the House of Commons. In that Majority a liberal Minister will ever find a ready Support, however ruinous the Measures of his Administration may be to the Liberty and the general Interest of his Country. The Members who represent the great Masses of landed and commercial Property, shall plead in vain for their Constituents. In the Scale of Parliamentary Computation, an inconfiderable Village will balance a County; and a short List of Hamlets, where hardly a Vestige of Population is to be found, will decide against the general Sense and Wishes of the Public. A Parliament elected in any reasonable Proportion, would duly represent the Sense, and act for the Interest of the whole Community; but from a Senate thus unequally arranged, no penal Laws, no external Regulations can exclude Corruption; because in Situations of no Controul, partial Advantage will still outweigh the public Good. In-Royal Innovation this gross Abuse in the Representation of the People chiefly originates. From Parliamentary Authority a proper Counterpoize, to these dependent Boroughs, must be restored to the Counties and principal Cities, &c. before that Assembly can become once more a firm and incorruptible Guardian of the public Weal.

The septennial Duration of Parliaments is another manifest Abuse which calls aloud for Reformation. The Statute enactings that Regulation was not only a Contradiction to the Genius of our Constitution, it was a direct Infringement of the triennial Law, under whose Authority that House of Commons then sat, and had been elected. It was an irregular Assumption of Power, which the alledged Necessity of the Times could hardly excuse; it was professed to be a temporary Expedient, to guard against the Cabalsof the banished Family; and it was reluctantly submitted to on that fingle Account. But fince the Pretentions of that Family to the Throne have been universally exploded, the Repeal of the septennial Act is a Matter of Justice, which State Policy no longer forbids, and which the People have the clearest Right to demand. Short Parliaments are their ancient indubitable Right; they are also necessary for re-establishing that Dependence of the Representative Affembly on the Constituent Body, which it is the peculiar Aim

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and Advantage of our happy Constitution to maintain. A more equal Representation would restore the Balance of our Government to the Bulk of the Electors; a shorter Duration of Parliaments, by returning Members more frequently, to be approved or rejected by their Constituents, as their Parliamentary Conduct might deferve, would ever secure the Fidelity and Vigilance of the Representative Assembly. By a temperate Resorm of Parliament on these Principles, the System of Corruption might be effectually excluded, and the Enjoyment of our Liberties might be transmitted to the latest Posterity.

Impressed with these Sentiments, the Committee of Yorkshire are not disposed to relax in their pacific Efforts to restore the Constitution, because the last House of Commons thought fit to reject the most material Parts of the Occonomical Petition. The Neceffity for concerting proper Measures to support that Petition, and also to obtain a Reform in the principal Parliamentary Abuses, only appears more evidently demonstrable. For if the great Constituent Body requested that House in vain to correct gross and undeniable Abuses; if the Alarm at the rapid Increase of the Influence of the Crown, was at once admitted to be just and well founded, and yet every Measure for the Diminution of it was rejected with Contempt, that House justly forfeited the public Confidence. In that House it is plain our domestic Complaints have their Foundation, and without a Reformation of fundamental Abuses there, the Interposition of the People will be worse than nugatory. Declarations of the public Sense, in a regular Way, are the ultimate Check of the Constitution on a corrupt Parliament, or a tyrannical Administration. But it had been better and wifer far if the People, patiently crouching under the Pressure of their Burdens, had never solicited Redress, than if, after the unjust Rejection of their Request, they should tamely furrender their Rights, and fink at once into abject Acquiescence. The People ought not to interpole on trivial or light Occasions, but when great and enormous Abuses call forth their Exertions, they ought not to interpose in vain.

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It is necessary then, that the collective Sense of the Public should be supported by the most efficacious Measures which can be devised, consistent with a strict Obedience to the Regulations of the Law. For the System of Corruption is an Establishment of wide Extent; and the Retainers of that Establishment form a numerous and well-compacted Band, determined to maintain every profitable Abuse with united Strength. In Opposition to that mercenary Phalanx, the Efforts of a few folitary Individuals, or even a few unconnected Cities and Counties, would be too unequal to fucceed. From the joint Endeavours of the Public a political Deliverance can only be expected. For this Purpose general Assemblies of the People, frequently repeated, feem to be too operose a Mode; to give due Efficacy to the popular Interpolition, a more compendious Method of proceeding feems to be advisable; by which the Friends of Reformation may be enabled to act with Facility and Vigour. and yet with the full Weight and Authority of the whole collective Body. - Whether Affociations in the several Districts of the Kingdom, acting by their respective Committees, and by general Deputation from the affociated Bodies be the most advantageous Mode of collecting and supporting the Sense of the Public, the Committee of Yorkthire are conscious, it is not their Part to decide, but it is a feafible Mode; it is a Mode conformable to Law: and by this Mode they trust, the united Efforts of independent Men throughout the Kingdom will be crowned with final and complete Success.

The Measures which the Committee wish to recommend, as the Objects of this general Deputation, are,

- t. The Presentment of a Petition to the new Parliament, equivalent in its Prayer to the Petition of the County of York.
- 2. The Application to Parliament in such Modes, and at such Times as may be approved by the Majority of Deputies, for obtaining at least One Hundred additional County Members, and for shortening the Duration of Parliaments to a Term not exceeding three Years.

Some excellent Persons, to whom the proposed Plan of Reformation appears unexceptionably proper, have yet objected to the Proposition at this Time. Their Concurrence would have been, and still would be received with high Respect and Gratitude. But in the present Situation of Distress, the Committee are clearly convinced, that Procrastination and Indecision would not be consistent with true political Prudence. For when can the Correction of Abuses be proposed with such Propriety, or so much Probability of Success, as when their mischeivous Consequences are most severely selt? What can induce a corrupt Parliament to abolish Corruption? Not the Weight of Reason; not the Force of Shame, but the Authority of the Public alone. But the same general Concurrence

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currence of the People, which can reform the corrupt Expenditure of Public Money, with equal Ease can correct those Parliamentary Defects, whence that Corruption originates. There lies the Root of our domestic Evils; and it is the Duty of the Committee to point it out, and to admonish their Fellow Citizens, that nothing short of a Parliamentary Reformation deserves their Interpofition.—Since the Defection of Pulteney from the public Caufe, the Professions of political Men have been held in extreme Distrust; difinterested Men have looked with Unconcern on the Struggles of contending Parties, and, it must be owned, contending Parties have too generally deferved it. The Individuals who form the splendid Exception are few, and they have not been able much to diminish the popular Distrust. Hence the long and unavailing Struggle of public Men, unsupported by national Confidence; hence the Reluctance of unambitious Men, to embark on any other Bottom than that stipulated Reform of Parliamentary Abuses. The Distress of their Country has, at last, induced such Men to make the virtuous Attempt. Uninfluenced by personal Regard, or partial Considerations; animated with an honest Zeal for the Welfare of the Community, they have quitted their private, but independent Stations, to profecute a full Redress of the national Grievances; but if a Disposition should appear to confine their generous Undertaking to the Regulation of a few official Abuses, of fecondary Importance in the Scale of Public Affairs, it is impossible to preserve the Support of such Men on those Conditions, nor onthose Conditions would this Committee wish to preserve it. The general Good, therefore, seems to require, that the Correction of those Abuses in Parliament, which are the Foundation of our domestic Calamities, be now proposed to the Public, as the properand principal Object of their united Endeavours.

Having thus freely stated to their Countrymen their Views of Reformation, and the Motives of their public Conduct, the Committee trust that the other Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, who concur in these political Sentiments, in whole or in part, will cooperate with the intended general Deputation, by appointing Deputies, with Power to support, in that Assembly, such of these Propositions

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positions of Reform as they may respectively approve. By a long Train of fatal Misconduct, the Wealth, the Grandeur, the supereminent Power of this Empire are, perhaps, irrecoverably lost. But in the general Wreck, which threatens the Fortunes of the Public, their vigorous and timely In erposition may yet preserve the LIBERTY and the CONSTITUTION of BRITAIN.

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THE END.

Section 18 Committee Commi

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