an individual might have an agent, deputy, or who are in all cases to act according to their own directions of the people. In answer to this, you had any authority over another, except that which I cited, means nothing more, than that whilst go, the sake of common sense, give me one par was temporary, and derived from superior canning, vernment lasts, the people cannot "individually," example, or one particular quotation from an authority and derived from function from an authority and from a state of nature such as I demand, or at once honestly allow, the that, in a flate of nature, there was this people or "The power that every individual gave the deputies, is most pointedly distinguished, by Sydne collective body of individuals, who had the right of " fociety, when he entered into it, can never revert from the case of the people in an English county, constituting, and controling, their agents, deputies " to the individuals again, as long as the society lasts; structing its representatives. You get over that, or trustees. Let them fill continue to control all " but will always remain in the community; because, a manner, becoming yourfelf. Aristides had those agents, deputies or trustees, which they had in " without this, there can be no community, or com- puted some general vague expressions in Sydney to the the state of nature. Neither a house of delegates, " monwealth, which is contrary to the original warmth of controversy with the wretched Rilmer. nor a senate were among them. Besides if delegates "agreement." and senators were amongst these agents, deputies. In this sentence, he speaks directly as you say; gible passage is all a joke. "Gentle dulness or truttees, there is this further consideration. but that sentence I had not quoted. He then goes "loves a joke.") And, when I quote no less auth ment, and thereby parted with the whole legislative power, although this natural right, which you talk " tive in any assembly of men, to continue in them, into abuse both of Hume and myself. This kind of, be not mentioned in the compact, yet, as it is " and their successors, with direction and authority reasoning has often browbeaten an adversary at a be incompatible with the exercise of the legislative of for providing such successors, the legislative can and influenced those, who even pretended not to a power, conferred on a body, or bodies of men, com- " never revert to the people, whilft that govern- derstand the debate. I have you, Publicola, belo

legislature to be nothing more than agents, deputies " resume it. But, if they have set limits to the du- stides. But alas poor David! Thou wast no mon or trust es. Suppose our compact had instituted a " ration of their legislative, and made the supreme friend to paper money than to the doctrine of this different form of government. It was debated in " power in any person, or assembly, only tem- ing instructions. With thy acknowledged skill in convention, whether there should not be three " porary; or elfe, when by the miscarriages of those lities, and thy deep historical researches, thy ma d'st net branches of the legislature. Had the propo- " in authority, it is forfeited; upon the forfeiture, would not otherwise have been so grossly intulted sition been adopted, would you have called them all " or, at the determination of the time set, it reverts aman, so very little thy superior. apenis, deputies or trustees, subject to the orders of " to the society; and the people have a right to act as You refer me, however, on your own authorit their principal? All good writers, that speak on " supreme, and continue the legislative in them- to a case, which happened during our convention the subject, agree, so far as I have read, that " selves, or erect a new form, or under the old -a case of instructions from a particular county. the compact confers rights as well as duties, on the " form, place it in new hands, as they shall think was a case too of instructions for forming a compa of the governed I demand whether the king of If this be not a most pointed authority for the 'ed. Suppose now, those instructions had been di England be this agent, deputy or trustee, to be di- whole of my doctrine, and particularly against the beyed. You say too, that, in all the government rected and controlled by the people, his masters. Is right of the people to bind those to whom is dele- of America, the right was formerly exercised as Al even the house of peers under the constitutional con- gated the power of legislation, then am I labouring mitting that, either in America, or in England, the trol of these masters? Understand me now Publi- under an unaccountable delusion. As you are so representatives of particular counties have obeyed to cola. The king of England would do wrong to very ingenious at construction, I wonder indeed, that directions, handed to them as the instructions flight the opinions of his people. Our legislature, I you have not twisted this passage into an authority their constituents, what would that prove as to troit, will never presume to despise the wants, for your doctrine. Locke has indeed called the go- right of controlling, it it should, on the other side,

ever contended for, is, that this legislature, whilst it Locke, is there a single syllable about dictating to structions, and, notwithstanding their votes than lasts, is not to be precluded from the freedom of to these deputies and trustees. In laying down his been held good? I might very justly contend, the deliberation. The general sense of a nation is sup- principles, he evidently had the government of the bare consideration of such votes being universally posed to be always right, and without doubt, it must England in his eye; writing, as he intimates him- held good, settles the question in my favour,—the ever, to a great degree, influence a wife and honest self, " to establish the throne of the great restorer, instructions are to be considered, on the sooting of

of government, either express or implied; it is plain nor even their immediate representatives, the house mon thing for representatives to say, they are in After all, the dispute is precisely the same; although To get over (as I imagine) something in the above tempted to avail themselves of instructions. Mol I flatter myself, its merits are now better understood. quotation, that bears rather hard, you have made a men would choose to follow instructions, for a varie I say, that not even a majority of the individuals, distinction between binding by instructions, and ex- ty of reasons; but surely no man would have the imcomposing the society, can rightfully control the excising a legislative power. Now, Publicola, exert pudence to claim a right of controling another, be legislature, and the sincol your pardon? Your position, I believe, is, that a tion. Consult your friend, before you publish. sions, tollowed his advice. majority of voters can do it. Here is a fresh absurdi- Prove if you can, that for the people to prescribe to But, to confine myself to the point, --admitting ty. For when you confine your " paramount" right both branches that to which these branches are that the practice of instructions prevailed throughout to voters, may not paupers, and some others, well obliged to give the sanction of law, be not, in the American colonies; that they were never disc demano, why you do so, seeing that the right of effect, an exercise of legislative authority. fuffrage is regulated by the compact only? If you You intimate, that, having admitted the proprie- binding; all this would be nothing at all to you correct yourself and admit paupers, I would then ty of instructions, on the footing of opinion, remon- purpose. You do not pretend, that the practice was an

the right of citizens, must be ever considered as par- ons; because, in that case, they have no authority joke. I suppose it was a joke too in Publicola to reties) are then, independent of any force, which may without the instructions. render them o he wife, on the same footing, as before the compact, except certain rights of proper- tween us depends on the construction of the compact. " new fangled doctrine" of national instructions, bindty, &c. They are again a number of independent As reasoning from analogy always has weight, I ing the whole legislature. You may rest affored, persons, who must again form an entire new com- called on you for instances in other governments by that such conduct will never establish your claim to pact, or resume their old system, after correcting its representation, either with, or without any provision the amazing superiority, you have all along affected errors, and abuses. If you must be gratified with in their constitution, or laws, where the people have over Aristides. Suppose him to retore, and ask, the idea, that the constitutional legislature consists prescribed to, and precluded the deliberations of, the pray, Publicola, what are you? Suppose too he of agents, deputies, or trustees, I would then tell legislature; or where the national voice, as you call should give an answer to his own question. Why you, that the parties to the compact, in which each it, has laid on the legislature its positive commands; then he would do a thing, which he sincerely despised bas a right, that ought not to be violated, have agreed or where the legislature has recognised the authority in another. From your conduct, your speeches, and that those agents, deputies, or trustees, shall act of the people to lay these commands. I called on your writings, let the world form an estimate of your according to their own judgments, fo long as they you to produce any approved book, afferting, that, principles and character. I will not gracify the mashall act at all I would ask you, whether even a where an express compact delegates the power of le- lignant by pouring forth a torrent of investive. Of

trustee how, in the name of every thing profound, judgment, so long las the pastnership continues. you refer me to the English government, the Brit was this agent deputy, or trustee, to be controled? Do you seriously assert, Publicola, or is it only government, the United Netherlands; and, on Sy In a state of nature, (if ever such there was) no man one of your jokes, that Mr. Locke, in the passage ney's authority, to many other government

puty or trustee, might be controlled; who ever heard they possessed, " independently" and " exclusively" you cannot. of the people, or a collective body, in the state of of each other? I must again call your attention to that You and I cannot agree upon the meaning nature, having the right of controling their agents, passage, first giving you the sentence which pre- either Sydney or Locke. The case of the seven

mon sense must decide, that it is given up, as clear- " ment lasts; because having provided a legislative a more respectable tribunal, which will determine with power to continue for ever, they have given according to the true merits of the case without en You most erroneously imagine the constitutional " up their political power to the legislative, and cannot mining which is the greater man, Publicula or A

sentiments and withes of the people. All that I have verning deputies and trustees; but, in no passage of shewn, that other representatives have disobeyed in king William," and yet he says not a single word, opinion, remonstrance, or advice. I do not believe It then the people, or a collective body of men, in support of the right of the people to bind this that a majority of voters in a county have ever joine having rights as fach, connot exist without a compact deputy, king William, nor even the house of lords, in one letter of instructions; although it be a com

ask, how is it you admit to control the legislature strance, or advice, I ought to have admitted them thing more than the practice of particular counties those men, who have nothing to do, in electing the as binding and conclusive; one kind being no more directing their respective immediate representatives mentioned in the compact, than the other. Wonder- Our controversy is respecting " national" instructions, Of tracing the absurd consequences of your doc- ful indeed! Publicola can advise Aritides. To give to bind not only the immediate repretentatives of the trine there is no end. I have before faid, that the an opinion or advice, is no exercise of authority, people, but every other branch of the legislature if right of the people to interfere, when the ends of But I thank Heaven! Publicola cannot require obe- there were an hundred. And these same national ingovernment are perverted, &c. exists independent of dience to his commands. It might even be said, that structions, given by the people at large to their lethe express provision in the compact. Perhaps, to the constitution actually provides for the first kind of gislature, I verily believe, were never before conanticipate cavil, it may be proper to explain myself, instructions, in securing the liberty of speech, the tended for. for as to reconcile the position, with the ideas just freedom of the press, and the right of petitioning. When first I quoted Sydney, you told me, he was disclosed. I there use the word " people," in the You say too, that our legislature distates to our de- speaking only of instructions from particular counties, amers of that constitution inter-Tame sense, as it is used by Locke, and, from him legates in congress; and yet the constitution does concerning the force of which, you said, there were by the declaration of rights, I use it to signify a not confer that authority expressly. There is little various opinions. You said too, that the passage majority of the individuals bound by the compact. - analogy between the cases. If there be any, it is in impliedly admitted the right of national instructions. a number of individuals, entered into a compact my favour. Delegates in congress may, in some Well then! "I met you on that ground." I shewed, of government, creating various political powers, respects, be considered as the deputies of their respect that Sydney considered these same national instructiconnected with, or dependent on each other, to as to tive legislatures. In other respects, they are more. ons given by the people, entirely out of the question. form a complete system, for the protection of their Where congress has authority under the articles of I told you too, that the instructions of the several natural rights, not transferred, and of the rights confederation to do any act, the ratification of the states in the Netherlands to their deputies, were inthereby created. Should this compact be violated, teveral states is not necessary, and therefore, if a de- structions given by government, not by the people at in such a manner, as that the end of it is descated, legate votes contrary to instructions, his state may large, and that all cases like that of the Netherlands and it affords within itself no redress for the injury; recal and disgrace him; but still his vote remains of instructions by governments or states were foreign the individuals, or several parties to the compact, good. Where congress is about an act, requiring from the question. To this you gave no answer, ex-(and those living under the government, and enjoying ratification, delegates must be bound by instructi- cept, as afcresaid, that what Sydney said was all a

number of merchants may not, by articles of agree- giflation to a body, or bodies of men, without re- all species of composition, personal abuse, or even per-

return, you tell him, that this very particular intell rity than Hume, to shew the state of the controver "So also, when the fociety hath placed the legisla- in England, respecting instructions, you break for

not for making laws, under a compact already for

fer me to the practice of particular instructions, bind-My main position ever was, that the question be- ing immediate representatives, to support this same ment, enter into partnership, and place their affairs serving any part of it to the people, this legislature fonal fatire, demands the least of parts, or landable in the hands of agents, being a part of the company shall morwithstanding, in all cases be bound by the knowledge, becau e every thing of that kind is but

trary to his principles and arcely any effort for bi not, with those about is chiefly folicitous, en ion for wit, understandin

You demand, under what ar the Americans refift the h. Is it necessary again to d different words? Know then pole to throw off a governme e them, is founded on en the real or supposed e fide, the other fide is abf

nat the people's exercifing

lead to licentiousness,

for far as to dictate to the l

t having once begun this lowest classes of the citizens flightest call, to leave the mble tumultuously, for the different propositions and exercifing this transcenden apprehended. As they are e on complicated questions iety of interests, and as to be brought before th ne might frequently be adop this stage, enlarge on the cing a practice, which, would iberation in the legislature, adopt the opinion of the ot dently intended as a check ly elfe, would allow, that the introduced, the question uld not be so material. Was it ever known, that, in daction of licentiousness was irpation? You maintain tha legislature must lead to tyrar eech you, Publicola, as a citiz ving our free and happy conf fe things. Is it no fecurity t ent and free; that the liberty o secured; that each citizen ha d remonitrate; that there is n rupting the legislature, ht of instructing would be a p opie) that the members of the the laws they enact, and at a no general mass of citizens; es of extremity, even the con prises a suspension, or a disso

fign to betray them? In fu buld be irrecrievably ruined, e did, 13 years ago. Remem e old government, and the committees and conventions. pitate in supposing my own gainst me. To do you justice, ke that, you, as one of the p spending or dissolving. Wer by a rich powerful enemy at a few corrupt demagogue ith fuccess, in procuring milit And now, Publicola, exert all e following questi ns : Might i light, in all cases, exercise a les ras to control, and prescribe t e legislature, where was the nec arefully for the peoples interfe Jes? Again. If they conce herefore did they not plainly

ch vast importance, and, at o I and doubt? It will be no derogation fr uence, to treat Aristides as an enerous in you, Publicola, to onfession respecting Sydney and ill perceive, that he understa noted. These authors, however his ideas. He had read late both. He may add, that xerting the powers of his own yould it be for mankind in g would dare to think more for them! offered Publicola to think for h Publicola changed, and, for borious partifan;" then possibly thave deemed him the most at continent. But surely, Pub he superiority of your genius, nd your services, you do not im nce will give you credit for mo nd !.....ledge. If to fay this ! ho" humbly intreats the indulg Not only thus, but many other retried by your illiberal devia