John Adams, Thoughts on Government, Letter to William Hooper, 1776; Courtesy of the State Archives of North Carolina, accessed online, North Carolina Digital Collections website. The Indject, on which you was pleased to request my Sentiments, is of infinite Importance to Man kind. Politicks Sear Sit Is the Juine of human Happiness - and the Filicity of Joueties depends entirely on the Gonstitutions of Growment under which they tive. -That purice Couplet of a very quat Part For Forms of yournment let Fords contiff That's best administered, is best " There's him to have been lips attentive to the political and civil Part of this tory, than the postical - He must have read and Studied for Kantiful Ima ges, not Social Institutions, becaufe the Rectitude of Administration depends upen the horn; I me Species of Graumments being always will administered, others near. If you can determine, what harm of grain ment, will produce the greating duantity of human Happing ; you will at one deride while is the best, this being the only Enterior - if you determine what the Tignity of human Nature, and the Happings of Man kind ion fifte in, you will decide what it is that produce the quatert heanting of Harping. ~ Divines, Moralift, Philosophus, and Min of Phafune all agne that it coufft in Virtue - If there is a Horm of Growment, thuspore, whole Orin uple or Foundation, is Virtue will not all those thinds of Men achnew ledge, it to be better cal = culated to promote the general Hayrings, than another, the Principle of which is Hear, or even Honour, I hald the Trinciple of Honoring Jacoud - but an not affind to con fip nyself to much of a greating or homan if not of a Christian as to think the Principle of Pirtue of higher Thank in the Scale of moral bealling than Honour indeed Honour is but a Part, a very Small Part of Virtue on As to Jear, it is So hafe and brukal a Orffion, that it don't defence the Name of a Oriniple, and I think no Gentleman of this age and bountry will think it a houndation of government proper for Aminiand.

The Spirit of the Scople, among whom I had my Birth and Education, which you know very well, was always republican, althe they near enjoyed a Constitu tion of yournment conformable to that spirit, as the whole of the Eccutive with an enormous Provogetice as well as two Branches of their Legislation, and the whole of their judicial Ioners, mene always in the Hands of the Grown . - It was whally owing to the Constitution of their Towns, which were Small District in corporated by an early Line, and vested with Ponens to afremble frequently, deliberate, debate and ait, upon many affairs, together with the Establishment of Grammar charles in wiry one of thefe Lowing that Jack a Spirit was preserved at all among the Prople · Prople, In my early youth, the works of Jidney Harring Ton Lock Milton Ned ham Nwille mornet, Headley, were put into my Hands; and the miscrable Situation of our Country, for Rifteen years next, has prequently reminded me of their Principles and Theatenings. They have convinced me that there is no good Govern ment but what is Republican. The British Constitution Italy is Republican, for I know of no better Spinition of a Republic than this, that it is an Empire of Land and not of them : and therefore, as I look upon Republics to be the best of your ment To I think, that particular Form of yournment, or in other words, that particular Arrangement, and for binakin of the Porent of Joury, which is best calculated to Secure an seast and impartial beculion of the Lows, is the best Republic. of Republics there is an in finite Paristy, because the arrangements of the Invers of Soit: etz, an unpable of innumerable Singfications. Now, fir, as good government, is an Empire of Lanes, the first Question, is, how thall your Laws be made? In a Society, or Community confisting of any inhibit able Number of Proply in habit -ing any insiderable stent of Firnitory, it is in possible, that the whole Bady I hould after ble for the Purpose of making Laws . - They would be too memorous . They could not afford the Time or Expense. The first Step to be taken then, is to depute Ormer from the

approx the state of the most wire and airtured. - But by what There Shall you choose many to a few of the most wire and airtured. - But by what There Shall have the Brenefit your Representations? Agree you a Sistrict of Growerty, which that the inte tubed to one. I choosing one, or agree your a Sistrict of Growerty, which that he into tubed to one. Roat Priviledge, or agree your the Quantity of Property, which that he into tubed to one. The principal Difficulty lies, and the greatest Gave thended be taken in curstituting this Representative afore by the Sheeded be; in Minisotore are cast Portrait of the Proph Representative afore by the Sheeded be; in Minisotore are cast Portrait of the Proph of large. It thended this feel, reason, and act like them. That it may be the Intervent of this aforemation of the Prople. or, in other Words, equal Interview areas areas the Reput, Should have equal Interview in the Representative Body. No Art theoded amony the Reput, Should have equal Interview in the Representative Body.

be Insied to effect this, and to much unpair, partial, and corrept Elections: but Such Regulations are better made in Times of quester Tran quility than the present, and they will grow of them places naturally when all the Pound of Society and Government, come to be in the Hands of the Prophes Triends, at present it will be wishert and Safest to go on in all Mablished Methods to which the Prople are escent ulul of Habit. Having attained a Representation of the Coople in one Afrendly, the Question arifes, whether it is wifest to leave all the Pomens of Legisletion in this Single Body, or to make your degislature more complete? I think a Roph cannot be leng happy or free what Land an male only by one aftern bly : my Reasons for this opinion are thefe. 1. A Single Afrently is little to all the Fraithis Vices and Fallies of an Individual. - Jubject to fit of Humour, Gapine, Popin, Prijudice, hasty Reputty, and absurd hely must, which right to be corrected by Some controuling Somer. 2. A Single A frinkly, is apt to be avanisions, and in time, would not Somple to compt Half from Burthand which it would by, without Tuling, upon it Goustotunt. 3. A tingle A formbly is aget to your ambitions, and vote it selfperpetuel. witness the Cafe of Holland, whop appendy first value that they that hold their Just Juen years, then for Life, and after forme trine they had the Madesty to determine, that where a Vacancy happened by Scath or otherwise, they there alous would fill it up, with out apply my to the Constituents of the decept Munker. 4. An affern bly cannot service the securitie Power for Want of two functial Oroperties, Secrecy and Differtile : now if an executive Power is conflictuated listing from the Legistative and the Legis lative constitut of only one appendly, there will naturally grow a Callness, - an opposithin - and at length a dewnight divit way between the Legis la : the and de wheel. 5. Becaufe a Representative aftern by is Still lip quelified to cerrite the judicial Power, being too numerous, and generally too little Shill it in those valuminous Collections of Lanes, which are newpary to be the those order to obtain thoroughly understood, and most carefully offervuel in order to obtain a uniform, Stealy and inspartial administration of Justice.

therefore I bay it down as a Maxim that the judicial Pomer Should be distant both from the degis lation and be while. Now if you have your degis latic in me Afrendly, and Executive in another, and the judicial over leans to either, it will naturally join with that, and over hallance, overbear, and over turn the other The Legislature, therefore, Should consist of more than one afserntly Let the Representative Body then, lest by Ballot, from among themselves or their Emitituents, a distint afrembly to consist of the most experienced, accomplished, and virtues them which for the Jake of Orfpicity me will call a Council. it may coupit of any Number you please _ Jay Tments or thirty.

When the for the Badies are anapplet thus contributed, an highing will arife, is the Legis lature complet? _ I think not. _ Then then the a third Branch which for the Same of preserving all Style and Filles, you may call a Grainner where I would invest with a origanic upon the other tranship of the Legis lature and also with the whole Beautime Onner after diverting it of the Balges of badges of Dennin ation called Orongetices. I know that giving the Bee whole be adjusted in our the Legislature is light to oppicture, but it ferms to be other a regative upon the Legislature is light to oppicture, but it ferms to be attended with more Advantages than Dangers, of precisely if you make this officer attended with more Advantages than Dangers, of precisely if you make this officer attended with more Advantages than Dangers, an wally chetic by which no detude the Growner to more than three years, an wally chetic, he may

be allemed a free and in dependent Everit of his Julyment, recause he will have To much hypord for the Rople, the Representativis, and Council that he would Telen verif this Right, except in Gafes, the public Utility of which would be confpicients, and Jame Juch Eagles would happen. - However, I you like it better, quie him only a cafting Socie in Gounal. In the present State of America when by an Act of Parliament We are put out of the hoyal Protection, and it is became neufsary to aparme government for immediate Security, the gover nor Should be chosen by joint Ballot of both Houfes. In the Some manner a Lieut yovernor, Secritary, Treafurer, Comissary, and Attorney General may be chosen. The Governor, by and with and nat without the Advice and Consent of the Council

The Governer, of and min and appoint all Judges, Justices, and all other officers civil and Thould nominate and appoint all Judges, Justices, and all other officers civil and military, who thould have Commissions Jigned by the Government more nonular the Jeal of the Golony. - I you choose to have a Government more nonular still you may let all officers be chosen by one Houf, concurred by the other and insented to by the Government. I herriffs thould be chosen by the Truchebbers of the Gounties. The Gounties. Indeed the whole of this Plan is call whether any alterations from this to this to may be one to make any alterations from this to this to have employed will have One to make any alterations from this the Sletters Jugsly Sifet which Experiment, annually to the Orople of large as in Connects with The Stability of Gourn must in all its Branches, the Morals of the People and wery Bliping of Joiity depends Jo much upon a true Interpretation of the Laws and an inspartial Administration of Justice, that the Julyes Should always be Men of learning and Equinence in the Lands, coursplay Merals, great Patience, Galments, Boolness and Attention. Should not have their Minds diftincted with complicated jarning Interst, or be Judgerview to any Man or Book of Men or more com plaisant to me than another. To this End they Should held Estates for Life in their offices, and their Saltices I hand be field by Land. My halding Estates for Life I mean their Commissions Should be during good Behaviour.

Juch a Conflictuation as this naturally and nearbaily introduces universal threwledge among the Prople, and infpines them, with a confiscus Signit, becoming Forement at good Humour, good Manness and good Mirals. Virtue, Honour, and Einslitz become fashionable. That Elevation of Sentiment, which is mechanichelly introduced by Juch a government, makes the commen Prople ball brake and enter prizing. That Ambition which is inspired by 't into wery Anula and order of Men, makes them in dustrious John and forgal. - In tuch a government, you will find Jone Elegance per heps, but mon Jolidity. - I me Politeurs, but more Givility. Jone Pleafue but more Businfor If you compare a Country where ful a Government prevails with the Regions of I min atten in whether more chief or Aristocratical, you will think your

Juff in Areachie or Elifium But must not all Commissions run in the Name of the thing? No. Let them in thus " The Colony of North Carolina to A. B. Grieting " and be tested by the Governer. governer. Must not all Write run in the Name of the thing? No. Let them run thus "The belong of North Carolina to the therrif of the "you are herd can mouded, the and let them be tested by the Chief Fustice. Must not all Tuditment unchele "Contra Paren Domini Regis"? No. Let them conclude requirest the Chase of the Colony of Stath Caroline, and the Diquits of the Same" or Meijsty of the Same if you will. We have heard much my dear fir, of a Continental Conflictution - for my own Part I fre no dreafin for any but a Gorynfs. - Let every Golony pleafe Italy without Control in it own Conthe tution. Let a fair and equitable Repres Sent ation of every Colony, appear in Engress, and let the authenty of that great Council be Sacredly confined to three Cafes, War, Irade, and Difputes between Colony and Colony.

If the thirteen Colonies, were all popphed of buch Forms of government and Luch a Competeration for the above Purposes, was agreed on in Engrys and ratified by the africables, they would be unconquerable by all Europe " optimely and Attin being . I have not have their itlands with anothe with course field " arrived I when the suddriver the many allan in them on the I nut my on your Tringthip, not to apop one to richicule or Genfure, unne -afranily, for thep imperfect thints. Their Toorie ministeries when it have be derivery god !!

